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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
FIFTEENTH SESSION : GWALIOR

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PREFACE

I am grateful to Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Bombay, for contributing Rs. 1000/- towards the publication of this volume. My thanks are also due to the Sectional Presidents for the help I have received from them and to Messrs Sree Saraswaty Press Limited for bringing out the volume within a very short time.

P. C. GUPTA
Secretary

10th December, 1954

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PRESIDENT'S CAMP
INDIA
Calcutta, 26th December, 1952

MESSAGE

The History Congress is fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee as its President this year and I have no doubt that in his regime the work the Congress has been doing will progress and prosper. Every nation needs a record of its own achievements and, if I may add, also if its failures. Such records enable succeeding generations not only to assess the past but also to shape the future. There is a great deal of work to be done for exploring many dark corners which have not yet been explored in our long history. A great deal has undoubtedly been done but a great deal more requires to be done. I believe there is a great deal of written record in the form of manuscripts in different languages of the country which has not yet become available and hence not yet studied by our historians. There is also a great deal which remains buried in the bowels of the earth in the form of remains of architecture and other mementoes of our past. I hope younger generations will continue to work and labour as the past have done and complete a picture which will be true, exaggerating nothing and under-rating nothing, inspiring us by the achievements of our ancestors and warning us against their foibles and failures. I hope the History Congress will help the work of the historians of our country.

—RAJENDRA PRASAD

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

H. H. Maharaja Scindia
Rajpramukh of Madhya Bharat

President and Delegates of the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am extremely grateful to you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to inaugurate the 15th Session of the Indian History Congress. It is a matter of gratification that a galaxy of historians and research scholars have assembled in this city for holding their momentous deliberations. It would not be exaggeration to say that Gwalior, by virtue of its glorious past, has a rightful claim to be the befitting venue for such a conference.

I may venture to hope that the exceptionally rich heritage of this area and the geographical location of this State may also enable you to find out, if studied properly, the true meaning behind some of the intricate problems of the past of the country as a whole. In the civilizing process of the whole country, this territory of Madhya Bharat has formed a main life-line and focal point for the diffusion of culture in various directions. The great and ancient cities of Ujjain, Vidisha and Mahishmati acted not merely as the repositories of all that was best in Indian culture but also acted as the focal point in that process of diffusion.

My Government are, I am happy to tell you, contributing their mite in their attempt to reconstruct the history of these great cities. Survey and excavation of the area around Maheshwar, which is situated on the northern banks of the sacred Narmada and is believed to be the site of the ancient Mahishmati, is being undertaken by a body of qualified excavators under the leadership of Dr. Sankalia of Poona.

Besides these three cities there are undoubtedly hundreds of other highly significant historical sites in this State of Madhya Bharat, of which one might make mention before a body of scholars like you.

Of the fortress of Gwalior, under whose secure protection you are holding your session to-day, I need hardly say anything. It is a monument of which we are very proud and it is with ample justification that the ancient historian called it "the Pearl in the necklace of Hind". Padmavati, the modern Pawaya, which I trust some of you at any rate will be able to visit during your sojourn here, you are likely already to have read in the celebrated drama *Malati Madhav* of Bhavabhuti, but it is a place which is likely to have a fundamental interest for you also on account of its having been one of the

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capitals of the Nagas and on account of the discovery a few years ago of an old Gupta temple in excavations undertaken by our Department of Archæology. The Bagh caves, with their world famous paintings, Mandu, the city of joy, which was the capital of the Malwa Sultans, Dhar, which was the capital of the famous Paramara king Bhoj, whose achievements in the field of art and literature are well-known all over India, Mandsaur, the ancient Dashapura, where flourished a remarkable personality by the name of Yeshodharman—are places which come to my mind as of outstanding importance for historical study and investigation. This galaxy of distinguished historians has no doubt already heard of all these places.

The love of the past is a very deep-rooted sentiment of mankind, and there is a peculiar fascination in thinking of the days that are no more. This fascination has been displayed by the most primitive people, who cherished the history of their illustrious ancestors in the form of folk-songs and folk-tales, and by the most advanced, who developed a separate profession of bards and minstrels for the revival of past memories and historical traditions in songs. To the teeming millions of our people these traditional songs and ballads are a constant reminder of our noble heritage, although to the critical historian they may some time appear intermixed with uncritical legends and myths.

I have only a vague knowledge of the several schools of thought that have developed in the field of history. But to me it appears quite of vital importance that historical traditions cherished by a people should be given their due significance in the evaluation of their history. Land and climate certainly mould the life of a people in particular channels, but more important than land and climate is the continuity of that historical tradition which gives to a people its inherent character and a proper consciousness of its own existence. If we examine the history of India, and our ideals and beliefs and institutions, in this light, we would find that India as a whole has been the ideal of our people throughout the past centuries and that they not merely became fully conscious of the geographical unity of the country but that they idealised it in their religious utterances, institutions, political ideals and intellectual conceptions. India as one country, permeated by a fundamental unity of language, religion and culture, continued to subsist in spite of disintegrating tendencies exemplified by our caste system, our various creeds and our different languages. India has no doubt borrowed from others, but the uniqueness of our culture has nevertheless remained with its essential spiritual and universal character. For centuries India has acted as the meeting place of world cultures, but with all the fusion of cultures which has gone on during the course of our long and chequered history, this country has maintained her uniqueness. Far from developing a purist and exclusive outlook, we have always flourished as a culture-absorbing and also culture-diffusing centre. The dominant note of our history has been a synthesis of cultures and ideas, a unity in diversity.

No better manifestation of the true character of India's cultural and historical heritage can, I am convinced, be found than during the reign of the great king Vikramaditya. It was in pursuance of that conviction that in

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1944 when the Gwalior State celebrated the 2000th anniversary of the Vikram era I was anxious that a history should be prepared which would give not only copious but authentic information about the culture during the glorious days of King Vikramaditya's rule. I am glad to recall that our endeavours proved very successful and that Vikram Commemoration Volumes were brought out in three languages, Hindi, Marathi and English. It is a matter of genuine gratification to me that the scholar who was responsible, as general editor, for the preparation of the English volume, is, as your President, guiding your deliberations in the 15th session of the Indian History Congress held in Gwalior.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have not the slightest doubt that under his able guidance your deliberations will be highly fruitful. From the literature of the Indian History Congress, which I have been able to go through, I have been impressed that your Congress has been doing extremely valuable work in the reconstruction of a national history of India. The first duty of our national historians, in my opinion, is to depict all those aspects of our nation's life, usually ignored by foreign writers, which have given to our being its distinctive character. I am sure that in the national history which is going to be written by you, social life and economic changes, religious movements and growth of thought, literature and culture will occupy at least as important a place as merely political changes and military achievements. It is only by a proper analysis of all these things that a sympathetic insight into why things, good or bad, did happen to our ancestors, can be obtained.

There was no greater need for the study of History than in the present times. Our modern politics and modern journalism both tend towards short-sighted sensationalism. Our tongue and pen are used to attract attention, excite feelings and to gain victory of the moment at the expense of reason, proportion and truth. Scientific study of history discards passions and confines itself to facts, causes and effects. The task of the historian, to my mind, is to reveal the past, as it were, for its own sake, as also to explain the evolution of present state of things from the lessons of the past. Historians, like judges, must be impartial not only between nation and nation but also between individual and individual. To achieve it, is no easy task and needs scientific training. He must rid himself of preconceived notions whether they are based on prejudice, philosophy or religion. He must weigh events in the background of surrounding circumstances. It is easy to pick out events which confirm a certain theory. The historian does not collect facts in order to build up his theory but he builds his theory after examining the facts. His main work is, therefore, to calculate the results of events upon events and action upon action.

It is only when the virtues and the defects of the past generations are studied together that they express the entire personality of a nation. The possibility of attaining a proper perspective in this regard is, I am glad to say, better to-day than was available to those who carried the torch of knowledge before the attainment of freedom of the country ; and I have not the slightest

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doubt that you will, under the able leadership of your President, take advantage of the greater opportunities available to your generation of historians and give to the country what it expects from a distinguished body like you, a proper account of the history of the Indian people. In the discharge of this obligation you would no doubt require the co-operation of the Government of India and of State Governments ; and so far as this Government is concerned, I can assure you of their whole-hearted co-operation in your noble task.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in inaugurating this 15th session of the Indian History Congress. You have my best wishes for a successful session, and I sincerely hope that when your deliberations are over and when you return to your respective places, you carry with you the best memories of Madhya Bharat and friendship which will endure.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

I deeply appreciate the honour done to me by fellow-workers in a common field by asking me to preside at this the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress.

Meeting in Free India, we must all be feeling very fortunate that we have lived to see before our very eyes the process of a supreme national struggle which has so triumphantly succeeded in achieving for our mother-country her political freedom and status of a completely sovereign State by means and methods unprecedented in history, by Non-Violence and a bloodless revolution which will forever remain associated with Mahatma Gandhi of hallowed memory rightly described as 'the Father of the Nation.' But though we are proud of our national independence as the priceless treasure which we have acquired for the first time in the melleniums of our history, we should be alive to the fact that Independence has its own responsibilities and obligations. Independence is, after all, a means to an end, a means of free and unfettered national self-expression. Freedom is to be valued and justified in the degree in which it can help the country to give full and free expression to its genius and soul. As Joseph Mazzini has well said, "God has written a line of His thought on the brow of every nation.' India, now no longer in bondage, having shaken off the shackles of the slavery of centuries, must now take full advantage of her freedom in making her appointed contribution to the culture of mankind by preserving and promoting her distinctive culture she has built up through the ages, those ideals of thought and life, the institutions, manners and customs in which these ideals are embodied, in a word, her entire cultural heritage. But, unfortunately, the contents of India's culture and her legacy of thought are not very well known to the Indians themselves for want of proper attention under a foreign government. The result is that there are many misconceptions in the air about some of the very fundamental facts and achievements of Indian civilization. This is not the occasion on which I can expatiate exhaustively on these, but I may just indicate what I mean by a few examples.

The term *Hindu* itself has been grievously misunderstood under a wrong reading of history. It is taken to be a religious term, but it is really a term of strictly territorial significance. Our Persian neighbours used to describe India as "the land of the Sindhu' which they pronounced and spelt as *Hi(n)du*. The Persepolis Inscription of Darius I (522-486B.C.) mentions the term *Hi(n)dush*, as it calls the Ionian Greeks Yaunā (*Yavanas*). The term *Hi(n)du* is also repeated in his Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription and again in the Persepolis Inscription of Xerxes (486-455 B.C.). The Susa Palace inscription mentions ivory brought from India called *Hindauv*. The term *Hi(n)duvīya* which means a man from Sindhu (=Indus Valley) is mentioned among the subjects of the Persian Empire in the South Tomb Inscription at

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Persepolis, attributed to Artaxerxes II (*c.* 404-359 B.C.). Earlier, the *Avesta* uses the name Hindu for India, deriving it from Sanskrit *Sindhu*. The first chapter of Avestan Vendīdad mentions the expression *Hapta Hindava* corresponding to the Ṛig-Vedic term *Sapta-Sindhavaḥ* (*Rv.* VIII, 24, 27), the land watered by the present five rivers of the Punjab along with the Indus and Kabul (*Kubhā*). Thus the term *Hindu* is not an indigenous but a foreign term, and is not found in the entire range of Sanskrit and Pāli literature. From the strict historical point of view, the term *Hindu* should thus mean any inhabitant of India irrespective of creed or race, and does not carry any communal connotation.

Similarly, the symbolism and significance of our National Flag with its figures taken from the capital of the Asokan Pillar at Sārnāth are sometimes loosely interpreted. The figure of *Chakra* or Wheel, for instance, is now popularly taken to be the wheel of Asoka. But it is not the historical truth. The term *Chakra* does not necessarily mean wheel in Sanskrit and Pāli literature. It indicates dominion, circle or sphere of authority. It was also not the *Chakra* originally conceived by Asoka. Asoka, as a devotee of the Buddha, was at pains to translate into stone and preserve in a permanent form the sacred words of the First Discourse which was delivered by his Master at Sārnāth. The Discourse is entitled *Dhamma-Chakkappavattana-Sutta,* the Discourse by which the Buddha inaugurated the Kingdom of Righteousness (*Dhamma-Chakka*) on earth, the Rule of Right as against Might. The political ideal of India has been the Spiritual State, a *Rāma-rājya* as described by Mahatma Gandhi, a State based upon principles of morality of universal applicability. It is thus to be strictly differentiated from what is known as a theocratic State, because the Dharma upon which it rests as a *Dharma-Chakra* is not any particular Creed or Doctrine, but the Universal Religion promoting Peace on Earth and Goodwill among men. It is not committed to any religion of its own which it can impose on its subjects, but stands for the equality of all religions professed by its nationals in a spirit of toleration, because it believes in the unity of all religions in their essential principles aptly called *Sära* by Asoka, the moral foundations common to all religions. In this sense, India has stood forward through the ages as a secular State so to speak and this traditional political ideal is now aptly proclaimed by the National Flag which the Republic of India as a secular democracy has fashioned in consonance with India's indigenous and historical traditions, in the spirit of her Culture of which the most effective exponents have been the great Buddha and His imperial disciple, Asoka. Indeed, the *Dharma-Chakra-Pravartana-Sütra* promulgated by the Buddha may be taken to be an expression and exposition of Indian thought at its best, and reduces its complexity into a body of simple Truths forming its essence. As stated in the *Peṭakopadeśa,* the first sermon of the Buddha sums up His entire teaching in His life. As is well known it starts with the Four Fundamental Truths of Life (called *Ariya-Sachchas*): (1) *Dukkha* or suffering as a universal experience and then explains (2) its origin (*Samudaya* in *Taṇhā,* Craving), (3) its prevention (*Nirodha*), and (4) the path (*Magga*)

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leading to its cessation. The path, as is well known, is the Middle Path (*Majjhima Paṭipadā*), the Eightfold Path (*Aṭṭhaṅgika Magga*) comprising (1) Right View (*Sammādiṭṭhi*), (2) Right Resolve (*Sammā Saṃkappa*), (3) Right Speech (*Vāchā*), (4) Right Work (*Kamma*), (5) Right Livelihood (*Ājīva*), (6) Right Effort (*Vyāyāma*), (7) Right Mindfulness (*Sati-Smṛiti*) and (8) Right Concentration (*Samādhi*). It is also stated that purity of conduct (*Sīlavisuddhi*) is to be cultivated as the means for attaining the end of purity of heart (*Chitta-Visuddhi*) by the practice of the last three injunctions.

It will thus appear from the above that the religion for which the Buddha and Asoka stood was not any narrow sectarian religion, but the universal religion based upon the fundamental principles and practices of morality acceptable to all mankind. The National Flag will always operate as a never-failing reminder of this specifically Indian message uttered through the ages from the time of the Vedas and Upanishads, the Message of Peace and Unity of Mankind in a universal brotherhood in One World.

There are many other cultural facts which deserve to be popularized in the country. This Congress itself should make us recall with pride and exultation the earliest learned Conference of the world as described in the Upanishads which relate how the sage of a King, Rājarshi Janaka of Videha, sent round an invitation to all the learned scholars of the Kuru-Pañchāla country then "known for its abundance of learned men" [*teshu hi vidushāṃ vāhulyaṃ prasiddham* (Śaṅkara)] to meet at his court and thus to carry to far off Eastern India the Vedic Learning and Culture from their home in the West. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* reads like a record of the transactions of this ancient philosophical Congress which laid the foundation of Hindu philosophy under its Persident, Rishi Yājñavalkya. The procedure and method followed in this Conference are interesting and instructive. All the Schools of Philosophy which had then grown up in the country had to present their doctrines for discussion at the Conference by their chosen exponents, eight of whom are mentioned as taking part in it. These included (1) Uddālaka Āruṇi, (2) Aśvala, (3) Ārtabhāga, (4) Bhujyu, (5) Ushasta, (6) Kahoḍa, (7) Vidagdha Śākalya and (8) the woman-philosopher, Brahmavādinī Gārgī Vāchaknavī, who boldly participated in the discussions of the Conference and challenged the wisdom of Yājñavalkya who successfully answered the challenge, whereupon she made the following admission at the Conference: "Venerable Sages, you may consider it a good thing if you can now get off by simply bowing before him. No one, I am sure, can ever dream of defeating him in any argument concerning Brahman."

The acknowledged supremacy of Yājñavalkya as the foremost philosopher of his time (*Anuchānatama*) was recognized by King Janaka by his award to him of a prize which may be taken to anticipate the Nobel Prize of the modern world. Janaka made to Yājñavalkya a gift of 1,000 cows each of whose horns was hung with five gold pieces (*Suvarṇa*) so as to bring to Yājñavalkya a total of as many as 10,000 gold pieces. The gift of such a large herd of cattle was not at all embarrassing to the Ṛishi who promptly

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asked his pupils addressed as Brahmachāri, Somya, and Sāmaśravā, to drive them home (*udaja udgamaya utkālayatu asmāt gṛihān prati*), his hermitage which was good enough to accommodate such a large cattle population. The accounts shows that the hermitage was a self-contained academic colony with its own agricultural and dairy farms to produce its food. Early Indian history is full of records of grants of land made to educational and religious institutions which had to depend upon its proper cultivation as means of their maintenance, together with the accessory dairy-farming for the supply of milk and butter. We may, in this connexion, remember the interesting fact recorded by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang as a resident student of the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā where he found daily coming a fleet of carts "loaded with several hundred *piculs* of ordinary rice, and several hundred *cotties* in weight of butter and milk." One *picul* is taken to be equivalent to 133 lbs. $=66\frac{1}{2}$ seers = say, roughly $1\frac{1}{2}$ mds. One *cotty* = 150 lbs. = 75 seers = roughly 2 mds. The daily supply of "several hundred *piculs* of rice" thus amounted to about 300 mds. of rice at least and "several hundred *cotties*" must have meant at least 300 mds. of milk daily consumed at the University. A vast quantity of food was required to feed the University's academic population comprising 8,500 students who were all advanced or Post-Graduate students and were taught by a staff of 1,510 teachers, together with the other staff employed by the University for its executive, administrative and other practical services, say, a total of 15,000. The daily ration of rice thus amounted to 1 seer per head and of milk also 1 seer.

Coming back now to the story of Yājñavalkya, the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* relates that King Janaka, after receiving instruction from his *Guru*, Yājñavalkya, offered to him his *Gurudakshiṇā* in the following words: "Sir, I give you the Videhas and also myself, to be together your slaves" [(*So'ham Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi mām chāpi saha dāsyāyeti*) IV, 4, 16 ; *Videhān = Videhān deśān mama rājyam samastam dadāmi* (Śaṅkara)]. The Ṛishi, then at the height of his power, prosperity, name and fame, chose that moment to decline the gift of a kingdom, and even to renounce the little property he had, to retire at once 'from home into homelessness' in the forest to devote himself to a total quest of the Truth. He called his wife Maitreyī to take leave of her after making provision for her living. The wise wife at once confronted her husband with the question, "My Lord, if this whole earth full of wealth (*sarvā pṛithivī vittena pūrṇā*) belonged to me, tell me should I be immortal with it or no? [*tenāmṛitā syāmiti tena pṛithivī pūrṇavitta-sādhyena Karmaṇāgnihotrādinā amṛitā kim syāmiti* (Śaṅkara)]. "No", replied Yājñavalkya, "like the wife of rich people will be thy life: But there is no hope (*āśā*) of immortality (*amṛitatva*) by wealth." Wealth is only a means of happiness and enjoyment of pleasures (*Sukhopāyabhoga sampannam*, as explained by Śaṅkara). Then Maitreyī said: "What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal?" And so both husband and wife joined together in a common renunciation, and pursuit of Truth.

Let us re-capture some of this our national cultural heritage which men and women equally participated in building up the educational system

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which was so fruitful in its output of both thought and life. *Na Kadāchidanīḍṛiśam Jagat,* as Kālidāsa says: 'The world is the same always.'

We may also imitate the method of this old Conference which transacted its business by discussions at symposiums of obscure or controversial topics.

I may now present a few facts regarding the origins of Indian civilization. There is evidence to show that Early Man appeared in the higher region of the Punjab and the Siwaliks, and that the Himālayas aided in his evolution. According to the geologist Barell, "Man and the Himalayas arose simultaneously towards the end of the Miocene period, over a million years ago." There is an apt Chinese saying: "Great things are done when Men and Mountain meet: they are not done by jostling in the street." This is explained thus by Sir Arthur Smith-Woodward: "As the land arose, the temperature would be lowered and some of the apes (the ancestors of Man) which had previously lived in the warm forests would be trapped to the north of the raised area." "As the forests shrank and gave place to plains, the ancestors of Man had to face living on the ground. If they had remained arboreal, or semi-arboreal like the apes, there might never have been Man" [Thomas and Geddes in *Outlines of General Biology,* II, 1164]. Elliot Smith also holds that "the common ancestors of anthropoid apes and men probably occupied Northern India during the Miocene Epoch" [*Early Man*: Lecture delivered at Royal Anthropological Institute: p. 3]. According to the distinguished Palæontologist, Professor Lull: "We have to go to the region north and south of the Himālayas to find peoples whose facial characteristics best resemble those of Cro-Magnon Man, while their structure and bodily build are best displayed in the Sikhs" [The *Antiquary of Man* in the Evolution of Man, edited by Bartsell].

The Lower Siwaliks offered to the anthropoids the tropical climate they needed to flourish. Later, this tropical belt began to contract and recede southward, together with the Siwalik fauna dependent on it. Traces of their southward migration are found in the fossil fauna of the Narmadā beds, in the Irrawaddy beds in Burma, of which half is of Indian Siwalik forms, and also in Java where the Trinil fauna, with which the famous Pithecanthropus remains were found associated, is made up of 16 mammal genera, of which half is found among the Narmadā fauna. Of 28 genera of early and middle Pleistocene beds of Java, as many as 16 occur in Indian formations of Upper Siwalik age. Thus the fauna of Java associated with the emergence of Early Man Pithecanthropus is made up of Javanese and Indian elements. Ultimately, therefore, the anthropoids of the Siwalik fauna in the course of their migrations led the evolution of Early Man of the type found in Java which in later historical times became culturally a part of a Greater India [*Early Man* published by the International Symposium at the Academy of National Sciences, Philadelphia, pp. 257-269].

Thus, as India can claim to be a cradle of man, it is also the cradle of civilization. The origin of civilization is the origin of agriculture, a problem of Plant-Genetics. Civilization ultimately depends as much on man as on plants and animals. It depends on a cultivated plant yielding food that can

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be stored up, and also on animals which can be domesticated to supply power. It depends on the ciultivation of grain like wheat, barley, oat, rye, millet, rice and maize,.but all these are not of equal value as food for bio-chemical reasons. For example, maize is lacking in Vitamin B_2 as compared with wheat or oats. Thus, a population fed on maize is liable to the skin disease called *pellagra*. Thus the Maize Civilization of Central America failed to achieve the level of other early civilizations based on wheat, barley and rice while a further handicap was that it lacked domesticable animals. The buffalo or bison cannot compare with the cow, nor the llama with the horse or sheep. Thus civilization originated where cereals and cattle were first domesticated. This inquiry was undertaken by a group of Russian Scientists, Plant-Geneticists, headed by Vavilov who built up the largest wheat collection. He found 14 different wheat species which he grouped into 3 classes according to the number of chromosomes in the nucleus. The most primitive form has 7 pairs of chromosomes. Other types have 14 and 21 pairs. The most important for their food value are the 42-chromosome wheats known as soft or bread-wheat. Of these, the 14-chromosome wheat, the hard wheat, originated in Abyssinia, the home of the agriculture that led up to the Egyptian civilization. But the superior wheat of more chromosomes known as the soft bread-wheat originated from "a centre near the Punjab", "the fold between the Hindukush and the Himālayas." It was the original wheat which was "the source of Indian and Mesopotamian wheats, and of the more important varieties grown in Europe and North America today" [J. B. S. Haldane, *Inequality of Man* and Other Essays, pp. 47-48, 71-76]. Specimens of this early wheat are found at Mohen-jo-daro. These "belong to a group with 21 chromosomes known as 'soft wheats,' as contrasted with the emmer group of 14 chromosomes found in Egypt." The Mohen-jo-Daro wheat (Vedic *Godhūma*) is also the ancestor of the wheat which is "still in cultivation in the Punjab" [Marshall's *Mohen-jo-daro and Indus Civilization*, III. 586]. As stated by E. D. Merill, Administrator of Botanical Collections, Harvard University [*Early Man*, p. 280], "The centre of origin of both agriculture and culture were 'peculiarly restricted', and these areas included 'Northern India.' "

Thus India saw the dawn of civilization in the region of the Indus Valley which was then well-watered, grew forests with their denizens of wild animals like tiger, rhino, elephant, bear, jackal, wolf and deer, sheltered in its rivers crocodile, tortoise, fish and water-buffalo, and gave rise to agriculture, a mixed economy of corn-growing and stock-breeding as the basis of Civilization. Its early streaks were seen among a number of sites of peasant communities settled in areas of about 2 acres each, building in kiln-burnt bricks, and getting copper and tin out of ores by heat, ushering in the Bronze Age ; in their different cultures named after these sites as (1) Quetta, (2) Amri-Nal-Nundara, (3) Kulli, (4) Zhob (Rana Ghundai) or (5) Shāhi Tump, traced in their types of Pottery, Buff-ware, Red-ware, and the like, of different geometrical designs, and also in figures of animals and plants, and figures of females.

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The zenith of this civilization was attained at Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro. It is described fully in appropriate works by competent archæologists. But I may emphasize some points of this civilization apt to be overlooked. It was biult up of material derived by trade in those early days from places far and near. *Gold* was imported from Kolar Gold Feilds of Mysore which alone are the source of the particular type of gold found at Mohen-jo-daro (with 11% alloy of electron). *Tin* was obtained from Hazaribagh ; *Lime-stone* for covering drains came from Sukkur, *Gypsum* and *Alabaster* from Kirthar Hills, *Yellow stone* from Jaisalmir, *Lapis Lazuli* from Badakshan, *Turquoise* from Khorasan and *Jade* from the Pamirs. The beautiful *green* amazon stone was derived from its only source Doddabetta in the Nilgiris. Two beads of this stone were found at Ur in an early layer "calling up", as stated by Sir Leonard Woolley, "the astonishing picture of antediluvian man engaged in a commerce which sent its caravans across a thousand miles of mountain and desert from the Mesopotamian Valley into the heart of India."

In connexion with this Indus Civilization, a topic that is worthy of discussion at a symposium is its possible connexion with Vedic Civilization. The problem of the dicipherment of the script of its numerous seals discovered so far, the elaborate researches on the subject carried out by several scholars like Hunter and by the Rev. Prof. H. Heras, S. J., are worthy of special consideration in a symposium.

A last point of our civilization that I wish to refer to on the present occasion is its democratic bias. It is worth attention in this age of democracy. Ancient India believed in plain living and high thinking and did not set much store by material monuments, like the Pyramids, or the treasures of the tombs, found in ancient Egypt. She built up monuments of thought instead, literary works beginning with the *Ṛigveda,* the Tree of Indian Knowledge which later threw off so many branches and offshoots, systems of Philosophy and Religion. Life was simple but thought high and of farthest reach, 'wandering through eternity.' Dr. L. D. Barnett has referred to the paradox that in the *Ṛigveda,* which is the earliest book not merely of India but of the world, we see at once the dawn and meridian of culture, while it contains the seeds of thought out of which have developed so many systems in the course of India's intellectual history. India's political thought is accordingly inspired by the *Ṛigveda* which shows how the pattern of Indian polity was distinctly democratic. It gave to the world its first conception of democracy, and technical terms for its institutions, like the *Sabhā* and the *Samiti,* terms which have filtered down into every varnacular in India. The *Atharvaveda* tells us how Prajāpati, the Lord of Creation, after first accomplishing His creation, as a mere material world, sent down as His agents His twin daughters called *Sabhā* and *Samīti* to complete the other aspects of the creation, to build up its moral life and civilization. These popular bodies were thus so early recognized as the first aids to democracy, as the most potent force of humanity's uplift. The democratic principle was applied even in the field of Culture and Education. The *Ṛigveda* mentions how in the Assemblies of learned men it aptly calls *Saṅghas* (a term which was later

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appropriated by Buddhism), by means of discussions and expositions, were hammered into shape its difficult Sanskrit language, together with the thought that gave life to it. As stated in *Rv.* X, 71, 2, the wise (*dhīrāḥ*) met in these *Saṅghas* where through their discussions language was refined into the language of the Veda, like groats through a sieve. Again, in X, 71, 8, it is stated that in these *Saṅghas,* Brāhmaṇas united in fellowship come together (*Saṃyajanta*) as comrades (*Sakhāyaḥ*) for the purpose of developing further the truths they had realized in their hearts (*hṛidā tashṭeshu*) or reached by their minds (*manasho javeshu*). Both Vedic Sanskrit and Vedic Philosophy were the products of these learned *Saṅghas.* The democratic ideal utters itself even in the very last hymn of the *Ṛigveda.* It ends on a democratic note. The hymn is addressed to the Deity called by the unusual abstract name *saṃjñāna* or *Samajñāna* to be taken (as explained by Sāyaṇa) as the very Deity of Democracy as representing the collective political consciousness which is evenly spread among the whole people, the National or Cosmic Mind to which the Individual Mind must offer its worship as the source of its vitality and potency. The formulae of this prayer are an impassioned exhortation to democratic thought and behaviour, an impulse to national congregation (Saṁgachchhadhvaṁ) fulfilling itself in a unity of utterance (Saṁvadadhvaṁ), Unity of Policy (*Mantra*), a spirit of co-operation (*Samiti*), a Unity of Minds (*Chitta*), Hearts (*Hṛidaya*), and Plans (*Saṁkalpa*), of Ideals and Aspirations (*Ākūti*).

The *Ṛigveda* thus fixes the democratic principle of India Polity, shaping its subsequent development. The true sovereign of the Hindu State is *Dharma,* its Law and Constitution, which was upheld and enforced by the King or Supreme Executive as the *Daṇḍa.* Thus Hindu Monarchy was a limited, constitutional Monarchy. There was also a growth of regular republican States called *Gaṇarājyas.* On the present occasion, I can only give a few glimpses of popular government in our later literature. The *Mahābhārata* applies the term *Saṅgha* to a republic, e.g., the *Vṛishṇi-Saṅgha* under Kṛishṇa described as *Saṅgha-mukhya.* It also uses the term *Gaṇa* in the same sense. Confederations of Republics it calls *Saṅghātagaṇa.* The Grammarian Pāṇini takes cognizance of republican developments indicated by technical terms which he cites as examples of his *Sūtras.* He notices the term *Nikāya* for a religious Assembly, *Saṅgha* or *Gaṇa* for a Republic which was worked by a party-system, the party being called a *Varga.* The term *Saṅgha* indicated a confederation of Republics like the Trigarta Saṅgha or Andhaka-Vṛishṇi Saṅgha. Pāṇini knows of a federal army, Kshaudraka-Mālavīsenā, formed by the two republics. Buddhist India is represented by many republics such as the Lichchhavis, a Federation, Śākyas (of whom was born the Buddha), the Moriyas, Mallas, and the like. The working of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* shows how its procedure corresponded to advanced democratic and even parliamentary practices. The Speaker of the Assembly is called *Vinayadhara,* the Whip *Gaṇapūraka,* Regulator of seats *Āsanaprajñāpaka,* Resolution *Jñapti,* Vote *Chhanda,* Decision by Vote of Majority *Yad Bhūyasikā Kriyā.*

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Unanimous decision by the Assembly was the ideal. Its possibilities were explored by a Committee composed of Leaders of Parties whose decision was binding on the Assembly. Such a Committee was called *Udvāhikā Sabhā* to carry members over to a decision. A village was also a self-governing republic, a centre of life and light through the ages, while further exercises in self-government, which imparted to the decaying social tissues of people necessary vitality and vigour, were given by making every group self-governing, groups like *Kula* (family), *Jāti* (caste), *Śreṇī* (Guild), *Pūga* (Village Community), *Gaṇa, Saṅgha* and *Samūha* (Municipal Corporation). The State encouraged these natural groupings and associations of the people. Indian polity believed more in decentralization than centralization in administration and the resulting over-government of the people. Free India must take a lesson from this traditional principle of Indian polity and apply it for the revival and restoration of the Village Republics as the only means of rural reconstruction.

I may now indicate some of the gaps in our knowledge of Indian History calling for special study to fill them up.

It is necessary to treat Art as a source of History. The forms of Art changing from age to age in structures, sculptures, and paintings, exhibit a process of evolution in their successive stages and supply to some extent a key to chronology, like palaeography. Art and Archaeology should go hand in hand as sources of history, suplementing each other. Art also reveals in graphic and vivid forms a good deal of social and cultural history. By its direct appeal to the eye, it offers a simpler method of study which enables us to visualize History. Indeed, the language of man as an expression of his ideas may write itself in different forms. An old Sanskrit saying distinguishes five different kinds of writing or *lipi*: (1) *Mudrālipi*, (2) *Śilpalipi*, (3) *Lipiḥ Lekhani-Sambhavā* (the script produced by pen), (4) *Ghūṇalipi* (symbolical or shorthand writing) and (5) *Guṇḍikā lipi* (writing in coloured dusts as in *Yajña-Vedī* or *Ālpanā*). Thus Art has its own language aptly called *Śilpalipi*, just as a coin has its own language of symbols. The aesthetic script has its own value in culture-history.

There is a good deal of work to be done in the field of pre-history. A sequence of palaeolithic cultures has been established by the work of de Terra and Paterson in the Punjab and Kashmir by co-relating the lithic industries with a geological and climatological sequence. In South India, Foote was a pioneer in his collection of palaeolithic tools, while their chronological sequence was deduced from the associated geological deposits by later workers like Todd, Cammiade, Burkitt and others. These primitive Indian industries are to be studied in relation to an international time-scale on the basis of 'raised sea-beaches'. The level of the sea fell or rose in the same degree all over the world during the glacial or inter-glacial epochs of the Pleistocene. Hence it is possible to link up the palaeolithic industries of of India with these sea-beaches in other parts of the world and thus to locate them in time. This work calls for the study of geo-chronological methods initiated by Prof. Zeuner. At the same time, fresh palaeolithic material may

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be derived by excavations of Billasugram caves in Kurnool district and of Alicoor caves near Madras. Special study is also needed to chronologically assess the cave-paintings of Central India together with the allied microlithic industries of that region.

Enough study has not also been made of the megalithic tombs of South India. Exacavation may unearth fresh types of cists, dolments, menhirs, cairns, *topi-kals* and urn-burials etc.

As regards the Harappā Civilization, recent exploration in the lower Ghaggar basin by Mr. A. Ghosh, Joint Director General of Archaeology, has shown that it extended far into North India, west of the Yamunā river. We may also refer to the valuable work of Dr. Sankalia at Nasik and Jorwe showing the contemporaneous use of black-on-red ware, microliths, and copper-celts. Its further extension to the south may be studied with special reference to the polished-stone-axe culture of Ḫrahmagiri.

Excavations carried out at Hastināpur by Mr. B. B. Lal of the Archaeological Department have unearthed grey pottery with designs like *Svastika* painted in black pigment, copper arrow-heads, houses of mud-bricks, and bone-styli possibly used for writing. The Hastināpur stratum seems to have been continued at Kauśāmbī, confirming the Puraṇic tradition: 'When the city of Hastināpur was swept away by the Ganges, Nichakshu (fifth in descent from Parikshit) abandoned it and settled in Kauśāmbī.''

Mr. Lal has also discovered Painted Grey Ware at several sites such as Mathurā, Kurukshetra, Indrapat (Indraprastha), Ahichchhatrā, all associated with the *Mahābhārata*. Further excavations may bring to light fresh material for the study of chronological relationship of this culture with the Harappā Culture.

Other promising sites of excavation are: (1) Kausāmbī where an inscription refers to the Buddha's visit of Ghoshi-tārāma there ; (2) Rajgir, (3) Pāṭaliputra, (4) Vaiśāli, (5) Śiśupālagarh with remains of a fortified town of about 4th century B.C., (6) Jaugaḍa, (7) Amarāvatī, and (8) Tamluk.

I may now suggest a list of topics by which our knowledge of Indian History may be further advanced. These may be listed as follows: (1) Links between Indus and Vedic Civilization ; (2) Jaina sources of Indian History ; (3) Indebtedness of Buddhism to Vedic thought ; (4) Spiritual significance and symbolism of Vedic rituals ; (5) Comparative study of Indian scripts and their evolution ; (6) Study of inscriptions in their literary aspect ; (7) Coins in their artistic aspect ; (8) Sculpture and Painting as inspired by literature ; (9) The Mughal Empire 1707-39 ; (10) The Sepoy Mutiny in its regional history ; and (11) History of the Indian Army.

I may now mention some of the desiderata in the study of Indian history. A publication of Annual Bibliography of Indian History, Art, and Archaeology, like that of Kern Institute of Leyden, will be a valuable aid to the study of Indian history. A similar Bibliography published from year to year by Mr. Fernandez and taken over by the Indian Historical Society, Bombay, deserves support. The list of inscriptions made by Luders, Keilhorn and Bhandarkar should be continued and brought up to date, to-

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gether with the Gupta inscriptions of which the revision was entrusted to the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The University concerned may be requested to publish select theses for which the Degree of Doctorate and other distinctions are awarded by it. The Archaeological Department of Government of India may be requested to pay more adequate attention to its programme of publications like its Memoirs, or Guide-Books of Museums and Monuments. We may also suggest that the Madras Epigraphy Report, as a mine of information unique, abundant and varied, may be continued from year to year as before. South Indian inscriptions have been somewhat neglected to far, as compared with North Indian.

There is some necessary work to be done in the field of historical records in the possession of both the States and Union Governments. These are to be listed, studied, abstracted, indexed and published. The preparation of such handbooks of records was recommended as early as 1919 by the Indian Historical Records Commission but this recommendation has not been fully implemented by some of the governments concerned. The Bengal records are scattered among the High Court, District Collectorates and Courts, and other offices and should now be brought together in a Central Records Office, as is done in Bombay and Madras. The up-to-date scientific methods for preservation of old records have not been adopted fully by many of the governments concerned.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to an important undertaking to which the Indian History Congress is committed. It is the publication of 'a Comprehensive History of India' in several volumes. I am glad to say that substantial progress has been made in this work by way of raising funds and securing contributions from competent scholars. As the cost of printing has gone up very much since the scheme was undertaken, the Congress has to renew its appeal for an increased measure of public support. The Congress as the custodian of the scheme can assure the donors that the fund raised for the purpose will be properly administered and audited so that no misgivings may be felt in the matter.

I need hardly say how grateful we all feel, assembled in this History Congress, to the patronage of scholarship accorded so generously by the State of Madhya Bharat and its honoured Rājapramukha in undertaking the trouble, expense, and hospitality by inviting the Congress to meet in its present Session at Gwalior. I should also like to make my acknowledgements on behalf of this Congress to the body of selfless workers, the youthful volunteers, who have thrown themselves heart and soul into exacting social service by which they have made our stay in Gwalior so very pleasant and comfortable. The Congress is deeply grateful to the Reception Committee for the most successful and satisfactory manner in which they have organized the entire work of the Congress in all its Sections, including the manifold requirements of the delegates.

I hope the co-operation and contributions of scholars assembled in this Congress will help to make its work for the Session fruitful and its future bright.

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SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

UP TO 711 A. D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

FELLOW-WORKERS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I am extremely grateful to the Indian History Congress Association for its kindly electing me to the Presidentship of the Ancient Indian History Section I for this year's session of the Indian History Congress at Gwalior. I feel very much overwhelmed, nay embarrassed, by this great honour done to me, though it has come so late in my life. Aware as I am of my own short-comings and limitations, I consider myself a misfit for the work entrusted to me. I, therefore, pray for your co-operation in the discharge of my duties.

I hope you would be good enough to excuse me for striking here and now a personal note. But this is meant entirely to excite a curiosity in the mind of the younger generation of scholars who require some inspiration from older workers, while they intend to devote themselves whole-heartedly to the hard task of rescuing from oblivion the lost materials of ancient Indian history which is now being reconstructed carefully in the light of newer information which are almost daily being culled by worthy researchists in India and elsewhere.

I was, throughout my educational service under Government, a Professor of Sanskrit ; so naturally you may take me to be a Sanskritist by profession, but since 1908 when I entered Government service I have also been, by accidental choice, a bit of an Epigraphist and a devoted student of ancient Indian history and culture. I myself was inspired by my revered teacher, the renowned Indian linguist, the late Hari Nath De, to take up original research work in Indian Epigraphy immediately after I had obtained my M.A. degree of Calcutta University in Sanskrit in 1907, more especially in 1908 when I was granted a Government research scholarship for work in Palæography and Epigraphy under his supervision in the Imperial Library at Calcutta of which he was then the Librarian. I could never forget that it was he who first initiated me to the study of Bühler's Seventeen Tables of Indian Palæography in 1906 in connection with my first lesson on Aśokan characters, which I took from him. Within a few months of this beginning of my epigraphic study I had the good fortune of meeting with that profoundly learned Mahārāshṭrian Brāhman, the late Professor Dharmananda Kosambi, then a Buddhist recluse living with Mr. De in his Calcutta residence ; and I began to read with Mr. Kosambi the texts of the Aśokan edicts, and so early in my life I heard this erudite savant (for, he was then as eminent a scholar in Sanskrit as in Pali) tell me that certain version of the Aśokan edicts could be linguistically cited as examples of very good Pali in its initial formative stage. Then in 1911 when I was a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Rajshahi College, I joined the then newly established Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi in North Bengal (a part of the ancient Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti). This purely unofficial research institute in Bengal of that period was started by that famous trio in

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the field of historical researches, viz., Akshay Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E., the historian, Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, the antiquarian and ethnologist, and Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya Raj family, a fervant lover of Indian antiquities—alas! all these three are no more in the land of the living. A major portion of my epigraphic contributions was published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and other journals from Rajshahi (now situated in Eastern Pakistan). I cannot also tell you how great a debt of gratitude I owe to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who brought me down in 1918 from Rajshahi to Calcutta University as a Lecturer in Indian Epigraphy in the then newly opened Post-Graduate Department wherein the new subject of Ancient Indian History and Culture was introduced as a separate subject for the M.A. degree. This, in short, is the history of my own initial work in Epigraphy, an archæological subject which may rightly be regarded as one of the reliable bases of sober history of ancient India.

It is quite meet that we have gathered together for our discussions and deliberations here in this historic city of Gwalior, the capital of a State in the Indian Union, in and near which have been discovered many archæological monuments, statues and pillars and also many inscriptions of high antiquity. The famous Buddhist Bhārhut stūpa was discovered at a village in Nagad district in Central India, and you all know that this was erected about the middle of the second century B.C., and that the remains of a gateway and some stone railings belonging to it possess sculptured reliefs containing inscriptions explaining some of the incidents in the Jātakas, i.e., scenes connected with the Buddha's past life-story. The most famous stūpa at Sanchi which yet stands at the top of a hill is situated in the contiguous Bhopal State in the south. The four highly ornate gateways or *toraṇas* of this unique stūpa covered with relief sculptures illustrating the Buddhist scriptures are the most perfect and most beautiful of all the monuments of the Early School of Indian Art. According to art critics these gateways date from about the middle of the first century B.C. to the Christian era. Some parts of the main stūpa, however, may date back to the days of the Mauryya Emperor, Aśoka, one of whose Minor Pillar Edicts (Edict I) is found engraved in a Sanchi pillar. It is interesting to note that the Emperor's address to the high officials of a town at or near Sanchi (perhaps old Vidiśā) refers to the penalty of schism.

Here again in this State of Madhya Bhārat stands the most important historical stone-pillar—a Garuḍa pillar—set up at Besnagar near Bhilsā and dedicated to the god of gods (*devadeva*), Vāsudeva, by a Greek named Heliodorus (*Heliodora*) himself a Bhāgavata (a worshipper of Bhagavat), an inhabitant of Taxila (*Takshasilaka*), who acted as an envoy (*Yonadūta*) of the Indo-Greek King Antialcidas (Amtalikita) of Ghandhāra at the court of the Indian king Bhāgabhadra, when the latter was reigning probably as a Śuṅga Viceroy in Eastern Mālava in his 14th regnal year. Some scholars identify this Bhāgabhadra with Bhadra or Bhadraka mentioned in some of the Purāṇas as one among the successors of Pushyamitra. It goes without saying that immense is the value of the inscription of the 2nd century B.C. which is engraved on this pillar, not only from the point of view of the

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religious history of India, but also from that of the political history, as it furnishes incontrovertible evidence respectively on the early development of Vaishṇavism and also the relation between ancient Greek potentates of North-Western India and the native Indian ruling house in this part of the country. It also proves incidentally the Arthaśāstra discourse on the ambassadorial institution prevailing at the time. The ancient famous city of Ujjayinī is also situated in the Central India.

I need not multiply instances of some other important old inscriptions that were actually discovered in various places in Cenrtal India, e.g., at Udayagiri, Sanchi, Gangdhar and Mandasor. Students of ancient Indian history are well aware of the historical significance of the two Udayagiri Cave Inscriptions, situated about two miles to the North-West of Bhilsā, one of which is dated in 82 G.E. (=401-2 A.D.) and refers to the religious dedication by a chief of the Sanakānika tribe, a feudatory of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II. The second inscription states that a Minister of Peace and War of the same emperor named Vīrasena (alias Śāba) caused a cave to be excavated in this hill in honour of Lord Śambhu when he visited this place in the company of his sovereign during the latter's campaign of conquests in Western India. On a railing of the great Stūpa at Sanchi (old name Kākanādabotạ) mentioned before, there occurs an inscription dated 93 G.E. (=412-13 A.D.) belonging to the reign of the same Chandragupta II and it records a gift of 25 *dīnāras* to the Buddhist monks (Āryya-Saṁgha) of the great monastery (*mahāvihāra*) of Kākanādabotạ by a military officer of the Gupta emperor. In the western division of Central India stands Mandasor (now a district town) which was once the famous Daśapura of Kālidāsa's time, the capital of Mālava, where once ruled a local dynasty of kings, the Varmans, headed by king Siṁhavarman whose sons Chandravarman and Naravarman also ruled as kings. A stone inscription discovered at a village called Gangdhar near this Mandasor records that an able minister of Naravarman's son, Viśvavarman, named Mayūrākshaka, built a lofy Vishṇu-temple and also made some other dedication in the Kṛita era 480 (=423-24 A.D.). The rulers of this Varman dynasty of Mālava were feudatories under the Imperial Gupta monarchs. Viśvavarman was a feudatory of Kumāragupta I during the first part of his reign and was succeeded by his son, Bandhuvarman, who was his feudatory later on and who governed the Mālava country from the city of Daśapura, specially in the Mālava era 493 (=437-38 A.D.) when a magnificent lofty temple of the Sun-god was erected there by a guild of silk-weavers who immigrated previously into that city from *Lāṭavishaya* (Central and Southern Gujarat),—a fact recorded in a Mandasor Stone inscription. Three more inscriptions discovered at Mandasor refer to the heroic deeds of Yaśodharman who, about a century later, sometime after 533-34 A.D., succeeded in usurping all the Gupta territories and who even compelled the Hūṇa King, Mihirakula, to pay him personal homage and humbled his power in Mālava quarters. The students of this State of Madhya Bhārat should remember these local historical remains and study them intently for research purpose.

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Within the last few years, and even recently, were discovered in Central India near Besnagar three huge Yakshiṇī images belonging to the second century B.C., the archaelogical importance of which is very considerable. There are somewhat later antiquities also such as the two inscriptions of Vaïllabhaṭṭa-Svāmin (Vishṇu) temple at a place near the Gwalior fort (then called Gopādri or Gopagiri) belonging to the reigns of Kings Rāmabhadra and Bhoja (Mihira-Bhoja of the 9th century A.D.) and the Gwalior *Praśasti* of Bhoja, but these do not come within the purview of our section of the Congress. Still later antiquities are there to remind us of the achievements of Lakshmībaī, the Rāṇī of Jhānsi during the early British period of Indian histroy.

These are some of the old historical relics of Madhya Bhārat which made me mention before that we have met here at a place which is so very much connected with important archaeological remains of ancient India.

Before attempting to discourse a little on some particular aspects of Indology, I beg to be pardoned for asking the present generation of oriental scholars of India to remember one thing. We are now a free and independent Republic. In the present changed political condition of our country, we should never in our blinding pride and a sense of self-complacency in matters of historical researches, forget the pioneer achievements of foreign scholars in the field of Indology. As historians we cannot afford to hide the historical truth that it is the European scholars who at first took the lead in Indological researches. We must always think of these distinguished predecessors in researches as highly and respectfully as we do of our own Indian scholars of the past and the present ages. Scholars are never limited in their studies and research work by geographical boundaries. Scholarly co-operation between the West and the East must be preserved in the interest of acquisition of true knowledge of historical facts. Consideration of race, nationality or religion should not prejudice the historians and scholars in their labour for the discovery and spread of historical truths. They should rather regard themselves as belonging not to India alone, but to the entire world.

We certainly adore with reverence the memory of our own distinguished countrymen who were the first holders of the torch of historical light for our guidance, I mean stalwarts like Bhagawanlal Indraji, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Bhau-Daji, Rajendralal Mitra, Haraprasad Sastri and their followers in the next generation of workers like K.P. Jayaswal, K. N. Dikshit, D. R. Bhandarkar, R. D. Banerjee, N. G. Majumder and the like. But can we ever forget the names and contributions to Indology of such western scholars as (1) Sir William Jones, the greatest helper in the establishment of the Science of Comparative Philology, (2) Sir Alexandar Cunningham, the originator of the Archæological Survey in India and the author of the first geography of Ancient India, (3) Dr. Vincent Smith, the first writer in narrative form of the Early History of India and (4) other such personalities as Princep, Kern, Burnouf, Bühler, Keilhorn, Vogel, Venis, Fleet, Hultzsch, Grierson, Hoernle, Senart, Sylvain Levi, Lüders, Sten-Konow, Thomas, Rapson, Rice and others who took up patiently the hard task of decipherment of ancient

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Indian inscriptions and coin-legends and published their valuable articles on them in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary, Epigraphia Indica* and other official and non-official Journals and Reports and in book-forms in India and outside? The names of Burgess, Foucher, Grunwedel, Oldenberg and such others should not be forgotten if we want to study Indian Iconography scientifically. Furgusson, Havel, Sir John Marshall and others should ever remain enshrined in our memory because of their contributions to the study of ancient Indian Art and Architecture. How much are we also indebted to Max Müller, Roth, Bohtlingk, Monier-Williams, Goldstücker, Lebitsch, Rhys Davids, Colebrooke, Cowell, Bloomfield, Jacobi, Weber, Peterson, Stcherbatsky, Stein, Keith, Hopkins, Winternitz, Macdonell, Woolner, Poussin and such other savants who helped us in the resuscitation of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali languages and ancient Indian literature and philosophy with their history, and also of the history of Indian Religions.

My reference to these Western scholars should not be interpreted as suggesting in any manner that we shall not feel gratefully proud of the eminent Indian historians, scholars and researchists like Dr. R. K. Mookerjee (General President of our Congress this year), Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. Altekar, Dr. H. C. Ray Choudhury, Dr. H. C. Roy, our late friend Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. N. P. Chakraborty, Dr. N. N. Law, Dr. B. C. Law, Krishna Sastri, Dr. K. D. Nag, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Patil, Dr. Agrawala, Governor K. M. Munshi, Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. B. C. Sen, Dr. N. R. Roy, Dr. J. N. Bannerjee, Dr. N. Datta, Dr. D. C. Ganguly, Dr. P. K. Acharyya, Beni Prasad, Nilkantha Sastri, Dr. Pusalkar, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Dr. S. K. De, Mm. V. Sastri, Dr. R. C. Hazra, Dr. P. V. Kane, Dr. D. C. Sarkar, late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Dr. Mehendale and a host of other workers, who have made valuable contributions to Indology in its various aspects. I should be excused for not naming the names of many other Indian scholars in this connection. I simply meant to draw the pointed attention of all to the works and achievements of the western scholars in Indology, without full and careful consideration and use of whose researches it would not have been possible for contributors to fructify the scheme of publication of the ten comprehensive volumes of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian People ; nor would it ever be possible for contributors to any other scheme of publication of Comprehensive Volumes as proposed by the Indian History Congress itself. Recovery of ancient Indian history can unhesitatingly be attributed to modern scholarship.

We have upto now much neglected to find out historical materials hidden in the literary evidence provided by ancient books of the type of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* and the *Divyāvadāna* and the like, on many old Indian political, economic, social and religious topics. We should make a deeper and closer study of such books which is bound to yield fruitful results for enriching ancient Indian history. Many information of high historical significance can be obtained by scholars from such a study. This idea has led me to excite your curiosity in regard to such Buddhist texts which should

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be studied with the mind and eye of a historian for getting useful materials for the reconstruction of the history of ancient India. Such untapped and less explored literary works contain valuable facts of ancient Indian history which may supplement already known and published facts, or corroborate and confirm them. Although in many matters of ancient Indian history we have already passed the field of conjecture and controversy, yet we should endeavour to carry on anxious search for newer and additional information by our assiduous study of the literary works of the type mentioned above. We should, however, always guard ourselves against making over-valuation or under-valuation of such sources of historical materials and also against forming dogmatic decisions or conclusions based on insufficient and weak testimonies.

To draw the attention of younger scholars to the work of ransacking such virgin fields of research work, I now propose to present to you certain historical and cultural information that I have gleaned from my recent study of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna,* which, to me, appears to be a veritable mine of valuable information.

Apart from the Pali language, Sanskrit and Prakrit were also used in producing Buddhist literature by the representatives of the prominent Buddhist sects. The Theravādins' literature was mostly written in Pali, the Sarvāstivādins' in pure Sanskrit and the Mahāsāṅghikas' in 'Mixed Sanskrit', formerly also called the 'Gāthā dialect'. For a proper understanding of the last variety of linguistic product we should be thoroughly acquainted with all the three above-mentioned languages. You all know that the old Buddhistic treatise, the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* is a work belonging to the Vinayapiṭaka according to the text of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsāṅghikas, i.e., the adherents of the Mahāsaṅgha (the great community), of Madhyadeśa, who were the earliest schismatics of the Second Buddhist Council of the fourth century B. C. The time of its composition or compilation is according to Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri the third and second centuries B.C. But Winternitz was of opinion that the nucleus of the work probably originated as far back as the second century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the fourth century A.D., and later. We cannot, however, forget that the forms of many words and expressions of the Aśokan edicts can be better explained with the help of many words and expressions used in the *Mahāvastu.* I feel inclined to endorse the view of Burnouf and Rajendralal Mitra that the so-called Mixed Language of this and other old works represented an intermediate stage between pure Sanskrit and pure Pali. The latter language was being probably formed at the time of writing this and such other works. Haraprasad Sastri thought that this language which prevailed in Kosala and the Vajji countries was used by Northern Buddhists in the centuries following the schism and so his view was that it was neither an artificial language, nor Vernacularised Sanskrit, nor Sanskritised Vernacular. But in our humble opinion we should yet regard it as a Mixed Language of a transitional nature which was paving the way to the formation of the literary Pali, and the Prakrits.

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The Lokottaravādins above referred to were believers in the doctrine of all the Buddhas being 'Lokottara', i.e., uncommon, extra-ordinary, superhuman or supra-mundane, who, according to them, adapted themselves to worldly life only externally. The chief contents of the *Mahāvastu* related to the biography of the Buddha (adorned profusely with stories or miracles accompanying his conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment and also the first conversions of some great persons by Him), and it also contains some old and new Jātaka stories (stories of previous births of the Buddha). With the hope that some vistas of further researches may be opened for younger scholars, I wish to give below only a few facts regarding the Indian life in the Buddhist age, which I could gather from my study of the three volumes of this book.

A brief description of three stories, one each from the three volumes, with pertinent critical remarks, will suffice to serve my purpose and to show the value of some important information obtained therefrom.

In the history of the homes and origin of the Śākyas and Koliyas (in Volume I, pp. 338—359) as related in the *Mahāvastu* we have a vivid description of how the institution of kingship originated and how the ordinary people wandered, met together, discussed and ultimately selected the most trustworthy (*sarva-prāsādika*) and lordly (*sarva-maheśākhya*) person amongst themselves to be their king, declaring[1] thus—"You are quite fit to punish him among us who deserves punishment and reward or favour him who deserves honour. We all approve of your being placed at the head of all men. And we shall offer you one-sixth of *Śāli*-paddy grown in our respective *Śāli*-fields." With this idea may be aptly compared the statement of Kauṭilya (I. 13) on the selection of the king as a form of social contract made between the people and himself. In the same story we surprisingly get a clear reference to the fact that the town of Sāketa was the capital of the joint state of Kāśi and Kośala and that the Śākyas of Kapilavastu had a sort of political subordination to the Kośala rulers. Herein we also read of the banishment of the Śākya princes (the sons of Sujāta) from Kāśi-Kośala and their travel towards the Himālayan region (*anuhimavanta*) where was situated the hermitage of Ṛishi Kapila from whose name, it is stated there, the Śākya capital Kapilavastu[2] was so called. These princes lived for some time in the Śākoṭa-grove (Śākoṭavana-khaṇḍa) of that region whereto used to go merchants from Kāśi-Kośala and wherefrom merchants came out to the latter place for trading purposes. It is described that these princes, out of fear of defilement of their special race, arranged mutual marital connection of their own mothers and sisters among themselves, that is to say that they did not seek their marriage relationship with other racial families lest their blood should be polluted. This historical information reminds us

1. "भवानस्माकं सत्त्वं निग्रहारहं च निग्रह्णातु, प्रग्रहारहं च प्रग्रह्णातु, वयं ते सव्वसत्त्वानां अग्रताये संमन्येम, सकसकेषु शालिक्षेत्रेषु षष्ठं शालिभागं ददाम"। (I.348)

2. "ऋषिस्य नामेन कपिलवस्तुं।" (I. 351); "कपिलेन ऋषिना वस्तुं दिन्नं ति कपिलवस्तु-समाख्या उदपासि।" (I. 352)

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of the prevalence of a similar practice (described also in some Pali Jātakas) in the early *seṭṭhi* families of marrying within their *jāti* and such marriages amongst themselves were regarded as desirable and underogatory (*cf.* Jātaka I. 452—*"āvāha-vivāha-sambandho nāma mayham tayā tuyhañ ca mayā saddhiṃ paṭirūpo"*). This may be treated as a deep concern of these rich racial groups of commercial community for equal marriage and purity of blood. In the *Mahāvastu* story under review we find King Sujāta asking his ministers as to whence those princes had arranged to get their wives and they answered referring to the prevailing custom[3] as stated above. It may hear strange that on the king's reference to the royal chaplain (*purohita*) and the learned Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍita*) as to the propriety of such marriages, the latter gave their approval to them saying that such actions as taken by the princes can well be permitted (*"Śakyā etameva karttuṁ yathā tehi kumārehi kṛitam"* I. 351) and there would accrue to them no sin for taking such a step (*"Śakyaṁ Mahāraja kumārā tato nidānaṁ dosheṇa na lipyante"* I. 351). King Sujāta became highly pleased on hearing of this verdict from the Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍitas and made a solemn utterance (*udāna*) to the effect that the princes would hence-forward be called Śākyas (i.e., fit to be permitted) and their name[4] or title would be Śākiyas or the Śākyas. Here from this story we have a clear knowledge of the name of the Śākyas.

If you critically read the Sanskrit drama, the *Mṛichchhakaṭika,* you have a clear idea of the prevalence of concubinage in ancient Indian Society and learn how a very rich and noble-minded courtesan of the type of Vasantasenā felt happy and fortunate in contracting genuine love with a highly respected and accomplished person like Chārudatta—a Brāhman of a lofty social order and how at last by the king's decree they both were united in marriage and the bride, once a harlot, obtained the State permission to assume the highly covetable social status of a family *vadhū* (house-wife). There is a chapter in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* named *Gaṇikādhyaksha* (II. 27) from which we know that the profession of harlotry had a status recognised by the Administration which through the *adhyakshas* or superintendents could determine the earnings, inheritance, income, expenditure and future prospects of the profession of the harlots and realise some particular taxes from them.

It may now interest you to know that in the *Mahāvastu* (Volume II) there is a Jātaka story, called the Śyāmā-jātaka, in which we have a graphic picture of the life and conduct of a very rich courtesan of Benares, named Śyāmā, who lived in the courtesans' quarter or street (*gaṇikā-vīthi*) of the city and who was described[5] extremely rich in gold and silver furniture, and

3. "राजा अमात्यानां पृच्छति ॥ कुसो कुमारेहि दाराणि आनीतानि ॥ अमात्या आहन्सुः श्रुतं मो महाराज कुमारेहि जातिसंदोषभयेन स्वकस्वका येव मातुयो भगिनीयो परस्परस्य विवाहितायो, मा मो जातिसंदोषं भविष्यतीति।" (I.351)

4. "शक्या पुनर्भवन्तो कुमारा ॥ तेषां दानि कुमाराणां शक्यं शाकिया ति समाख्या-समज्ञा प्रज्ञप्ति उदपासि" ॥ (I .351)

5. "तहिं च श्यामा नाम अग्रगणिका आढ्या महाधना महाकोषा प्रभूतजातरूपरजतोपकरणा प्रभूतदासीदासकर्म्मकरपौरुषेया" । (II. 168)

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jewellery, and also as having a suite of many servants, slaves, labourers and maids. Her love with merchant Vajrasena, the horse-dealer (*sārthavāhaaśvavāṇija*), hailing from Takshaśilā, who came down to Benares with a caravan of horses from his distant northern home-country, and his wrong conviction by the king of Benares for alleged theft in the royal palace and the king's order for his execution and his subsequent escape through bribery and his ultimate attempt to drown to death his mistress, Śyāmā, in her residential lake, when she was made dead-drunk, may provide us with materials for tracing the throttling of Vasantasenā by Śakāra in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. Śyāmā also was with the king's permission, allowed to live as a member[6] of the household of the father of a former lover of hers. It is indeed a kind of legalisation of an illegitimate social act. Incidentally we have a reference in this Śyāmā-jātaka to actors of Taxila who used to come even to Benares for performance of their art (*"katdāchid dāni Takshaśilākā naṭā Vārāṇaśīmāgatā,"* II. 175). These *naṭas* talked in a Northern dialect or speech which could be easily understood by Śyāmā of Benares because she had Vajrasena, the Taxila horse-dealer for her paramour, from whom she must have learnt that dialect (*"Tāye dāni Śyāmāye teshāṁ naṭa-dārakānam = Uttarāpathakaṁ bhāshyaṁ pragṛihītaṁ"* II. 175).

In volume III of the *Mahāvastu* there is again a Jātaka-story named Arindama-Jātaka wherein we read of a wonderful instance of the abdication of a king in favour of his son. A strong desire arose in the mind of Arindama, the king of Videha, to renounce the world and this was caused by the advice of his old friend, Śroṇaka, the chaplain's son, who held the opinion that a man given to performing Brāhmaṇic sacrifices like the *jyotishṭoma*[7] should be regarded as miserable, while the man who is devoted to the Buddhist Dharma was never so. The Ṛishi Śroṇaka while giving a discourse on religious life, related to the king the five blessings (*bhadras*) of a homeless recluse. The first blessing for him is want of any obstruction to his wandering through the countries (*rāshṭrāni*) and towns (*nigamā*) ; the second is that he can walk at ease everywhere with his begging bowl and monkish robe, though obstacles may appear sometime ; the third is that he does not possess any personal belongings which may be burnt, even though the whole of Mithilā (the capital of Videha) may be burnt to ashes (*"Mithilāyāṁ dahyamānāyāṁ nāsya dahyāti kiṁchana,"* III. 453) ; the fourth is that he never approaches with a jar in hand when a royal store-hcuse is opened for distribution of doles to the needy, but he wanders seeking for his bare requisites in the way the ascetics do ; and the fifth is that he, while walking through many families in many realms, loves all people equally, realising the spirit of Dharma (*"anyamanyaṁ priyāyanti paśya Dharmasya dharmatāṁ,"* III. 453). As some people become wise by hearing parables of good import, so Śroṇaka related to the king the parable of the foolish crow falling a prey to

6. "तेन दानि श्रेष्ठिना सा श्यामा राजकुलातो अनुजानापेत्वा गृहं प्रवेशिता"। (II. 174)

7. "न राज कृपणो भवति धम्मकायस्य यियापि च। यो च धम्मं समुपक्रम्य तद्धम्म (सद्धर्म्मे ?) न रती नरो। स राज कृपणो भवति ज्योतिरीमपरायणः" ॥ (II. 452)

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the greed of sitting upon a dead carcass of an elephant floating down on the running streams of the Bhāgīrathī Gaṅgā which led it to the open sea where he lost shore and perished. Foolish people also fall such a prey to greed for desired objects. The king's old friend, the Ṛishi Śroṇaka, advised him to relinquish worldly objects at once, and do good and shun evil by leading a religious life and adopt the eight-fold noble path for elimination of all sufferings (*"Athavā punarbhāveya Āryaṁ ashṭāṁgikaṁ śubhaṁ sarva-duḥkha-prahāṇāya jñātvā dharmaṁ niropadhiṁ"* ॥, III. 456). The picture of how at the time of abdication by the king of Videha in favour of his only son, Prince Dīrghāyu, the former delivered charge to the latter is very vividly drawn up in the *Mahāvastu*—a reflection of which we observe while Samudra-gupta was selected to the Crown-princeship by his father, Chandragupta I, and also while Queen Rājyavatī of Nepal requested her son, Mānadeva, to assume sovereignty over the kingdom on her husband's death, as she was anxious to follow by self-immolation the path of the dead monarch. The Jātaka king, while resigning to his son his highly developed (*sphīta*) kingdom, bereft of thorny anti-social elements (*akaṇṭaka*), addressed[8] the prince thus:—"I want to renounce the world here and now to avoid falling a prey, like the foolish crow, to passions' baneful way and I should not tarry a little lest Death should happen to me the next day, as there is no escape from meeting Death when it approaches a man with his large army." The prince was asked by the king to take charge, as the new ruler of the realm, of all his sixty thousand towns, elephants and as many horses, milch-cows, maidens, conches, silver and gold ornaments, treasure-troves and other jewelleries deposited in the safe-custody vaults. Thus leaving the palace, the kingdom and his only son to the care of his *Mahāmātras* (the High State-functionaries) and the Council of Ministers (*amātyaparishadyā*) the king departed from the city of Mithilā to the state of homelessness. While summing up the story the Buddha told the Bhikshus that He himself in a former birth was the Ṛishi Śroṇaka and the Śreniya King, Bimbisāra of Magadha, was king Arindama and just as the latter gave abundant gifts to the high-pedigreed Brāman Professor who brought him information about the whereabouts of Śroṇāka, so also Bimbisāra gave such gifts to his chaplain's son (*purohita-putra*) who narrated His (Buddha's) glory to him.

It may interest you to know that there are two nearly parallel passages in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 112-114 and III 442-443) wherein we have an authoritative list of various artisans, craftsmen and guilds of tradesmen and manufacturers prevailing in the economic life of India in the Buddhist age. These references may serve, to some extent, as supplementary information to those who write on Economic Life in ancient India. The two occasions that gave rise to the insertion of such a list by the writer or compiler of the book were the two receptions to Lord Buddha that were given respectively by his father, Śuddhodana, at Kapilavastu and King Bimbisāra at the Magadhan capital,

8. "तां पुत्र प्रतिपद्यस्व राज्यं निर्यातयामि ते॥ अद्य व प्रव्रजिष्यामि को जाने मरणं श्वे। न हि न संगतं तेन महासैन्येन मृत्युना। माहं काकी व दुर्मेधी कामानां वशमन्वगात्" ॥ (III. 458)

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Rājagṛiha, on his visits there after his attainment of perfect enlightenment. Both the rulers wanted to go forward to greet the Lord in the company of all sorts of their subject-people including the Brāhmaṇas and the house-holders (*Brāhmaṇa-gṛihapatikehi*), all the parties of musicians (*gandharvikehi*), all workers on arts and crafts (*silpāyatanehi*) and the trading or commercial guilds or corporations (*śreṇīhi*). A proclamation was made to that effect by order of the ministers of both the kings in urban squares (quadrangles), high-road junctions and market-places (*chatvara-śṛiṅgāṭaka-antarāpaṇa-mukheshu*). On hearing of this proclamation there assembled near the palace-gate (*Rājakuladvāre*) along with the members of the council of hereditary ministers (*kumārāmātya-parishadyāḥ*), the military chiefs (*Bhaṭabalāgrā*), the Brahmaṇas with the Royal Priest at the head (*Purohitapramukhā Brāhmanāḥ*), the people of the trade-centres, i.e., the merchant-people with their chief, the *Śreshṭhin* at he head (*Śreshṭhin-pramukha-nigama* or *vaṇig-grāma*) and other trading people with their caravan chief at the head (*sārthavāha-pramukha-vaṇig-grāma*) and the eighteen kinds of *śreṇīs* or guilds. It may be remarked in passing that the words *śreshṭhin, sārthavāha* and *kumārāmātya* of these passages in the *Mahāvastu* remind us of their occurrence in the Damodarpur copper-plate documents of the Gupta period discovered by us in North Bengal nearly three decades ago.

These passages contain a list of three large categories of trading people as follows:—

Category I—The *Gandharvikas* (musicians and players on musical instruments):—

Chakrika (the discus-holders or wheel-players), *vaitālika* (the minstrels), *naṭa* (the actors or gesticulators), *narttaka* (the dancers), *ṛilla* (the players of a particular kind of musical instrument; or cymbal-players, prize-fighters, drummers, if the reading be *jhalla*); *malla* (the athletes, wrestlers, performers of gymnastic exercises), *pāṇi-svarika* or *pāni-svanika* (?) (the players of musical instruments through the hands, the palm-strikers, the players clapping their hands), *śobhika* (meaning obscure; wearers of decorations? perhaps the reading in *saubhika*—jugglers), *laṅghaka* (performers of leaping, jumping or mounting exercises), *kumbhatūṇika* (meaning obscure; has the word anything to do with jars and quivers?), *velaṁbaka* (showers of pendulous, hanging or oscillating exercises), *dvistala-bhāṇaka* (meaning obscure; perhaps a kind of reciters or proclaimers), *'pañchavaṭuka'* (meaning obscure, perhaps players playing with five young chaps), *gāyanaka* (singers), *bhāṇḍavika* (players of a musical instrument called *bhāṇḍa* or those given to buffooneries), *hāsyakāraka* (jesters who can raise laughter in others), *bherī-śaṁkha-mṛidaṁga-paṭahika* (music-palyers through kettle-drums, conches, tabors and war-drums) and *tūṇava-paṇava-veṇuvallakī-ekadaśī-vīṇā-vādaka* (players on the musical instruments called *tuṇava* (meaning obscure), *paṇava* (small drums or tabors), *veṇu* (flutes or pipes), *vallakī* (a kind of lute), *ekadaśī* (meaning obscure; is it any one-stringed instrument?) and *vīṇā* (the famous Indian lute) and many other *vādyakaras* (players on musical instruments). In this connection we find in the second passage the following additional

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words, viz., *guṇavarta* (perhaps those who play with ropes), *tāṇḍavika* (the performers of the *tāṇḍava* or frantic or violent dance of Śiva), *chetayika* (meaning obscure ; does it mean men who can produce emotions in others' mind by words or gestures?) and *gaṇikā* (harlots or courtesans who used to attend these parties of musicians).

Category II—The *Śrenīs* (the corporate bodies of traders or guilds of industrial manufacturers):—

Sauvarṇika (goldsmiths), *hairaṇyika* (dealers in gold, silver and other precious metals, the bullion dealers), *prāvārika* (makers of upper cloaks), *maṇiprastāraka* (gem-setters ; *prastārika*, dealers in precious stones, jewellers), *maṇikāra* (jewellers or lapidaries, gem-engravers), *śaṁkhika* (makers of conch-shell articles), *dantakāraka* (makers of ivory articles, ivory-carvers), *gandhika* (perfumers), *kośāvika* (workers in silk-worms?), *tailika* (oil manufacturers, oil-men), *ghṛitakuṇḍika* (dealers in ghee or clarified butter in pots), *gaulika* (perhaps *gauḍika*, dealers in molasses or rums), *vārika* (probably, dealers of vessels for holding spirituous liquors), *kārpāsika* (cotton-dealers), *dadhyika* (dealers in coagulated or sour milk or curd), *pūpika* (cake-makers), *khaṇḍakāraka* (makers of candied sugar), *modakakāraka* (sweetmeat makers, confectioners), *kaṇḍuka* (*kāṇḍaka ?*—cane or reed workers), *samitakāraka* (*samitā-kārakā ?*—grinders of wheat-flour), *saktukāraka* (or *śaktukāraka*, makers of barley flour or flours of other bread corns or cereals), *phalavāṇija*) (fruiterers or dealers in fruits), *mūlavāṇija* (dealers in plant roots), *chūrṇakuṭṭa* (powder-makers, those doing pulverizing work), *gandhatailika* (dealers in perfumed oils), *aṭṭavāṇija* (dealers in or sellers of boiled rice), *āgrivanīja* (meaning obscure), *ābiddhaka* (perforators, pore-makers or metal drillers), *audapāchaka* (cookers of raw sugar or molasses or treacles), *khaṇḍapāchaka* (cookers of sugar-candies), *śuṇthika* (dealers in dry ginger?), *sīdhukāraka* (makers of rum or distilled spirit), *madhukāraka* (honey-gatherers or makers of intoxicating drinks or wines), *śarkarāvāṇija* (sugar-merchants or dealers in refined sugar) and such other *vyavahārikas* (businessmen).

Category III—*Śilpāyatanas* (the artisans and craftsmen):—

Lohakāraka (black-smiths), *tāmrakuṭṭa* (copper-smiths), *suvarṇakāra* (gold-smiths, also probably, makers of gold coins named *suvarṇas*), *taddhukāra* (meaning obscure ; shakers of gold dust?), *pradhvopaka* (*prachchopaka, pradhmāpaka?*—manufacturers of articles by means of blowing pipe), *roshin* (*roshaṇya*, testers of precious metals by rubbing them on touch-stones?), *trapukāraka* (tin-workers), *sīsa-pichchaṭa-kāraka* (workers in lead and tin), *yantrakāraka* (makers of instruments), *mālākāra* (garland-makers, florists), *purima-kāraka*, (meaning obscure), *kumbhakāra* (potters), *charmakāra* (dealers in leather and hide goods, shoe-makers), *kandukāra* (oven-makers, boiler-makers?), *ūrṇavāyaka* (weavers of woolen threads), *varūtha-tantravāyaka* (weavers of coats of mail), *rakta-rajaka* (dyers), *devatā-tantravāya* (makers of cloth for deities?), *chailadhovaka* (washers of garments), *rajaka* (washermen), *śuchika* (probably *sūchika* or *sauchika*, tailors or workers in embroidery with needles), *tantravāya* (cloth-weavers), *tūlavāya* (cotton-weavers), *chitrakāra* or *çhitrakāraka* (painters), *vardhaki-*

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rūpakāraka (carpenters and carvers of images or portrait makers), *peśelaka* or *pelalaka* (beautifiers?—one reading is *śelalaka*, bitumen workers?), *pustakakāraka* or *pustakāraka* (transcribers of books or manuscripts, copyists), *pust-karmakāraka* (plasterers? model-makers in plastic substances? workers in clay, wood or metal?), *nāpita* (barbers), *kalpika* (*kalpaka?*—toilet-makers), *chhedaka* (mowers of crop-plants or grass etc.), *lepaka* (brick-layers or plasterers, masons), *sthapati-sūtradhāraka* (architects and carpenters), *uptakoshṭhakāraka* (store-keepers of agricultural products, keepers of granaries), *kūpakhanaka* (well-diggers), *mṛittikāvāhaka* (earth-carrying labourers), *kāshṭhavāhaka* (wood-carrying labourers ; *kāshṭha-vāṇija*, a better reading, wood-merchants), *tṛiṇavāṇija* (dealers in straw and straw-made articles), *valkala-vāṇija* (bark-merchants), *stambavāṇija* (dealers in grass and shrubs), *vaṁśavāṇija* (bamboo merchants), *nāvika* (boatsmen or sailors), *oḍumpika* (or *olumpika*, raftsmen or those crossing a river etc., by means of rafts), *suvarṇadhovaka* (workers clearing gold dust by washing dirts?) and *moṭṭika* (crushers, grinders or breakers ; *maushṭika*, not a happy reading in this context, for it means sharpers, cheats or rogues).

I now proceed to discuss a little another important topic in the light of the view held on it by the *Mahāvastu*. This book contains many references to kingly duties (*rājadharmas*) and matters of administration here and there. But it treats of the duties of a State ruler in some greater detail in a Jātaka story named *Triśakunīyaṁ Jātakaṁ* (Vol. I. pp. 270—282) which is almost a counter version of the Pali Jātaka named *Tesakunijātaka* (No. 520, Vol. V). We find here three intelligent birds described as having vocal power to talk in human voice, whom King Brahmadatta of old ruling in Benares, regarded as his adopted sons on the advice of a chief of the ascetics living in the Himālayan region. These birds, curiously enough, imparted to their adoptive father, the king, lessons on *rājadharma* (kingly duties) in brilliantly edfiying lectures in verse. To my mind, these discourses on royal duties represent a versified summary, in Mixed Sanskrit or Gāthā dialect, if you so call it, of some of the salient doctrines and maxims of Kauṭilya on political and administrative topics discussed in the *Arthaśāstra*. It is said in this Buddhist work that the Buddha, while once proceeding towards Vaiśālī, the capital of the Lichchhavis, related this Jātaka story to the congregation of the Bhikshus and identified the owl-bird (*ulūka* or *kauśika*) with his favourite disciple, Ānanda, the maynah-bird (*sārika*) with his learned disciple, Sāriputra, and the parrot-bird (*śuka*) with Himself and King Brahmadatta with His father, King Śuddhodana. It is difficult, however, to assert that the political doctrines and views inculcated in this Jātaka of the *Mahāvastu* are pre-Kauṭilyan. I now present to you some of the political ideas, so aptly and lucidly referred to in the book.

The first lecturer, the owl-bird, says at the outset that a king should not give himself up to anger, for both the material and spiritual prosperity as well as the wisdom of a king are attainable only if he be temperamentally not subject to anger.[9] The king is also enjoined not to fall a victim to likes and

9. "अक्रुद्धस्य हि राजस्य अर्थो धर्म्यो जनाधिप। प्रज्ञा क्रमति सर्व्वत्र तस्मा क्रोधं निवारयेत्॥ (I.274.)

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dislikes (*chhandā* and *doshā*, i.e., *dveshāḥ*) and also fear and infatuation (*bhayā* and *mohā*) while administering justice ; and he is advised to hear at first both the parties in each dispute and then decide the case righteously (*Ubhābhyāṁ vacanaṁ śrutvā yathādharmaṁ samācharet*" I. 275). The bird warns the king against too constant an engrossment in attractive wordly enjoyments,[10] for, in that case his enemies may multiply on account of his heedlessness to state matters. The king should protect his own dominion consisting of both towns and countryside (*paurajānapadaṁ rāshṭraṁ*) and maintain the people of both and his own retinue by creating easy availability of all their essential requisites, so that his own men might not be weaned away by his enemies (*"bhogadravyapradānena abhedyapurusho bhave"* I. 275). A policy of concession or favour to the poor and protection of the rich in newly acquired territories should be adopted by him. He is exhorted to cultivate friendship (*mitra-bandha*) and not enmity (*vaira-bandha*) with rival kings (*paṭirāja*), for, all people worship those kings who contract abiding friendship with other kings (*"dṛiḍhamitrāṁ hi rājāno pūjenti aparā prajā"*—I. 276). A king should not indulge in incoherent talk, but should resort to deliberation on politics based on reasons and should always guard against divulgence of state-secrets, for, kings whose secrets leak out fall into various distresses (*"bhinna-mantrā hi rājendra anubhonti vyasanaṁ bahuṁ*—I. 276). Enemies of a king who can guard his secrets remain as slaves to him out of fear of estrangement from their own friends by the secret policy of their rival. The king should always provide for the protection and security of his law-abiding subjects, for, it should be remembered that the wheel of *dharma* or proper duties can only turn, if it can depend on the driving force of the king's military strength.[11] A king's state can be prosperous (*riddha*), developed (*sphīta*) and populous (*janākula*), if he can arrange for the protection of his people through righteous ways. Thus can accrue temporal welfare here (*drishta-dharme*) and spritual happiness hereafter (*samparāye*).

The lecture of the maynah-bird refers to the dictum that every state stands on two columns,[12] viz., the king's gain of hitherto unpossessed property and protection of his of own original possessions. A king should know whom to punish or coerce, or whom to reward, whom to collect (to his own side) and whom to favour, otherwise he may lose[13] his own material progress. A king should be careful enough not to appoint to high posts of State in the frontier tracts, villages and the country-sides his own sons and brothers, if they are found to be valiant, violent and vile in temperament. Claimants to royal patrimony should not be humiliated, for, in that case they become

10. "रञ्जनीयेषु कामेषु मातिवेलं प्रमी (मा ?) द्यहि। प्रमत्तस्य हि कामेहि परश्चत्रु वलीयति" ॥ (I. 275)

11. "धर्म्मस्थितेषु आरचां सदा कुर्य्यासि पार्थिव। वलचक्रं हि निश्राय धर्मचक्रं प्रवत्तते ॥" (I. 277)

12. "द्विभिस्तु पादकैस्तात अव लोकः प्रतिष्ठितः। अलब्धलाभो अर्थस्य लब्धस्य परिरचणम् ॥" (I. 277)

13. "यो नियहं न जानाति प्रगहं वा जनाधिप। संयहानुयहं चापि सो अर्थात् परिहायति ॥" (I. 278)

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enemies madly active for doing mischief (*"vimānitā hi dāyādyā udbhrāntā bhonti śatravaḥ"*—I. 277). A king should always think of the means of augmenting his own resources, curbing his enemies and commiserating his subjects in their difficulties and distresses. He should be careful about movements of strangers near him, who might attempt to overhear his conversation with his own men. He should also keep a close watch over those who are brave and rich, who are prone to be won over by money, who are powerful in counselling or policy-making and who are ireful by nature. In selecting ministers the king should appoint persons[14] who are politicians (*arthachintaka*), who are learned, uncovetous and loyal, and who are also leaders of men. A learned minister conduces by his wisdom to the welfare and happiness of the State and its ruler (*rāshṭrādhipati*). Then this bird-lecturer advises King Brahmadatta to institute a strong system of espionage, for, there is no efficient eye like the spy and no policy like spying system (*"nāsti chārasamaṁ chakshuḥ nāsti chārasamo nayo"*—I. 279). The police people must also be steady workers.

The third bird, the parrot, discoursed on the five sources of power which the king should possess, viz., (1) brothers (*sahaja-balaṁ*), (2) sons (*putra-balaṁ*), (3) kinsmen and allies (*jñāti-mitra-balaṁ*), (4) four-fold army (*chaturaṅga-balaṁ*) and (5) unsurpassed wisdom or intellect (*anuttaraṁ prajñābalaṁ*). A king endowed with these five kinds of power is sure to make his kingdom permanently established. Of all these the power of intellect (of himself and his counsellors) is of the highest value, for, by means of this the king can win over both the discontented (*kṛitya*) and the contented (*akṛitya*) people, i.e., those factious people who can be conciliated by foul means and also those good people who cannot be so easily won over. That chancellor of a king is highly honoured who appoints[15] to high offices of State eminent persons who are brave, heroic and skilful. A king must not forget that disaffected people may possibly seek for a new master or ruler (*"viraktā prakṛitayo cha anyaṁ mārganti svāmikaṁ*—I. 281) to rule over them. Lastly, the bird-lecturer refers to the most essential virtue[16] of a king, namely, the adoption of a righteous and moral course of conduct by shunning the unrighteous and immoral one, and thus only can be expected to acquire fame in this world and heaven in the next. This is exactly the seemly conduct which king Aśoka stood for and the spirit of which breathed throughout all his moral edicts. Almost an echo of the Aśokan sentiments of high morality pervades through this advice of the parrot-politician when he addresses the king of Benares to adopt a proper conduct towards his parents (*"Dharmaṁ chara Mahārāja mātāpitṛishu pārthiva"*—I. 281), his sons and wives (*putra-dāre*), his allies and counsellors (*mitrāmātye*), Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (*Śramaṇe Brāhmaṇe*), and citizens and country-folk (*pure*

14. "अमात्यं देव कुर्यासि पण्डितमर्थचिन्तकं। अलुब्धमनुरक्तं च राष्ट्रस्य परिणायकं॥" (I. 279)

15. "अतीव सत्कृतो भवति पण्डितो अर्थचिन्तकः। वरान् यो च स्थापयति शूरां वीरां विचक्षणां॥" (I. 281)

16. "यशं च इह लोकस्मिं संपराये च स्वर्गति। अधर्मं परिवर्जेत्वा धर्ममाचरते सदा॥" (I. 281)

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janapadeshu). He is lastly advised to exercise rule righteously here and hereafter (*Dharmaṁ chara Mahārāja asmiṁ loke paratra cha*"—I. 281).

Any casual reader of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* will be able to observe that the above political maxims and doctrines of the *Mahāvastu* are mere reflections of some of Kauṭilya's own political views. It may be declared that the compiler or compilers of this Buddhist book possessed an excellent knowledge of not only the political philosophy of Kauṭilya himself, the chancellor of the Mauryya emperor, Chandragupta, but also of the *dharma-rājya* principle of his grandson, the Buddhist monarch, Aśoka. It may be remarked by the way that a close study of the language and ideas of the *Mahāvastu* will clear away many doubts in the interpretation of the form and content of the Aśokan records.

From the few references made by me above, you may easily presume that the *Mahāvastu* is certainly to be treated as a classical source of materials for ancient Indian history and that this generally unexplored source should be ransacked properly by scholars. I cannot estimate our sense of deep gratitude to that eminent French savant, M. Senart, who edited this invaluable treatise in three big volumes and published them from Paris so long ago in 1882, 1890 and 1897 respectively and he had to work by himself on this arduous task for not less than fifteen years.

Lastly, I wish to speak a few words on the future of Indian Epigraphy in the reconstruction of ancient Indian history. Epigraphy or a scientific study of inscriptions on stones, copper-plates, coins, seals and other archæological objects forms a most reliable and definite source of supply of materials for such a reconstruction. It is a more accurate claimant to historical truth than the other sources of ancient Indian history, e.g., the literary treatises, chronicles and foreign travellers' accounts. India is very rich in epigraphic documents and records belonging to the various periods of her history, having been already discovered by thousands and published ; and many are yet being discovered in different parts of our country and in Greater India regions almost daily. Ancient Indian inscriptions form by themselves a particular branch of Indian literature and its study is a great necessity for all people to form a full idea of Indian culture and civilisation throughout the different ages. Generally speaking, these inscriptions, specially those which are *praśastis* or eulogia of great emperors or provincial rulers or their ministers, and also those which are donative documents of kings granting by means of copper-plate charters, lands or other objects to Brāhmaṇs and others, or making dedications in honour of some gods or temples or monasteries etc. are mostly written in Sanskrit or Prakrit including Pali, either in prose or in verse or in mixed prose and verse (i.e., in *champū* form).

Perhaps Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (II. 10) has in it the oldest extant discourse on the method of preparation of royal writs (*śāsanas*) by expert composers and scribes endowed with literary qualifications befitting their task. Yājñavalkya, the law-giver, later dealt with the important characteristics of such documents (*lekhyas*). Strangely enough, a verse[17] in an old inscription

17. मुद्रायुक्तं क्रियायुक्तं भुक्तियुक्तं सचिह्नकम्। राजस्वहस्तयुक्तं तु युक्तिमायाति शासनम्" ॥

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itself, the Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭarāja (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. III. No. 40) states in a nut-shell as to how a *śāsana,* to be a perfect one, should possess a seal, the royal sign-manual, the mention of the boundary marks of the lands granted, their situation in the particular geographical locality and the special occasion or purpose of its issue, as its essential characteristics. In this connection I may tell my younger friends, intent on carrying on researches in epigraphic deeds and records, to remember that just as we can sometimes cull historical information from literary works, so we can also get literary information from the larger inscriptions of ancient India. By literary value of the epigraphs we should mean not only their form, language, style and metre, but also their possible contribution to our understanding the true nature of the culture of the Indian nation by their incidental reference to the various lores prevailing in contemporary India during particular periods in particular localities. It is quite possible to gather fine samples of literary art from the inscriptions and discuss their value and importance in writing the history of Indian literature.

Then, for a proper interpretation of the epigraphic documents, you have got to be quite proficient not only in the languages in which they are garbed, but also in the various important branches of Indian learning, viz., philosophy, rhetoric, prosody, grammar, etc. in addition to your general knowledge of the legal treatises and works on ancient polities, economics and administration. Without proficiency in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrits it is not quite possible for scholars to carry on effective researches in Indian Epigraphy. For a comparative study of ancient culture in the different parts of South-East Asian countries, knowledge of all these languages seems to be essential, for mostly Sanskrit has been used in the epigraphs discovered in many such countries. It is with the spread of Sanskrit and its dialects that the extension of Aryan civilisation took place in various parts of India and outside in very early period of history. Real research-work demands proper and adequate knowledge of these languages, otherwise imperfections and errors are bound to occur and may sometimes mislead the future generations. We shall have to make hard efforts to achieve definite and right historical results which will stand the test of time. We should not always be guided by others' translation of epigraphic and other texts, but should dive deep into the genius of the languages in which our materials are written and this method, if adopted, may create in us a revising power enabling us to find out defects in previous translators' work. It may be said incidentally that for making researches in the history of Buddhism scholars should also require some knowledge of Tibetan and Chinese languages.

All of us know that the goddess of ancient Indian culture rides on the *vāhana* or vehicle of Sanskrit ; and Pali and Prakrits act sometimes as its kindred allies. Neglect these languages and you lose the chance of assessing the true values of all historical materials composed in them. If younger scholars want to be good epigraphists they should not only be sufficiently equipped with good knowledge of the languages of the epigraphs, but they should also read carefully through the important inscriptional records already

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deciphered and published in various journals and corpora, and thus they may expect to decipher, interpret and edit properly and scientifically new inscriptions which may be discovered from time to time in future.

It may be somewhat easier to become a palæographist than to be an epigraphist. Palæography to be accurate requires the decipherer to become also an epigraphist, possessing adequate and precise knowledge of Sanskrit and other allied languages and their literature. Some of our own research-colleagues in India are good archæologists but not so good linguists too ; a few of them are both ; and others are only linguists. Researches in ancient Indian history and culture require that we should strive to be both archæologists and linguists simultaneously. Some of our late historians and researchists often committed deplorable mistakes in interpreting historical documents for want of sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit and allied languages. In the field of research-work in epigraphy we should try to emulate learned epigraphists of the type of Bühler, Keilhorn, Hultzsch, Rapson, Thomas, Konow, Lüders, R. G. Bhandarkar, D. R. Bhandarkar, H. P. Sastri, Krishna Sastri, K. N. Dikshit and such other eminent scholars who were all high-class Sanskritists. I may specially mention in this connection that great credit should go to our friend Dr. R. C. Majumdar's laudable but very arduous efforts to edit in a proper manner inscriptions found in Cambodia and Suvarṇadvīpa etc., as they are of the greatest value for understanding the scope and extent of expansion of Indian culture in the Far-East countries of Asia.

In this context I also wish most reluctantly to cite a few glaring mistakes committed by some great scholars in the interpretation of certain words and phrases in old texts, but I have refrained from naming their names here. Two such scholars have translated the Prakrit word *'putadasa'* occurring in a Nanaghat Cave Inscription as *putradasya* in Sanskrit, but this does not suit the context at all. They could not ascertain its real Sanskrit form *'pūrttadasya'*, i.e., a giver of *pūrtta*[18] works (e.g., excavation of wells, tanks lakes etc., erection of temple, alms-giving and laying of parks and gardens). Another friend probably not knowing that the Pali phrases *rāga-dosha* and *Rāhulovāda* should respectively be rendered into Sanskrit as *rāga-dveshau* (affection or attachment and hatred or aversion) and *Rāhulāvavādaḥ* (exhortation to Rāhula) wrongly translated them respectively as *rāga-doshau* and *Rāhula-vādaḥ* (Pali dosha = Sanskrit *dvesha ;* and Pali *ovāda* = Sanskrit *avavāda*). A third scholar spells the word *mahāpajāpati* (ending in a short *i*) when taken as an adjective to Gotamī who is to be really deemed as *mahāpajapatī* (a Pali word ending in a long *ī*) meaning in Sanskrit *mahāprajāvatī, i.e.* a great mother (of children). A great Palist has missed, while interpreting the Pali word *hāso* used in the *Dhammapada,* its real import in that particular context where it has nothing properly to do with the Sanskrit word *hāsaḥ* (laughter) derived from the root *has,* to laugh ; but the word is to be taken as being derived from the root *hṛish,* to feel delighted, and this Pali word is to

18. Cf. "वापीकूपतडागादि देवतायतनानि च। अन्नप्रदानमारामः पूर्त्तं मित्यभिधीयते" ॥

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be equated with the Sanskrit word *harshaḥ* (*Harsha* > *hassa* > *hāsa*). It is only to warn the next generation of scholars against the commitment of similar mistakes that these few instances are here mentioned. How to become a right interpreter of old texts is a great question before us.

Want of adequate knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and the technical contrivances used by Pāṇini which are very much required for the right interpretation of the aphorisms of his *Ashṭādhyāyī* led an eminent historian to commit a grave mistake in refuting the correct view held by Grierson on the accomplished fact of deification of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa) even before Pāṇini's time. He thinks that "there is nothing in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini to warrant such a conclusion." Such a view of this scholar seems to us to be unwarranted. His other view that "from the context both Vāsudeva and Arjuna of (Pāṇini's) *sūtra,* IV. 3. 98, are to be understood as Kshatriyas" is also erroneous. This *sūtra*[19] is to be explained with the help of the words *"so'sya"* and *"bhaktiḥ"* carried over here from the two previous *sūtras,* IV. 3. 89 and IV. 3. 95 respectively. So in deriving the word *Vāsudevakaḥ,* for instance, we shall have to take recourse to the affix *vun* attached to the word Vāsudeva, and the derived word will really mean 'a person to whom Vāsudeva is a godly object of homage or worship.' In assessing the nature of worship meant in this *sūtra* that scholar depending on Weber's and Hopkins' views is of opinion that it is a kind of hero-worship offered to Vāsudeva taken as a Kshatriya and not a worship suitable to be offered to a deity. Be it remembered that the next *sūtra*[20] IV. 3. 99 means that (instead of *vun*) *vuñ* is the affix to be attached to words which are *gotrākhya* and *kshatriyākhya.* Now the question arises that as Vāsudeva, for example, is also a *Kshatrīyākhya* word, there was no necessity of this word (*Vāsudeva*) being dealt with separately in the previous *sūtra,* for, the form *Vāsudevakaḥ* would have easily been obtained by the addition of the affix *vuñ* to the word Vāsudeva by the next *sūtra.* The historian-scholar criticising the view of Grierson has not at all followed the grammatical logic which has been rightly explained by *Patañjali*[21] (*c.* 150 B.C.) and the Kāśikākāras[22] (*c.* 650 A.D.) who have observed carefully that the word Vāsudeva in that particular *sūtra* of Pāṇini does not denote a Kshatriya, but a particular deified person of that name. These old commentators of Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* must have based their arguments on such points on traditional interpretation of this grammarian's *sūtras.* As both the words Vāsudeva and Arjuna are not to be treated as *Kshatriyākhya* but as deified beings, the word Arjuna should have been placed first in the *sūtra,* for, it is a shorter word, or a word containing lesser vowels or it has a vowel in the beginning ; but as Vāsudeva as a deified person is an object of greater worship or reverence, it is placed before the word Arjuna in the *sūtra.* So it appears

19. "वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्"—iv. 3; 98.

20. "गोत्रचरियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ्"—iv. 3. 99.

21. "नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या संज्ञैषा तत्रभवतः"।

22. "किमर्थं वासुदेवग्रहणम्। संज्ञैषा दैवताविशेषस्य न क्षत्रियाख्या। अल्पाच्तरमजाद्यदन्तमिति वार्जुनशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातमकुर्वन् ज्ञापयत्यभ्यर्हितं पूर्वं निपततीति"।

certain that Vāsudeva was apotheosized or deified even before Pāṇiṇi's own time, not to speak of the second century B.C. which was considered by that scholar to be the earliest time for his being referred to as 'a god of gods' in the Besnagar Pillar Inscription. I have discussed the point at some length here because I felt that such a checking revision of the views of scholars on particular topics was necessary for the guidance of future generation of seekers of historical truths.

I have laid bare my mind on research-work in Indian Epigraphy and suggested certain means for resolving some of the difficulties that students of history might meet with during their work. In conclusion I want to chalk out some lines of researches for adoption by willing younger researchists. Some of them may attempt to study inscriptions of all periods of history and assess their literary value, so that the history of ancient Indian literature may partly be re-written in that light. Some again may take up careful study of the so-called historical *kāvyas*, the *Rājataraṅginī*, the *Harshacharita*, the *Rāmacharita* etc., and the Buddhist works like the *Mahāvastu*, the *Divyāvadāna* etc. for collecting valuable materials for the political, social, economic, religious and cultural history of ancient India. Some others who are eager to carry on researches on ancient Indian political and administrative institutions may be advised to ascertain from their study of the classical Sanskrit epics (*mahākāvyas*) and the dramas written by such great poets as Bhāsa, Kālidasa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Bhaṭṭi, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Śrīharsha, Viśākhadatta and others as to how far they have used in particular contexts the contents and ideas of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and other *nītiśāstras*. Some students may take up a re-study of the Aśokan inscriptions and make a comparative assessment of their language with that used in the *Mahāvastu* written in a Mixed speech and try to arrive at a true interpretation of certain words and expressions of that much-discussed documents in the light of certain ideas and expressions found in that Buddhist work. There is no doubt that everyone of us here present must have come to this meeting of the History Congress more to learn than to teach. It is indeed a matter of pride that such a galaxy of eminent and distinguished scholars in history has assembled here to exchange notes on their individual contributions to the field of Indian historical researches.

In these days of our political independence and freedom of thought and speech, specially after India's emergence as a great Republic, we must not spare ourselves to carry on historical researches, but we should try to make a stir in the world of thought and knowledge by speaking truly of our past. It is well said by some scholras that true history performs a great social service. We should not forget that intellectual honesty is an object of deep adoration. We must not only look back with pride to the ancient history of our country, with its large heritage in all branches of learning, but we must also look forward to the future for making newer history by our achievements and gradual progress in researches and for the attainment of such results we must enlarge our vision afresh and collect enthusiastic spirit anew, always keeping to truth.

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Let us hope we shall be able to become impartial and right interpreters of our history and culture, and succeed in establishing a scholarly genealogy between ourselves and the next generation of students who would work in the same field of researches in Indology with equal, or rather greater ardour and assiduity. May the Almighty pour down His blessings on scholars who have gathered here to satisfy their hunger for new knowledge of historical materials for a reconstruction of ancient Indian history and culture!

THE MEGALTITHIC TOMBS AND THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

The best specimens of these tombs have been found in the Hyderabad State. Their earliest explorer was Col. Meadows Taylor.[1] Many years after Dr. E. H. Hunt followed his steps.[2] Later the Archaeological Department of the State has explored a number of them. Let us take the latter as a starting point. Two of these tombs in the Hashampet heights, very near the capital of the State, after being explored by the Archaeological Department have been left open, thanks to the interest and care of Sir A. T. Mackenzie, Resident of Hyderabad and Mr. G. Yazdani, the Director of Archaeology. Accordingly one may study them *in situ* with no inconvenience at all.

These monuments of Hashampet are only noticeable before excavation by circles of roundish granite boulders deeply embedded in the earth. We shall speak about these circles of stone later. These circles of stone, usually called *cairns,* mark the place where a tomb is located. The two cairns excavated at Hashampet are very striking specimens of this sort of burial. If the space within the circle is fully excavated a circular pit or well will result in the centre of which twenty or twentyfive feet below the surface the cists or funeral chambers will be found.

They are chambers four, five or five and a half feet high, and three or four feet broad, the length being more or less the length of a corpse. They are formed by six slabs leaving no entrance at all. When the cist is very long, the upper portion is sometimes covered by two or three slabs.

In the largest tomb at Hashampet a very strange construction was found between the slab near the head of the corpse and the wall of the pit. It is a sort of a wall of stones and pebbles mixed with earth on the top of which two parallel granite slabs are erected both parallel to the edge of the top slab. Mr. Yazdani thinks that probably two persons had been buried there, the two slabs being a sign of the two corpses. Yet only remains of one corpse were found.

1. Meadows Taylor, *Notices of Cromlechs, Cairns and other ancient Sytho-Druidical Remains in the Principality of Soʻupur."* *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IV, pp. 381 ff.
2. Hunt, *Hyderabad Cairn Burials, op. cit.*, p. 147.

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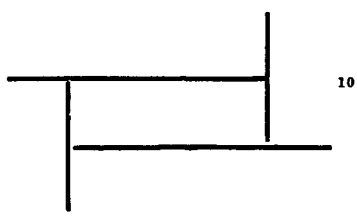
The funeral monuments of the Pudukkottai State are somewhat different at first sight. In the centre of the circle of stones the cist or funeral chamber rises totally or partially, viz., sometimes the full chamber is built over the circle of stone, sometimes the upper portion of it only rises above it. On many instances the upper slab and the slabs of the two ends have disappeared, only the two side slabs remain. In many cases under the bottom slab of this upper chamber another funeral chamber is found. Mr. Venkata Ranga Raju, the then diligent and experienced Curator of the Pudukkottai Museum, opened more than 100 of these tombs and in many of them he discovered several chambers. Some of the tombs of Maula Ali offer the same appearance: the stone chamber appears at times in the centre of the stone circle.[3]

This kind of megaltithic tomb is very common in South India. There are many in the Nilgiris[4] and in the districts of Kolar,[5] Coimbatore[6] and British Malabar.[7] But they are most numerous in the Hyderabad State. Dr. Hunt says that if one numbers one thousand groups of tombs and a hundred thousand actual tombs of this kind in the Hyderabad State, these figures will be under the mark.[8]

The ordinary system of construction of these tombs resembles a house of cards: six slabs, one at the bottom, four being the wall of the tomb and another one covering the whole structure. The side or wall slabs are not placed over the bottom slab, but planted on the earth next to the edge of that slab. The side slabs are often perpendicularly straight, but occasionally are slanting towards the centre. The tombs of the Upper Godāveri District have no bottom slab. The corpse lies on the earth. On the other hand, the cap slab, which is always larger than the bottom slab, in these tombs has extra-ordinary dimensions.[9] In Mysore and in the Salem District the four wall slabs are erected in such a way as to have one of the side edges touching the contiguous wall slab, the opposite end projecting beyond the corner of the bottom slab in a *swastika* like plan, thus:



3. Hunt, *Hyderabad Cairns, Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, I, p. 187.
4. Breeks, *An account of the Primitive tribes and monuments of the Nilgiris*, p. 106 (London, 1873).
5. Cole, *Cromlechs in Maisur, I.A.*, II, p. 86.
6. Walhouse, *Notes on the Megalithic Monuments of the Coimbatore District, Madras, J. R. A. S.*, VII, p. 17.
7. M. J. W., *Remarks on the Communications of Mr. J. H. Garstin and E.W.W. respecting Dolmens and Extinct Races, I.A.*, V, p. 256.
8. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
9. Vanstavern, *Notes on the Antiquities found in Parts of the Upper Godāvari and Kṛishnā Districts, I.A.*, IV, p. 305.
10. Murray—Aynsley, *Discursive Contributions towards the Comparative Study of Asiatic Symbolism, I.A.*, XV, p. 65.

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In some tombs found at Konur, three miles from Gokak, there is in front a passage of stones that leads to the funeral cell.[11] Similar to this seems to be the construction in front of another tomb at Haggaritgi, Shorapur in the Hyderabad State.[12] This sort of a passage or corridor leading to the tomb is also very common in the tombs or dolmens of Syria,[13] Spain,[14] Portugal,[15] France,[16] England[17] and Ireland.[18]

Some of these tombs are of extraordinary dimensions. At Bowenpilly, Hyderabad State, there is one which is 9 ft. high.[19] Another one at Kompilly, in the same state, is as large as to admit 20 men at a time.[20]

The plan, elevation and construction of these tombs are not in any way different from the plan, elevation and construction of similar monuments in Syria, Libya, Crete, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, England and Ireland.[21]

All these little differences are only modifications of the same original idea of burying the dead inside a stone chamber. In this connection it is interesting to notice that the actual Tamil word for tomb is a perfect description of these prehistoric tombs: *Kalarai,* i.e. literally, "stone chamber". One cannot doubt that those tombs and the origin of this word must be contemporary, for the modern people of the Tamilnadu do not identify these monuments as the tombs of old days. At present they are usually called Kurangavid—"House of monkeys, Dwelling of monkeys".

But there is still another point of contact between those tombs and the historical documents of India. The elevation of one of these tombs will be schematically drawn thus . Now the sign for death in the Mohenjo-Daro script is a clear pictograph of these tombs that resembles the above schematic drawing . The sign reads *kā* (later *kāvu,* present *sāvu,*) "death". The square structure is evidently the elevation of the tomb. The little arrow below is the numeral "one" *or,* with the determinative of personality this being *orvan,* one man. Therefore it stands for a man buried under the funeral monument. This clearly shows that the origin of the Mohenjo-Daro script must also be contemporary with the prehistoric tombs of South India.

11. J. B., *The Dolmens at Konur and Aiholli, I.A.,* III, pp. 306-307.
12. Meadows Taylor, *Notices of Cromlechs, Cairns and other ancient Sytho—Druidical Remains in the Principality of Sorapūr," J.B.B.R.A.S.,* IV, p. 383.
13. Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland,* III, p. 727.
14. *Ibid.,* II, pp. 650, 693.
15. *Ibid.,* II, pp. 449, 668.
16. *Ibid.,* II, pp. 450, 612, 630.
17. *Ibid.,* II, pp. 449, 458, 464.
18. *Ibid.,* II, pp. 303, 321, 325, 331.
19. Hunt, *Hyderabad Cairn Burials, op. cit.,* p. 147.
20. *Ibid.,* p. 141.
21. Cf. Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland,* II, pp. 476-712.

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WHEN DID THE SĀTAVĀHANA DYNASTY BEGIN TO RULE?

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR

One of the most debated questions in the sphere of Ancient Indian history is the date of the beginning of the Sātavāhana rule. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar advocated the view that the rise of the Sātavāhana power should be placed during the 2nd quarter of the first century B.C.[1] Later on Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,[2] Raychoudhari[3] and D. C. Sircar[4] accepted this view. V. A. Smith, on the other hand, argued that the rise of the dynasty should be placed in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. and this view has been accepted by the *Cambridge History of India*. I have no fresh evidence to place before scholars in this paper, but propose to discuss the known evidence afresh. I shall first state the arguments in favour of the first theory.

(1) The most cogent argument in behalf of this theory is the unanimous statement of the Purāṇās that Simuka, the first Andhra (i.e. Sātavāhana king), will rise to power after overthrowing the last Kaṇva ruler Suśarman and destroying what remained of the Śunga power.[5] It is generally assumed that the Sungas ruled from *c.* 187 to 75 B.C. and the Kaṇvas from *c.* 75 to 30 B.C. It is therefore maintained by this school that the rise of Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, should be placed in the third quarter of the first century B.C.

(2) This would lead to the conclusion that the dynasty ruled for about two and half centuries only ; we can now well understand why one *Purāṇic* tradition asserts in round number that the rule of the Sātavāhanas lasted for three centuries only.

(3) Normally speaking about 17 or 18 kings only can flourish during this period, and we can now well understand why one *Paurāṇic* tradition enumerates 18 Andhra kings only.

(4) If we assume that the Sātavāhana dynasty consisted of about thirty kings who ruled for about 450 years, we have to assume a big gap of about 150 years between the earlier and later Sātavāhana kings known to us from inscriptions and coins. This gap disappears almost altogether if we place the rise of Simuka in *c.* 30 B.C.

(5) R. P. Chanda has drawn attention to the palaeographical difficulties in accepting the theory that Sātakarṇi, the 3rd Sātavāhana ruler known to us from his Nanaghat record, flourished in *c.* 175 B.C. He points out that palaeographically the Nanaghat inscription of Sātakarṇi comes midway

1. *B. G.*, I, ii, 166.
2. *I.A.*, 1918, p. 71.
3. P.H.A.I., p. 337.
4. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 183.
5. *Kāṇvāyanamathoddhṛitya Suśarmāṇaṁ prasahya taṁ Śuṅgānāṁ chāpi yachchhishṭam kshapayitvā balīyasaḥ Śiśuko' Andhrajātiyaḥ prapsyaīraṅ vasundharām.*

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between the Besnagar inscription of Heliiodorus (*c.* 100 B.C.) and the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela (*c.* 25 B.C.) ;[6] this would place the 3rd Sātavāhana king by the middle of the 1st century B.C. and not of the 2nd century B.C.

(6) Marshall has further pointed out that plastic and architectural considerations show that the Chaitya Hall at Nasik does not belong to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. but is about 100 years later. The form of the entrance door-way, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persipolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvārapāla* (door-keeper) figures besides the entrance, all bespeak the date approximately contemporary with the Sanchi *Toraṇas* (gateways), i.e. *c.* 50 B.C.

The above arguments are no doubt weighty, but they are not strong enough to establish the case they seek to support. It may be pointed out that if we assume that Simuka rose to power after overthrowing the last Kaṇva king Suśarman and subduing what remained the Suṅga power, his rise has to be placed in *c.* 30 B.C. It is admitted on all hands that the Sātavāhana dynasty ended in *c.* 210 A.D. The duration of the dynasty would then be of only 240 or 250 years and not of 301 years. The Puranic tradition of the Andhra rule extending over 300 years, therefore, does not support this school and the argument No. 2 above fails.

As to argument No. 4 above, it is no doubt true that there is a big gap of about 150 years between the earlier and the later Sātavāhana kings as known from Purāṇas. But we need not, therefore, dismiss them as purely imaginary. The last seven Śunga kings are not known from any inscriptions or coins. Do we dismiss them as imaginary? For a long time not a single one among the nine Magha kings of Kausāmbī was known from their coins or inscriptions. Now, however, the existence of most of them is proved by epigraphical or numismatic evidence. Archaeological sites of the Sātavāhana period of both of the States of Hyderabad and Madhyapradesha, over which the Sātavāhanas ruled, are not yet properly explored ; it is therefore too early to say that the rulers between Sātakarṇī II and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi were all imaginary. Recent numismatic discoveries have proved the existence of four Sātavāhana rulers not known to Purāṇas—Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi, Śaka Sātakarṇi and Kosikiputra Sātakarṇi. It would therefore be hazardous to say that the Purāṇas exaggerate the number of the Sātavāhana kings when they give at to 30. It is quite likely that the existence of many of the Paurāṇic kings would be proved in course of time by further archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic discoveries. It is, therefore, hardly sound to assume, as is done in argument No. 3 above, that there were only 18 kings in the dynasty and, therefore, it could not have ruled for 450 years.

If we assume that the Sātavāhanas rose to power in the Deccan by *c.* 50 B.C., there arises a vacuum of more than a century which cannot be

6. *M.A.S.B.*, I, pp. 14-15.

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explained. The Maurya empire which included the states of Bombay and Hyderabad, collapsed by *c.* 200 B.C. These states were not completely integrated in the empire ; a number of Rathikas, Bhojas and Petenikas ruled in them in a feudatory capacity, enjoying considerable autonomy. It is, therefore, rather difficult to assume that no movement for the establishment of an independent state arose among them, when the Mauryan empire began to show signs of weakness. If we assume that Simuka rose to power in *c.* 50 B.C., we have to assume that no ruler arose to take advantage of the confusion resulting from the collapse of the Mauryan empire for about a century and half. This is rather inexplicable. We are not faced with this difficulty, if we place the rise of Simuka in *c.* 200 B.C. The span of the dynasty can then exceed four centuries, as is suggested by the Purāṇas. We can also well understand how the number of kings, who ruled during this period, should be about 30 and not 18.

As to argument No. 1 above, it is true that the statement of the Purāṇas that Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, rose to power after overthrowing the last Kaṇva king Suśarman, no doubt tends to support the theory of the rise of the Sātavāhanas by *c.* 30 B.C. If we assume this statement to be literally true, it goes against the assertion of the Purāṇas that the Andhras (i.e. Sātavāhanas) ruled for three centuries. The duration of the dynasty would be of only 240 years, a view which is not supported by any Paurāṇic tradition. We have, therefore, to explain the Paurāṇic tradition in some other way. There is sufficient evidence to show that the Sātavāhanas extended their power to Mālwā by the middle of the 1st century B.C. It is quite possible that they may have come into conflict with the last Kaṇva king at this time, as also with some scions of the Suṅga family, who may have been ruling as petty feudatories in or near Mālwā, which was probably their ancestral home. The Paurāṇic tradition probably confused the overthrower of Suśarman with the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty and ascribed him that feat, thus making him live by the middle of the 1st century B.C. A verse in the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* says that the base-born Andhra king will rule only for a short time after killing Suśarman.[7] This would suggest that the Andhra intervention at Pāṭaliputra was of a short duration. The keepers of the Paurāṇic tradition, who belonged to Madhyadesa, did not know much about the Andhra interloper and, therefore, confounded him with the founder of the dynasty, when they later got its full list in the 4th century A.D., at the time the Purāṇas were given their present form.

We should further note that the statement of the Paurāṇic tradition that Śimuka, the founder of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty overthrew the last Kaṇva king, is inherently difficult to believe. How can the founder of a new house at distant Pratishṭhāna or Paithan grow suddenly so powerful as to overthrow the imperial dynasty of northern India ruling at far-off Pāṭaliputra? The Chālukyas defeated Harsha, the *suzerain* of northern India,

7. *Hatvā Kāṇvaṁ Suśarmānaṁ tadbhrityo vrishalo balī* I, *Gāṁ bhokshatyandhrajātīyo kaṁchit kālamasattamaḥ* II, Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 38.

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but during the reign of Pulakeśin II, the 4th ruler of their house. The Rāshṭrakūṭas shattered their rivals in northern India, but during the rule of Dhruva and Govinda III, the 4th and 5th rulers of their dynasty. The Marathas could bring the Moghuls of northern India under their control, but only a century after the rise of their power under Shivaji. Logic of history thus favours our hypothesis that not Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, but a descendant of his succeeded in defeating the last Kaṇva ruler sometime in *c.* 30 B.C. This ruler was probably confounded with the founder of the dynasty, when the Paurāṇic accounts were given their final form in the 4th century A.D.

We shall now consider other arguments advanced in support of the theory of Śimuka being a ruler of the middle of the first century B.C. The palaeographical argument (No. 5 above) of Chanda is not quite convincing. He argues that the script of the Nanaghat inscription places it in *c.* 50 B.C., showing that that was the time of the third Sātavāhana king. He maintains that the script of this inscription is later than that of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (*c.* 100 B.C.) and earlier than the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela (*c.* 25 B.C.).[8] To compare the palaeographical developments in such widely separated provinces as Orissa, Mālwā and Konkaṇa and to conclude that a particular script in one province is earlier than that in another by 50 years or so is rather hazardous with reference to an age when communications were very difficult. Palaeographical evidence is not sufficiently decisive when the difference in time is only about a century and records concerned belong to places widely separated from one another by hundreds of miles.

Stray occurrence of advanced or archaic forms is too slight an evidence to determine precisely the date of a record when the difference between the two views is of less than a century. There is no doubt that the relieve statues at Nanaghat were raised at one and the same time. Bhagwanlal has, however, pointed out[9] how the palaeography of the inscriptions over the first and last statues shows archaic characteristics like those in the inscription of Krishṇa, and how the inscriptions over the 2nd and the 3rd statues show palaeographical affinity with that of the records of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi. We cannot, therefore, make much of the palaeographical peculiarities, when the difference is of less than a century.

Argument No. 6 above, trying to fix the date of the dynasty by the architectural forms at Nasik caves is also not convincing. Marshall has no doubt pointed out how the Sātavāhana Chaitya hall at Nasik has to be placed by the middle of the 1st century A.D. and not by the middle of the first century B.C. Even if we assume his view to be correct, it does not follow that the rise of the Sātavāhana power took place in *c.* 50 B.C. Mahāhakusiri, the grandfather of the donor of the hall, is certainly not identical with the prince Hakusiri who was a son or grandson of the third Sātavāhana king.

8. *M.A.S.B.*, I, pp. 14-15.
9. *Nasik Gazetteer*, pp. 607 ff.

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The record gives no regal titles to him, while it carefully records the official titles of a number of other personages mentioned in it, who are described as *rājāmātya, bhāṇḍāgārika,* etc. It is clear that Hakusiri was not even a minister, much less a king. We cannot, therefore, identify him with prince Hakusiri, who flourished in the 2nd century B.C. Palaeographically the record of Hakusiri is quite late and we can well accept Marshall's theory of the Chaitya hall being excavated in *c.* 50 B.C., without drawing the corollary that the Sātavāhanas rose to power at about the time the hall was excavated, viz., *c.* 50 B.C.

It may be pointed out that the date of Khāravela is not inextricably connected with the rise of the Sātavāhanas. We can well place the Kalinga king in the 1st century B.C., and still hold the view that the Sātavāhana empire was founded in *c.* 200 B.C. by assuming that the Sātakarṇi, who is mentioned as the opponent of Khāravela in that record, was not the 3rd but the 6th ruler of the dynasty. We definitely know that a number of Rathikas and Bhojakas continued as the feadatories of the Sātavāhanas, as they once were the subordinates of the Mauryas. Khāravela could well have defeated some of them by the middle of the 1st century B.C. also.

Nasik inscription of Kṛishṇa, the second Sātavāhana king, refers to *Samaṇa-mahāmātras.* This close imitation of a peculiar feature of the Aśokan administration would suuggest that Krishṇa and Aśoka were not far removed in time from each other. This circumstance lends additional weight to the view that the 2nd Sātavahana king flourished in *c.* 200 B.C. rather than in *c.* 50 B.C.

In our opinion Hathigumpha inscription supplies fairly conclusive evidence to show that Khāravela ruled in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. It is true that we can no longer maintain the view that the record contains a date described as 164th year of the Muriyakāla or Mauryan era. Rapson's argument that this year in the Mauryan era shows that Khāravela flourished in *c.* 165 B.C. does no longer hold good. It seems very probable that there is reference to the Greek king Dima in *l.* 8 of the Hathigumpha inscription ; this ruler can be no other than Demitrius I or II. The time of Khāravela would thus be *c.* 185-165 B.C. That would be time of his Sātavāham opponent king Sātakarṇi. We shall show later how the probable time of this ruler is *c.* 189-179 B.C. ; and how the two earlier kings ruled from *c.* 222 to *c.* 189 B.C.

A critical discussion of the available evidence thus shows that the Sātavāhanas rose to power in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C., soon after the death of Aśoka. If we place the accession of Simuka in *c.* 200 B.C., we can explain satisfactorily all known facts of contemporary history. We have, therefore, accepted this date for the rise of this dynasty as a working hypothesis.

If the Sātavāhana dynasty consisted of about 30 kings who ruled for about 450 years, the question may be asked as to how one section of the Purāṇas happens to record a tradition stating that there were only about 18 or 19 kings of the House, who ruled for 300 years only. The answer is not

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easy to give. It, however, appears very probable that this Paurāṇic tradition notices the duration of the dynasty subsequent to the fall of the Kaṇvas. Smith has pointed out how the duration of the dynasty works out to be 300 years. If we deduct from 457 years, the real rule period of the House according to one Paurāṇic tradition the sum of 157 years is the sum of the rule periods of the Suṅgas (112 years) and the Kaṇvas (45 years). The Sātavāhana rule was of a short duration in the north and, therefore, the full details of its list of rulers were not known to all the custodians of the Paurāṇic tradition. Some Purāṇas accepted the entire list and gave the dynasty a[10] duration of 457 years. Others deducted from this period 157 years, the reign periods of the Suṅgas and Kaṇvas, and assigned a rule of only 300 years for the House. They naturally had to knock out some kings from the list and they omitted about ten names in the middle. Smith's hypothesis is an ingenious and probable one. The theory which places the rise of the Sātavāhanas in *c.* 27 B.C. cannot explain the tradition of 300 years of their rule ; for it allows a reign period of only 250 years in the dynasty.

THE CHINESE TEMPLE OF ŚRĪ-GUPTA

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

Since Dr. D .C. Ganguly wrote his article on the original home of the Guptas[1] and I endorsed his views in a modified form[2] two scholars, Prof. Jagannath[3] and Dr. B. P. Sinha,[4] challenged the very foundation of this theory, viz. that the temple built by Śrī-Gupta was situated in Bengal. As is well-known, our only source of information is a passage of I-tsing's Memoir relating to the biography of fifty-six Chinese pilgrims who visited India. A short summary of this passage was given by Beal in *IA*, Vol. X, p. 110, and later an improved version appeared in his Introduction (p. xxxvi) to the English translation of *Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Hwui Li. But none of these is either a complete or accurate translation of the relevant passage and both have been superseded by the scholarly French translation of the whole text of I-tsing by the great sinologue E. Chavannes.[5]

10. *Z.D.M.G.*, 1902, p. 656.
1. *IHQ*, XIV, 532.
2. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 69.
3. *IHQ*, XXII, 28.
4. *JBRS*, XXXVII, parts, 3-4, pp. 138 ff. Curiously enough Dr. Sinha has made no reference to Prof. Jagannath's article although he has mostly traversed the same ground.
5. *Mémoire composé a l'époque de la Grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans le pays d'occident* par I-tsing. Traduit en Français par Edouard Chavannes (Paris, 1894).

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Unfortunately, neither Prof. Jagannath nor Dr. Sinha cared to consult this authentic translation, and both relied entirely on Beal's faulty abridgment. They have , therefore, drawn very wrong conclusions about the location of the China Temple. In a paper which I have contributed to the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* by way of a reply to Dr. Sinha's arguments, I have quoted *in extenso* the relevant extract from the French translation of Chavannes and also added the English translation of the more important passages. Here it is only necessary to show how Beal's location of the different temples differs from the authentic rendering of the text by Chavannes.

1. According to Beal, "to the west of the Tukhāra temple is the Kapiśa temple." But actually there are two paragraphs after the description of the Tukhāra temple and then follows the sentence: "To the west of the temple of Great Intelligence (Mahābodhi) is the temple of the State of Kapiśa."

2. According to Chavannes' translation, I-tsing next informs us that more than two *yojanas* to the north-east of Mahābodhi temple is the monastery called Kiu-lu-kia. Beal has expressed a doubt whether Mahābodhi here refers to the well-known temple of Gayā or the Tukhāra temple. This is evidently due to his faulty rendering of passage No. 1. As a matter of fact, there is no ambiguity here. I-tsing is here describing the environments of the Mahābodhi temple of Gayā, and this passage has nothing to do with the other temples named before. I-tsing next refers to a temple built by Ādityasena, quite close to the Kiu-li-kia monastery, and it was, therefore, quite close to Mahābodhi.

3. According to Beal's earlier version: 'about forty stages to the east of this is the Nālandā temple' and in between the two are the Deer Temple, and the China temple close to it. In his later version he omits all reference to Nālandā and places the Deer Temple itself about forty stages to the east of Ādityasena's temple.

According to the translation of Chavannes, the mention of Adityasena's temple is followed by some general observations about the absence of suitable residential accommodations for the Chinese priests in India and then occurs the following: "More than forty *yojanas* to the east of the Nālandā temple, going down the Ganga, one arrives at the temple Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no (Deer Temple of Beal)." This clear and unambiguous passage clearly locates the Deer Temple, and, therefore, also the China Temple, about forty yojonas to the east of Nālandā. It proves beyond any doubt that all the speculations of Prof. Jagannath and Dr. Sinha about the position of Deer Temple at Sārnāth or even further west are absolutely wrong. We must look for it in the western part of North Bengal which was thus included within the dominion of Śrī-Gupta who is generally regarded as the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

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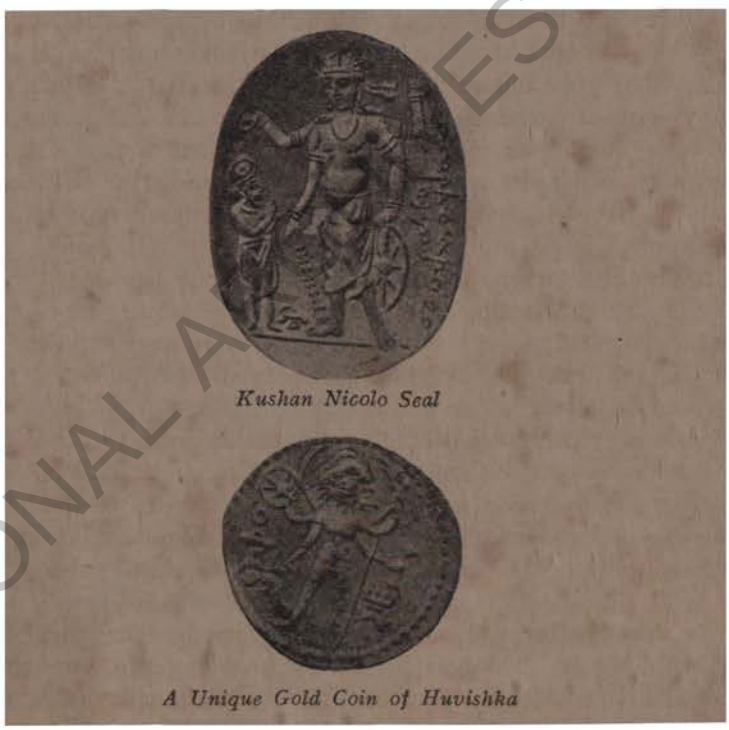
A DEVICE ON THE SO-CALLED KUSHAN NICOLO SEAL

Dr. J. N. Banerjea

Cunningham noticed a very interesting nicolo seal in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1893, pp. 126-27). He tentatively attributed it to the Kushan king Huvishka, for he identified an alien princely figure appearing in the seal device as standing for Huvishka. The complete device on the seal can be described thus: A four-armed deity stands in the centre facing left ; in front of him is shown the figure of an alien chief nearly half the size of the divine figure, with his hands in a supplicating pose ; there is a two-line legend in Tocharian script on the right margin of the elliptical seal. The god wears a peculiar three-pointed ornamental head-gear, a lower garment (*dhoti*) worn in Indian fashion, and many ornaments ; his front right and left hands are placed on a peculiarly shaped mace and a wheel respectively, while the back ones hold two indistinct objects, possibly a ring and a flower.



Kushan Nicolo Seal

A Unique Gold Coin of Huvishka

Cunningham who could not read the legend described the deity as Vishṇu. The accompanying chief was identified by him as Huvishka on account of what he thought a similarity between his head-dress and a type of head-gear shown on some busts of the Kushan monarch on many of his gold coins. Cunningham's findings were accepted by the present writer in his *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1st Edition, pp. 143-44). But in the light of the

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subsequent researches on this topic by R. Ghirsman, Cunningham's interpretation of the whole device cannot be maintained now. Ghirsman has read the legend which the earlier scholar was unable to decipher, as *Miarka yasnu oezo,* which means "Mihira, Vishṇu and Śiva". The alien chief, according to Ghirsman's opinion, cannot stand for Huvishka. Such an identification would give the seal too early a date. The dress worn by the prince resembles the royal dress worn by the Sassanian kings from the 4th to the 6th century A.D., and the intaglio has to be assigned a date in between these periods on this very ground. The royal devotee on the seal would thus appear to have been some Hephtalite Huṇa chief who flourished a few centuries after Huvishka. The correct reading of the legend again shows that the deity is of a composite character, being a combined form of Mihira, Vishṇu and Śiva. The prince thus is not present before the single deity Vishṇu, but a combination of three gods, 'in the first place Mihira or Mithra of the Śakas of India, and the two deities from the Hindu pantheon'.[1] Ghirsman finds in this peculiar figure the adaptation by the Śakas in India of the cult picture of Mithraism in Western world in the early centuries of the Christian era. Mithra is depicted there as sacrificing, flanked by two persons, one holding the head of the bull being sacrificed by one hand, his other hand carrying a raised torch, while the other figure holds a lowered torch and a scorpion in his two hands. The symbolism underlying this composition has been explained by the writer in this manner: 'The bull in the Indian religion is the symbol of the principal divinity who symbolises the force and the life, while the scorpion is that of death. Thus, Mithra in his function of the saviour forms a triad with the two.' One such composition in an early monument has the legend *nama nama sebesio ;* it has been explained by Scheftelowitz as "adoration, adoration to the three saints". Ghirsman, while comparing this with the seal device in question, further observes: 'To that monument of the cult of Mithra Sun, the redeemer, worshipped by the Iranian adepts, corresponds the nicolo seal which is of great importance for the study of the religion of the Śakas of India, strongly impregnated with syncretism, where Mihira, the sun-god and the saviour, forms a triad with Vishṇu, the dispenser of life, and Śiva, its destroyer'.

One may not agree with our author about his explanation of the bull in the well-known Mithraic composition of the Western world as standing for the Indian deity Śiva. But there is no doubt that the device in the seal illustrates in a very striking manner the idea of syncretism present in India from a very early period. The period to which this seal belongs marks an age during which the well-known Brāhmaṇical cults (Vaishṇava, Śaiva and Saura) had developed to a great extent along their own lines. But even during the growth of this separatist tendencies among the religious-minded Hindus, a substratum of rapprochement and reconciliation was discernible among a section of them. A few instances of syncretism similar to the one noticeable in the present seal device, some of a much earlier while others of a later period, can be cited with the help of archaeological data. One of the earliest

1. R. Ghirsman, *Les Chionites Hephtalites,* pp. 55-6.

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Chaturmukha Liṅga showing Gaṇeśa and Vishṇu on two sides, from Bihar
(By Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology)

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Image of Hari-Hara with Buddha and Sūrya as attendants, from Bihar
(By Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology)

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instances of syncretism to be found on a coin device of one of the alien rulers of India is on a silver piece of Azilises. The reverse deity has been described in this manner:—'Goddess to left with diadem in right hand, shield and spear, and palm on left arm, and a mural crown on her head'.[2] The author of the *Catalogue* in which it is described draws our attention to the 'syncretic panoply of the deity, a decidedly pantheistic type'. The affiliation of the goddess, however, with any of the Brāhmaṇical cults cannot be demonstrated, and thus its evidence is not of much importance to us in this connection. But this certainly cannot be said with regard to a device appearing on a unique gold coin of Huvishka in the collection of the British Museum. The figure usually identified as Śiva has been described by Gardner in this manner: 'Śiva facing, three-headed, nimbate; clad only in waist-band, ithyphallic; has four arms and hands, in which are goat, wheel, thunderbolt and trident'.[3] A glance at the device will show that *triśūla, vajra* and *chakra* are recognisable in the front left, back left and back right hands respectively, the goat or antelope in the front right is less distinct. The heads all encircled by a halo seem to be three in number, but whether they are all human is questionable; the left face of the figure seems to be leonine in character. This feature of the device was noticed by the present writer long ago, and the following remark was passed:—'The *chakra* in one of the hands and the *ūrddhvaliṅga* feature, the latter so common in sculptural representations of Śiva from the late Kushan period onwards, are noteworthy characteristics. Does the type show the beginning of the interesting composite icon of Hari-Hara of subsequent days, or is it of the same nature as that of the Gandhāra sculpture of Trimūrti(?).'[4] It may be noted *in passim* that the Gandhāra sculpture has been described by Natesa Aiyar 'as a three-headed and six-armed Trimūrti, the head to the proper right being that of Vishṇu, while the one to the proper left being that of Brahmā; the central head is that of Śiva recumbent on his bull' (*A.S.I.A.R.* 1913-14, pp. 276ff., pl. LXXIIa). But from the plate, the animal appears to be an elephant instead of a bull, and the head on the proper left seems to be leonine, just as in the composite figure on Huvishka's gold coin. Whatever may be the constituent divine elements in the respective compositions, there is little doubt that syncretistic idea underlies each of them. The combination of the cult figures of Śaivism can also be traced to a very early period from some ancient foreign notices of India. The Greek author Stobaeus, flourishing in *circa* 500 A.D., quotes a passage from Bardasanes who reports the account of an Indian visiting in the time of Antoninus of Emesa (218-22 A.D.). There is a striking reference in this report to an image of Arddha-nārīśvara, the androgynous composite image of Śiva and Durgā.[5] One of the earliest representations of this composite

2. R. B. Whitehead, *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins*, Vol. I, p. 136, pl. XIII, fig. 336.
3. P. Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India*, p. 148, pl. XXVIII, fig. 16.
4. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1st Edition, p. 137.
5. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 67.

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cult emblem was traced by the present writer to a device on an early Gupta seal unearthed from Bhita by Spooner. The device represents the Arddhanārīśvara aspect of Śiva, in which the left half is that of Umā, and the right, that of the god himself.[6] Agrawala draws our attention to a miniature relief depicting the same composite cult emblem which belongs to the Kushan period.[7]

Attention of my readers may now be drawn to some early mediaeval images of central and eastern India, which would demonstrate in a very striking manner clear ideas of syncretism underlying them. In most of them the sun god forms one of the principal elements in the composition, as he enjoys the prominent role in the nicolo seal device. Many of them are described as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava, Sūrya-Brahmā—Vishṇu-Śiva. The so-called Trimūrtis found in the Bundelkhand region, an elaborate notice of which was taken by Pundit Hiralal in the *Indian Antiquary* (1918), really stand for the composite image Sūrya and Vishṇu, and should have to be properly designated as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. The unique Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava image in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum also shows in a very interesting manner the combination of the Saura and Śaiva cults. But one of the most important examples of such or even wider compositions hails from the Ḍula Deo temple at Khajuraho. It was noticed for the first time by Kramrisch in her *Hindu Temple* (Vol. II, p. 373-4, pl. V). The relief which belongs to the 10th century A.D. has been described and commented on by her in this manner:—'Eight-armed image; some of the arms are broken. The second but lowest pair might have held emblems of Vishṇu so that this image of Sūrya, the sun-god, would embrace Brahmā, the presiding divinity of the sun, Vishṇu, the presiding divinity of the moon, and Śiva who presides over the Fire (*Īśānaśivagurupaddhati*, III, Ch. XII. 27-9)'. Reference in this connection should be made to the Pīṭhamantra in the *Śāradātilaka Tantra*, which runs thus: *Brahmā-Vishṇu-Śivātmakāya Saurāya Yogapīṭhāya namaḥ* ('Adoration to the basic entity of meditation which is the Sun at one with Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva'). A composite icon of Brahmā and Sūrya can be seen in the fine 11th century image in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum first noticed by S. K. Saraswati. In many respects similar to the usual two-armed Sūrya figures of the period, this six-armed image holds in its two natural hands two fullblossomed lotuses, the emblem *par excellence* of Sūrya, the four added hands showing *varamudrā, akshamālā, abhayamudrā* and *kamaṇḍalu*. This composition corresponds no doubt to the Dhātṛi aspect of the sun, as described in the *Viśvakarmaśāstra*, but it is more in line with the types of iconic amalgams being considered here. Dhātā, the first in the list of the Dvādaśādityas, is also the synonym of Brahmā Prajāpati, and both the characters of Brahmā and Sūrya are symbolised here in a very interesting manner.[8]

This sort of syncretism was at the root of the 'Smārta amalgam',

6. *D.H.I.*, 1st. Ed., p. 199.
7. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1937, p. 124, pl. XLIV, 2.
8. *J.I.S.O.A.*, 1948, p. 90.

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according to which many Brāhmaṇical Hindus, without being really the exclusive worshippers of any one of the principal cult deities, became the adorers of the chief divinities of the five principal cults: Vaishṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura, and Gāṇapatya. This came to be technically known as *Pañchāyatana-pūjā,* incorporating in a way the Vedāntin's approach to the deity. This approach is beautifully expressed in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* delineation of the God *par excellence* in the 'Gajendramokshastava' (Bk. VIII, ch. 3). Reference is made here to a few more composite sculptures of the mediaeval period. Persons frequenting the 'ghāṭs' and temples at Banaras must have noticed miniature shrines, really cult objects, showing on its four outer faces small niches with figures of Hara-Pārvatī in one, Vishṇu in the second, Sūrya in the third and Gaṇapati in the fourth. These sculptures thus illustrate in a striking manner the Vedāntin's or the Smārta's attitude towards his God. Some Bihar sculptures in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, one of which is being reproduced here, illustrate also in a very curious way this concept. These have been described in the Museum Records as Chaturmukha Liṅgas, but they are really not so. The central block no doubt stands for a conventional Śivaliṅga, but on its four outer faces are shown the figures of Vishṇu, Durgā, Sūrya and Gaṇapati. This idea again is further emphasised in the Hari-Hara image (also from Bihar) now in the collection of the same museum also being reproduced here. The central sculpture depicts the main icon of Hari-Hara with its principal characteristics, while the figures on the extreme right and left of the relief represent Buddha and Sūrya. Thus though Gaṇapati and Durgā are absent here, their place is occupied by the principal figure of the Buddhist cult, a heterodox one from the Brāhmaṇical point of view. But it should be remembered that Buddha himself was also regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

THE PROBLEM OF THE BĀLĀDITYAS IN THE GUPTA PERIOD

PROFESSOR GURTY VENKET RAO

The name or title Bālāditya finds mention in epigraphic, numismatic and literary records in different contexts during the Gupta period:—

(*a*) A Sāranāth stone inscription seems to mention two *Bālādityas,* one an ancestor and *another* the father of Prakaṭāditya, whose capital appears to have been Kasi. Palaeographically the epigraph is assigned to about the end of the seventh century A.D. (Fleet: CII, III, No. 79).

(*b*) A Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva refers to the construction of a 'great and extra-ordinary temple' of Buddha at Nālandā by *Bālāditya,* 'the great king of irresistible valour'. This record is assigned to 'not later than the first half of the sixth century'. (EI, XX, p. 37 ; MASI, No. 66, p. 73).

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(*c*) Narasimha Gupta's coins bear the title *Bālāditya* (Allan: CIC, Gupta Dynasties, Nos. 558 and 559). 'He figures in the Bhiṭāri and Nālandā seals as the son of Puru Gupta. (JASB, 1889 and EI, XXVI).

(*d*) Paramārtha, in his *Life of Vasubandhu,* related that king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā patronised the Buddhist monk, and sent his queen and the crown prince *Bālāditya* to study under him. (JARS, 1905, p. 49).

(*e*) The *Ārya Manjuśrī Mūlakalpa* states "His (Skanda Gupta?) Younger successor *Bālādhyaksha* will be a Buddhist ; he will make the east upto the sea decorated with Chaityas. He will build over the whole land monasteries ..... After reigning without any rival.....he becomes a wanderer (Buddhist monk), and finally at the age of 36 years one month commits suicide by *dhyāna.* He had become a monk owing to grief for his dead son" (Jayaswal: *An Imperial History of India.* p. 33, Text verses 648-52).

(*f*) Yuan Chwang wrote Mihirakula who ruled at Sākala persecuted the Buddhists, and invaded the territory of *Bālāditya,* King of Magadha and a 'Zealous Buddhist' ; but the Huna aggressor was finally taken prisoner and released only on the intercession of Bālāditya's mother. (Watters: Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 288-289). The same author further stated that five monasteries were successively erected by Śakrāditya, *his son* and successor Buddha Gupta, king Tathāgata Gupta, *King Bālāditya,* and his son and successor Vajra (*Ibid*).

The above records have caused keen controversy among scholars and led them to postulate the existence of one, two and even three *Bālādityas.*

1. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar indentified Vikramāditya of Paramārtha with Chandra Gupta II, and Bālāditya with his son Govind Gupta of Basarh seal who is to be placed between A.D. 411 and A.D. 414 (*IA,* 1912, p. 1ff.).

2. Dr. V. A. Smith mentioned Bālāditya without any distinguishing mark I or II, creating an impression that there was only *one Baladitya,* i.e. Narsimha Gupta Bālāditya, who built a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā, and took successful action against the tyranny of the Huns. According to this author, Narasimha Gupta ruled from about 467 A.D. to 473 A.D. (*Early History of India,* 1924).

3. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali equates Yuan Chwang's Bālāditya with Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya, son of Puru Gupta (*Dacca Review,* 1920).

4. Dr. Raychaudhuri objects to Mr. Bhattasali's identification and asserts "The conqueror of Mihirakula was not the son of Puru Gupta, but an altogether different individual.....Narasimha Gupta must have died in or about the year A.D. 473..... It is not improbable that BĀLĀDITYA was a *biruda* of the glorious Bhānu Gupta....." (*PHAI,* 1932, pp. 396, 401, 402)

5. Dr. R. G. Basak advances a series of arguments in support of the theory that Yuan Chwang's Bālāditya and Narasimha Gupta were one and the same person (*Hist. of N.E. India,* 1934, pp. 78 ff).

6. Dr. R. N. Dandekar says: "Narasimha Gupta, the son of Puru Gupta, was not the Bālāditya, who is said to have vanquished the Huna Monarch, Mihirakula.....Narasimha Gupta must have ascended the throne

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in or about 468-69 A.D.....Mihirakula was encountered *circa* 526 A.D. by Bhānu Gupta Bālāditya II....." (*A History of the Guptas*, 1941, pp. 130 and 152).

7. Mr. Hirananda Sastri writes: "That there were two Bālādityas we know for certain ; one of them came into conflict with Mihirakula about 529-30 A.D. This was Narasimha Gupta." (*M.A.S.I.* No. 66, 1942, p. 73.)

8. Dr. R. N. Salatore says: "Bhānu Gupta should be styled as Bālāditya III because two of his predecessors Govinda Gupta and Narasimha Gupta were also known by this title". (*The life in the Gupta Age*, 1942, p. 49.) According to him, Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya ruled between 470 and 472 A.D. and had nothing to do with Mihirakula.

9. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji treats the Bālādityas mentioned in the documents c, d, e and f (see *supra*) as one individual sovereign who patronised Buddhism, and organised resistance to Huna aggression. He is inclined to treat Bhānu Gupta "as the Governor of Mālwā under emperor Narasimha Gupta". (*The Gupta Empire*, 1947, pp. 105, 108, 122-23.).

10. Mr. Awadha Kishore Narain suggested "Budha Gupta who uses the *biruda* Vikrama on his coins may be identified with Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, the father of Bālāditya who was a patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu." (*JNSI*, XII (1950), p. 115).

This variety of opinions regarding the number of the Bālādityas in the Imperial line of the Guptas has been mainly due to a few fundamental misconceptions of some of the investigators:—

(*i*) that the patron of the Buddhist Acharya Vasubandhu was Chandra Gupta II ;

(*ii*) that the Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang was different from Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya of coins and seals ;

(*iii*) that the five patrons of the Nālandā monasteries mentioned by Yuan Chwang constituted a direct lineal succession of father and son ; and

(*iv*) that the Sāranāth Kumāra Gupta and the Bhiṭāri seal Kumāra Gupta were one and the same person.

But none of these ideas seem to be strictly accurate.

It should be borne in mind that scholars are not agreed as to the specific identity of Vikramāditya, the patron of Vasubandhu. Claims for this honour have been put forward on behalf of Chandra Gupta II, Skanda Gupta, Puru Gupta and Budha Gupta. As Vasubandhu lived for eighty years any one of these could answer the purpose provided he had the title of Vikramāditya, and he had a son known as Bālāditya. These two provisions are true of Puru Gupta only. His coins have the legend *Śrī Vikramah* on the reverse. The numismatic evidence knows only one Bālāditya, viz. Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya, who figures in the Bhiṭāri and Nālandā seals as the son of Puru Gupta. Among the Guptas no evidence has so far come to light regarding another Bālāditya wearing the *imperial* diadem.

Hence Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya is to be regarded as the great ruler of Magadha, who, according to Yuan Chwang, championed the cause of

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Buddhism, humbled the pride of Mihirakula, and built the fourth monastery at Nālandā. The stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva does refer to the construction of a Buddhist temple at Nālandā by Bālâditya, 'the Great King of irresistible valour.' Epigraphic evidence shows that Mihirakula, and consequently Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya, belonged to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. According to Fleet[1] Mihirakula ruled in Central India between A.D. 517 and A.D. 532.

This chronological setting for Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya no doubt militates against the one long accepted by a number of scholars,[2] who had assigned to him and his successors a small period of ten years between A.D. 467 and A.D. 476. But their conclusions are no longer tenable based as they are on the theory of indentical personality of the Kumāra Guptas of Sāranāth inscription and Bhiṭāri seal. Thanks to the searching investigation[3] of Dr. B. P. Sinha and Mr. P. L. Gupta, it is now established beyond doubt that the two were different individuals—Kumāra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta III.

This fresh approach to the problem leaves Kumāra Gupta II without any clue to his parentage. But it is now known from the seals[4] recently discovered at Nālandā that *Budha Gupta, Vainya Gupta and Narasimha Gupta were sons of Puru Gupta.* It is very likely that Kumāra Gupta II was also a son of the same Gupta sovereign. It is only on this surmise we can possibly explain the succession of Budha Gupta after Kumāra Gupta II as shown in the sequel.

But before an attempt is made to draw up the probable scheme of succession, the following few points should be carefully noted.

(*i*) Yuan Chwang assigned to Bālāditya (Narasimha Gupta) a place one generation *after* Buddha Gupta.

(*ii*) The Kālighāṭ hoard[5] has brought to light the coins of Vainya Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta (III) and Vishṇu Gupta at *one spot* showing that they followed one another in very close succession. Hence the entire set of these princes must go together in any succession list of the Gupta dynasty.

(*iii*) Vainya Gupta is treated by Dr. R. K. Mookerji[6] as a king in eastern Bengal 'in the time of Bālāditya, the Gupta Emperor'. But the available evidence shows him as sovereign in his own right[7] about G.E. 188 (A.D. 507). Like other Gupta emperors, he issued coins, was styled *Mahārājādhirāja* and bore the *Āditya* title of Dvādaśāditya. Yuan Chwang places Tathāgata

1. Fleet: History and Date of Mihirakula, *IA,* XV.
2. Pannalal, V. A. Smith, R. D. Banerji, Raychaudhuri, R. N. Dandekar, R. N. Saletore, A. Ghosh etc.
3. Dr. B. P. Sinha: Kumara Gupta III, *JBRS,* 1950. Mr. P. L. Gupta: The Gold Coins of Kumāra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta, III, *JNSI,* XII, 31-33.
4. MASI, No. 66, pp. 64-67 ; and Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *IHQ,* XXIV, pp. 67-68.
5. Allan: *Op. Cit.,* p. CXXIV ff. His 'Chandra' is a misreading for Vainya.
6. Mookerji: *The Gupta Empire,* pp. 125-126.
7. D. C. Ganguly: Vainya Gupta Dvādaśāditya in *IHQ,* IX (1933), pp. 784-88 ; and N. N. Das Gupta: On Vainya Gupta in *IC,* V, pp. 297-303. Both of them follow Pannalal's scheme of succession.

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Gupta between Buddha (Budha) Gupta and Bālāditya. Perhaps the Buddhist world know Vainya Gupta under the name of Tathāgata Gupta.

(*iv*) Bhānu Gupta is known only from the Eran posthumous stone pillar inscription of Goparāja dated G.E. 191 (A.D. 510). Therein he is mentioned as 'the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha'. Still there is not an iota of evidence to treat him as Bālāditya III and the conquer of Mihirakula. The date of the 'battle of Eran' goes against such a presumption because, it is not possible to post the 15th regnal year, of Mihirakula, 'lord of the earth' earlier than A.D. 532. As stated by Dr. R. K. Mookerji,[8] he was probably a Governor of Mālwā under Narasimha Gupta.

The following dates may now be profitably studied to determine the exact place of Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya in Gupta geneology.

Ruler	*Date*		*Source*	*Reference*
	G.E.	A.D.		
Kumāra Gupta I	136	455	Silver Coins	*JASB*, 1894
Skanda Gupta	136	455	Junagadha Inscr	Fleet: CII
—do—	148	467	Silver Coins	*JRAS*, 1889
Kumāra Gupta II	154	473	Sāranāth Inscr	*ASI*—An REP. 1914-15 ; *Hindustan Review*, 1918
Budha Gupta	157	476	—do—	—do—
—do—	175	494	Silver coin	Allan
Vainya Gupta	188	507	Gunaighar C.P.	IHQ, VI (1930)

So far the dates of Narasimha Gupta and his successors are not revealed in any epigraphic or numismatic source.

But the dates noted above are so close to each other that it may not be advisable to accommodate them before Vainya Gupta.

There is a short interval between the last known date of Skanda Gupta and the first known date of Kumāra Gupta (II). No epigraphic records refer to the queen or the children of Skanda Gupta. Perhaps he had no male issue. Hence his brother, Puru Gupta, seems to have filled the vacancy. After his demise, the Gupta throne was successively occupied by his sons—Kumāra Gupta II, Budha Gupta, Vainya Gupta and Narasimha Gupta. This is the only possible inference that can be drawn from their known dates. The abnormal times caused by the Huna invasions might explain the unusual succession of four brothers on the Gupta throne one after the other.

The above scheme of succession receives further support from a comparative study of the territorial possessions of Budha Gupta and Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya. The former's empire included Puṇḍravardhana or Northern Bengal, the region of Sāranāth, and Mālwā or rather the extensive tract of land between the Yamuna (Kalindi) and Narmada. His silver coinage of the

8. Mookerji: *Op. Cit.*, p. 123, S. K. Dikshit, however, is inclined to identify him with Vainya Gupta. Considering the extreme proximity of their dates G. E. 188 and G. E. 191, it may be possible, especially when the coins of Vainya Gupta are said to have a letter *Bha*. *IC*, V, p. 427.

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central India type also points to his vast dominions. On the other hand, the latter presided over a limited area mostly confined to Bengal and Magadha. That Mālwā was lost is proved by the lack of his silver coinage, and Dhanyavishnu's transfer of allegiance to the Huna ruler of Mālwā, Toramāṇa. It was to recover the lost ground that Goparāja came with Bhānu Gupta, but lost his life in the battle of Eran about A.D. 510. According to Yuan Chwang even Bālāditya paid tribute to the mighty Mihirakula. The debased gold coins of Narasimha Gupta and his successors confirm the unsettled conditions prevailing in those days due to the aggression of the Hunas. Bālāditya's eventual success[9] over Mihirakula does not appear to have improved the fortunes of the Gupta Empire. In fact, according to *Srī Manjuśrī Mūlakalpa*, Baladitya became a monk due to sorrow and disappointment.

A word of explanation, however, is necessary here about Bālādityas mentioned in the Sāranāth inscription and *Srī Manjusrī Mūlakalpa*.

The Sāranāth inscription no doubt refers to two Bālādityas—one an ancestor and the other the father of Prakaṭāditya. As the record palaeographically belongs to the seventh centry A.D. the second of the Bālādityas had nothing to do with the *imperial* Guptas. According to Fleet the earlier Bālāditya 'is the one who is so well known in connection with the history of Mihirakula'.

As to the Bālāditya of the Buddhist work he is said to have been 'younger successor of S (Kanda Gupta)' and an ardent Buddhist. This applies to Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya.

Thus among the *imperial* Guptas there was only one Bālāditya, the patron of Vasubandhu, the victor of Mihirakula, and the builder of the fourth monastery at Nālandā, and this was no other person than Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya, the youngest son of Puru Gupta Vikramāditya.

A NOTE ON THE MUNDAKHEḌE PLATES OF JAYAŚAKTI

PROFESSOR V. V. MIRASHI

These copper-plates were discovered at Mundakheḍe, a village about 5 miles north by east of Chalisgaon, the chief town of the Chalisgaon *tālukā* in the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. They have been edited twice by the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar—first in the Marathi magazine *Prabhāta* (Phālguna, Śaka 1829) and then in the *Annual Report of the Bharata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1834. As no facsimile of the record was published with either of these articles, I was under the impression that it was not

9. This may be reconciled with the statements made in Mandsor inscriptions which credit Yaśodharman with victory over Mihirakula. At the time of his final defeat Mihirakula was merely a petty king of the Himalaya to which condition he was reduced by Bālāditya.

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published. Several years ago while I was studying the Bagumra plates of Nikumbhāllaśakti, I felt the need of critically examining this record in view of its importance for the history of the Sendrakas, and I tried to trace the original plates, but could not succeed. I was, therefore, agreeably surprised to receive a copy of the facsimile of the plates from my friend Dr. M. G. Dikshit. From the date Chaitra Śaka 1829 (? 1830) printed on it, it seems that it was published in the issue of the same magazine *Prabhāta* one month after the text was edited by Chandorkar. The facsimile has enabled me to correct the readings of some important words. Again, Chandorkar did not calculate the date or identify the places mentioned in the grant. I intend to discuss these and other allied matters in this short note.

The plates were issued by the Sendraka prince Jayaśakti from Jayapuradvārī. They record his grant of a village, the name of which Chandorkar read as Seṇāṇakalasha. The correct reading of the passage where it occurs is सेणाणा एष ग्रामः not सेणाणकलशग्रामः. Compare similar expressions कोणियाणां एष ग्रामः and कुमारिवडओ एष ग्रामः in the Kalachuri grants. The village was included in the *vishaya* Kundalikāmala. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Rēvasvāmin, who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Hiraṇyakeśī branch of the Taittirīya śākhā of the Black Yajurveda. The gift was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the Mīna-rāśi, on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 602 of an unspecified era. The year must, of course, be referred to the Śaka era and corresponds to A.D. 680-81. In this period the sun entered the Mīna-rāśi 20 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise on the 17th February A.D. 681. The religious ceremonies connected with the *saṅkrānti* must have been performed after sunrise on the 18th February which was the 10th *tithi of* the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Phālguna. This date shows that the *amānta* scheme of lunar months was in vogue in Northern Maharashtra in the seventh century A.D.

The present record gives the following pedigree of the donor:—

Bhānuśakti (Śrīvallabha)
Ādityaśakti
Nikumbhāllaśakti (Satyāśraya, Pṛithivīvallabha)
Jayaśakti (Satyāśraya, Pṛithivīvallabha, Vikramāditya and Nikumbha).

Chandorkar read the name of the third prince as *Nikumbhallaśakti*, being probably misled by Bühler's reading of the same name in the Bagumra plates. The facsimile, however, shows clearly the name to be *Nikumbhāllaśakti*. We now know from the Kasare plates published by Mr. G. H. Khare that the proper name of the Sendraka prince was Allaśakti. This occurs not only in the text of the grant, but also on the seal of those plates. *Nikumbha* was evidently a *biruda* prefixed to his name. The same *biruda* is seen to have been assumed by Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti in the present plates. The *biruda* was evidently derived from the name Nikumbha of Allaśakti's grandfather, mentioned in the Kasare plates. He was also known by the name of Bhānuśakti, which is noticed in the other three grants including the present one.

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His descendants Allaśakti and Jayaśakti seem to have assumed his name Nikumbha as a *biruda*.

The present grant describes both Allaśakti and Jayaśakti as *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*, i.e., as having attained the right to the five great sounds. They were evidently subordiate chiefs who owed allegiance to the Chālukya Emperors of Bādāmi. It is curious that Bhānuśakti, Allaśakti and Jayaśakti assumed certain *birudas* which are usually associated with their Chālukya suzerains. One of these deserves special notice. Jayaśakti calls himself Vikramāditya. His suzerain was Vikramāditya I who had died just in the preceding year (A.D. 680). As this is the only grant of Jayaśakti discovered so far, we do not know whether Jayaśakti had borne the *biruda* previously or whether it was assumed after the death of Vikramāditya I.

As stated before, the correct name of the donated village was Seṇāṇā, not Seṇṇā-kalasha. Kundalikāmala, the head-quarters of the village in which it was situated, is probably identical with Kundalgaon, 14 miles west of Nāndgaon in the Nasik District. No place exactly corresponding to Seṇāṇā can be traced in the neighbourhood, but Saundane which lies about 10 miles north by west of Nāndgaon may represent ancient Seṇāṇā. Jayapuradvārī, from where the plates were issued, may be identical with Jeur, which lies about 7 miles almost due north of Nāndgaon. Kallivana, where the donee resided, is undoubtedly Kalvan, the chief town of the Kalvan *tālukā* of the Nasik District.

No descendants of Jayaśakti are known, but as suggested elsewhere, the Sinda kings who flourished in Khandesh in the 10th century A.D. may have been of the same lineage. Like the Sendrakas they also claimed to have descended from the lord of serpents. Later, a family called Nikumbha is known to have flourished in the Khandesh District. It is known from the Patan inscription of the Śaka year 1128 ; but it is not likely to have been connected with the Sendrakas, as it traced its descent from the Sun.

TWO BHĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS

Dr. D. C. Sircar

1. *An Inscription from the Vicinity of Kosam (Kauśāmbī).*

The inscription was edited by Daya Ram Sahni in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 158-59, with Plate. About the stone bearing the inscription, Sahni says, "The epigraph is incised on a stone slab measuring 2′ 10½″ high, 1′ wide and 2½″ in thickness. The stone was fixed in the parapet of a well in the village of Masharfa situated about a mile and a half to the north-west of the stone pillar at Kosam. The inscription is engraved on the front face of the slab and consists of fourteen lines. Each line consists of five to seven

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aksharas except the last line which probably contained only three characters, now mostly defaced. For the rest, the epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation."

The characters employed in the inscription resemble those in the Mathurā inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa (first quarter of the first century A.D.), discussed below, but are slightly earlier than the latter. The epigraph may thus be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date in the latter part of the first century B.C. The language of the inscription under review is Prākṛit with a little influence of Sanskrit (cf. the use of *ś* in line 12).

Sahni says, "The inscription begins with a salutation to a certain Bhagavat whose name unfortunately is not given and ends with the wish that 'the deity may be pleased'. Here, too, unfortunately the name of the deity is not given or, if it was, it has been destroyed in the last line of the inscription. We are thus left to guess the identity of this god. I am inclined to think that it was the Yaksha Maṇibhadra, the favourite deity of the grandfather of the donor." I am sorry that I cannot agree entirely with Sahni's contentions quoted above.

The first three lines of the inscription read *namo bhagavato sathavāhasa Mānibhadasa,* 'adoration to Lord Māṇibhadra, the leader of caravans', and the epigraph clearly ends with the sentence *piyataṁ* [*bhagavā*], 'May the Lord be pleased'. The deity is called simply 'the Lord' in the concluding sentence as his name is already mentioned as the Lord Māṇibhadra in the *maṅgala* at the beginning of the record. Sahni imagined a fullstop after *bhagavato* in line 1, which he wrongly read as *bhagavate*. He regarded the expressions *sathavāhasa Mānibhadasa* as epithets of the following name of the donor's grandfather. The expression *mānibhada* was taken by him to denote 'a votary of Maṇibhadra'. It should, however, be pointed out that Māṇibhadra is just another well known form of the name of Yaksha Maṇibhadra. This form of the name is not only found in the Padmāvatī Maṇibhadra statue inscription (*A.S.I., A.R.*, 1915-16, Part II, p. 106) quoted by Sahni himself (*op. cit.*, p. 159, note 1), but it is also recognised by Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (s.v. *māṇi*) on the authority of the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Mahābhārata* (II, 10, 15), while giving the names of the Yakshas in Kubera's palace, says:

Māṇibhadro-tha Dhanadaḥ Śvetabhadraś-chaguhyakaḥ Kaśeraka Gaṇḍakaṇḍuḥ Pradyotaś-cha mahābalaḥ

Although, therefore, there was in ancient India a class of people (called *Maṇibhaddavattikā* in the Pāli work *Mahāniddesa* and *Maṇibhaddā* in the *Milindapañha ;* cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names,* Vol. II, p. 426) who worshipped the Yaksha Maṇibhadra, there is no necessity of taking the expression *mānibhada* occurring in our inscription in the sense of a votary of Maṇibhadra, in view of the fact that Māṇibhadra and Maṇibhadra are but different forms of the name of the same Yaksha.

The word *sathavāha*=Sanskrit *sārthavāha* meaning 'a leader or conductor

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of a caravan', 'a merchant', 'a trader', used in our inscription as an epithet of the Yaksha *Māṇibhadra* seems to have induced Sahni to take the expressions *sathavāhasa Mānibhadasa* as epithets of the donor's grandfather. That, however, the Yaksha Māṇibhadra or Maṇibhadra was regarded in ancient India as the deity especially worshipped by travellers and caravans is definitely established by the *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsī edition, III, 65, 22). In the section in question, the *Mahābhārata* describes the great plight of a caravan of merchants attacked by a herd of wild elephants in a forest. When those of the caravan that escaped unhurt gathered together the first question they asked one another was:

> [*te-bruvan sahitāḥ sarve*] *kasy-edaṁ karmaṇaḥ phalam*
> *nūnaṁ na pūjitō-smābhir-Maṇibhadro mahāvaśāḥ*

The first thing that occurred to the merchants was that the calamity was probably due to their negligence in worshipping the god Maṇibhadra. This shows beyond doubt that Maṇibhadra was regarded as the protector of the caravans, while our inscription makes it clear that he was also conceived as a leader of caravans. As most of the facts relating to the mythology and cult of the Yaksha Maṇibhadra are now lost, the information supplied by the inscription under review is extremely interesting. Another interesting fact regarding the inadequately preserved Maṇibhadra mythology is that the Yaksha was very probably identical with the deity called Maṇināga (sometimes believed to have been a son of the *nāga-mātā* Kadru) whose *Tirtha* at the ancient city of Rajagriha is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsī edition, III, 84, 106ff.) and whose *Maṭha* somewhere in Orissa is referred to in the two Kanas plates of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.

The inscription records the construction of a *vedikā* apparently in honour of the god Māṇibhadra or Maṇibhadra on behalf of a householder called Gotiputa, i.e., Gautīputra. *Gotiputa* or *Gautīputra* is essentially a metronymic meaning 'the son born of a girl of the Gupta family', although it is used here as if it were a personal name. There are other instances of a metronymic being similarly stereotyped as personal name. One interesting case is that of Vākāṭaka Gautamīputra (literally, 'the son born of a girl of the Gautama *gotra* or clan'), who was a son of Pravarasena I.

The *vedikā* was caused to be made by Gautīputra in a locality called Aśikā. Whether this was the ancient name of modern *Masharfa* (the findspot of our inscription) near Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī) about 35 miles from Allahabad cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises Aśika or *Asika* as the name of a people on the authority on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, although the name seems to be based on a variant reading of a passage in the work in question. It is not easy to say whether these *Aśikas* were actually inhabitants of Aśikā mentioned in our record. But it is really difficult to agree with Sahni who says, "*aśikā-āśikā* corresponding to the Sanskrit *āśmikā*, the *taddhita* form of *aśman*" and translates the passage *Aśikāyaṁ kāritā vedikā* as "this railing of stone was caused to be made."

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TEXT[1]

1 Namo bhagavato
2 sathavāhasa
3 Mānibhadasa (*)
4 Gahapatikasa
5 Ejavati[2]-putasa
6 Varisa[3] puto gahapatiko
7 Seliyā-puto
8 Kusapālo nāmā (*)
9 Tasa putena
10 gahapatikena
11 Goti-putena
12 Aśikāyaṁ Kāritā
13 Vedikā (*) Piyataṁ
14 [bhagavā]

TRANSLATION

Adoration to the Lord Māṇibhadra, the leader of caravans. (There was) a householder named Kusapāla who was born of Seliyā (and) was the son of Vari, the householder who was born of Ejavati. By his son Gotiputa, the householder, was caused to be made a railed platform (or covered balcony in the courtyard of the temple of Māṇibhadra) at Aśikā. May the Lord (i.e. Māṇibhadra) be pleased.

2. MATHURA FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚODASA

I had recently an opportunity to examine an impression of the inscription in question which was ably edited by R. P. Chanda in his *Archaeology and Vaishṇava Tradition* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 5), pp. 169 ff., with Plate. It was found, however, on examination that it is not impossible to suggest improvements here and there on Chanda's treatment of the epigraph.

Chanda's remark on the stone bearing the inscription runs as follows: "It is incised on the side of a carved doorjamb of red sandstone now in the Mathura Museum of Archaeology (8′ by 8″ by 1′ 3″). The inscription probably consisted of twelve lines, of which the first five lines containing the name of the donor are defaced ; and each line consisted of 9 to 11 *aksharas* (letters) of which four to five *aksharas* are missing. From a close examination of the stone it appears to me that the epigraph was originally incised on a square pillar each side of which measured about 1′ 4″ and which was afterwards cut lengthwise through the inscribed side into two halves and turned

1. From impressions and the published facsimile.
2. The reading may also be *Ejāvati*.
3. These three *aksharas* had been originally omitted but were later engraved in the space between the first two letters of lines 5 and 6.

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into carved doorjambs. For there is no other way of explaining the occurrence of this fragmentary inscription on that side of a doorjamb that is built up with the wall . . . . . this stone was dug out of an old well in the Mathurā Cantonments in 1913. The inscription is briefly noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buuddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1917*, p. 10."

As regards the paleography of the record, Chanda says, "The test leltters *ya* consisting of nearly a semicircle bisected by a short vertical line and *na* with straight base-line indicate that the inscriptions of the time of Śoḍāsa must be assigned to an earlier age than those of the time of Kanishka. Though scholars differ widely relating to the date of Kanishka, no one has assigned Śoḍāsa to a later epoch than the first quarter of the first century A.D." We are inclined to ascribe Śoḍāsa's reign to the first quarter of the first century A.D., which is thus the date of the record under discussion. Mention may be made of two interesting features of the paleography of the record. In the first place, the subscript consonants have usually retained their top *mātrā* (cf. *sya* in line 7, *svā* in line 10) while in *rta* in line 12 *r* above and *t* below have been written as if they are two distinct *aksharas*. Secondly, the medial signs for *ā* and *e* are indicated sometimes by slight prolongation of the top *mātrā* of the consonants respectively towards right and left (cf. *to* in lines 8 and 9) but often by the slanting stroke attached from above respectively to the right or left of the top *mātrā* of the consonants (cf. *svā* and *de* in line 10). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit partially influenced by Prakrit (cf. *svāmisya* in line 10 and *anusvāra* used at the end of sentences).

Line 6 which is the first of the undamaged lines of the inscription reads *vasunā bhagava. Vasunā* no doubt indicates "by Vasu" or suggests a name like *Viśvāvasu, Punarvasu*, etc., while Chanda rightly restored the lost letters at the end of the line as *to Vāsude*. Line 7 reads *vasya mahāsthāna*. Chanda suggests that five letters are lost after this, the first two of which were used to denote 'a shrine' while the next three were restored by him as *Chatuḥśā* which together with *laṁ* at the beginning of the following line would make *chatuḥśālaṁ*. Thus he finds a reference in the above lines to a quadrangle enclosed by four buildings (*chatuḥśāla*) as the shrine (at the *mahā-sthāna* or great place of Lord *Vāsudeva*) made by a person whose name ended with the letters *vasu*. Chanda further remarks,, "In our fragment the absence of any case-ending after *mahāsthāna* shows that it is part of a compound word the other member of which is lost. If I am right in guessing that this lost word denoted 'shrine' to which the four biuldings enclosing the quadrangle (*chatuḥśālam*) were attached, *mahāsthāna* may be understood to denote a spot sacred to the memory of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva". He is no doubt right in guessing the real intention of the author of the record ; but in my opinion the intended reading of the passage in question is *mahāshthāna* [*ke devaku*]*laṁ* instead of *mahāsthāna*- . . . . [*chatuḥśā*]*laṁ* as suggested by Chanda.

Line 8 reads *laṁ toraṇaṁ ve*, the lost letters after which were restored by Chanda as *dikāḥ prati*. We are inclined to prefer *vedikā* instead of *vedikāḥ*

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in the plural. Line 9 reads *shṭhāpitaṁ prīto bha* after which Chanda correctly restored *Vatu Vāsu*. Although the facsimile of the inscription published by Chanda may have suggested to him the reading *shṭhāpito* which is, however, unsuitable to the context the impression examined by me clearly points to the reading *shṭhāpitaṁ*. Line 10 reads *devaḥ svāmisya* after which Chanda rightly restores *mahākshatra*. Line 11 reads *pasya Śoḍāsa*. Chanda could not restore the letters lost at the end of the line. Line 12 with which the document ends was read by Chanda as *saṁvartavātāṁ* which he corrected to *saṁvartevātāṁ*. He says, "the missing word in line 11, as the verb *saṁvart[e]yātāṁ* in the following lines shows, must have been in dual number and denoting dominion". But the verb in line 12 clearly reads *saṁvartavatāṁ* and I am inclined to restore the lost letters at the end of line 11 as *sya śāsanaṁ*.

TEXT[4]

1-5 . . . . . .
6 Vasunā bhagava [to Vāsudē*]-
7 vasya mahāsthāna[ke devaku*]-
8 laṁ toraṇaṁ ve[dikā[5] prati*]-
9 shṭhāpitaṁ (*) prīto [bha] [vatu Vāsu*]-
10 devaḥ (*) svāmi(sya] [mahākshatra*]-
11 pasya Śoḍā[sa] [sya śāsanaṁ*]
12 saṁvartayatāṁ (*]

TRANSLATION

By Vasu (or, vasu) a shrine (*devakula*), an arched gateway (*toraṇa*) and a railed platform or covered balcony in the courtyard (*vedikā*) have been built at the great (sacred) place[6] of Lord Vāsudeva. May Vāsudeva be pleased. May the rule of the lord, the Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa, endure.

A NOTE ON THE ĀNADA GOTRA KINGS

DR. M. RAMA RAO

A line of rulers describing themselves as belonging to the Ānanda gōtra ruled over part of coastal Āndhradēśa during the post-Sātavāhana period. Though a minor dynasty, they played a prominent part in the tangled politics of the period. Their chronology and history are still matters of controversy and the significance of their role has been missed by pervious writers. An attempt is made in this paper to tackle the Ānanda gōtra problem afresh.

4. From an impression.
5. The intended reading may also have been *vedikā cha*. Other forms of the word *vedikā* are *vedi, vedī, vedika* and *vedīka*.
6. The expression *mahā-sthāa* means vāsudeva's temple or the area about the temple.

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These rulers have been variously designated by various writers. Hultzsch has suggested[1] that they be designated the Ānanda kings and Sircar follows him.[2] But Ānanda was the name of the gōtra and not of the family. Ānanda, the *gōtrakartā*, is called a maharṣi and not a king. There may be several families belonging to this gōtra. Hence the name Ānanda given to the dynasty is not satisfactory. Dr. Gopalachari designates these kings the Kandaras,[3] on the grounds that one of the kings of this family is described as Kandara-nṛpatikula-samudbhūta, that this Kandara was the founder of the family and that he stands in the same position as Ikṣvāku, Pallava, Gupta etc. There are serious objections to this view. The descendants of the three kings mentioned above described themselvs as Ikṣvākus, Pallavas and Guptas. Of the four known rulers of the Ānanda gōtra only one refers to Kandararāja's *kula*[4] but the others simply mention their gōtra. Further, these are not the only rulers who do not refer to the name of their dynasty. Jayavarman of the Bṛhatpalāyana gōtra[5] and the famous Vēngi rulers of the Sālankāyana gōtra do not mention their dynastic name.[6] Many of the early rulers of Kaḷinga mention neither the dynastic name nor the name of the gōtra.[7] The Pallavas mention both the names.[8] The Viṣṇukuṇḍins,[9] the Ramākāśyapas,[10] the Māṭharas,[11] the Vāsiṣṭhas[12] who were all contemporaries, mention only the name of their dynasty. In view of this known variety it is not, for any reason, necessary to reduce things to a dead level of uniformity and tag on artificial labels to these rulers. It is best, therefore, to designate the family under discussion as the rulers of Ānanda gōtra.

The rulers of Ānanda gōtra are known to us from two c. p. grants and one stone inscription:—

1. The Mattepādu plates of Damodaravarman[13]— Issued from Vijayakandarapura and dated on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika in the 2nd year of the reign, the grant registers the king's gift, for the merit of himself and seven generations, of the village of Kamgūra with all the immunities, to brāhmaṇas of various gōtras and caraṇas. The donor is described as a devotee of the Lord Samyak-Sambuddha, as of the Ānanda gōtra, as the giver of many thousands of non-sterile cows, as one born of one who was himself born of Hiraṇyagarbha. The names of the donees are in Prākṛt.

2. The Gorantla plates of Attivarman[14]—This grant registers the king's

1. *E.I.*
2. Cf. the title of Ch. III of his *Successors of the Satavahanas.*
3. *Early History of the Andhradesa,* p. 185.
4. Cf. the Gorantla plates.
5. *E.I.,* VI, pp. 315-319.
6. *E.I.,* IX, pp. 56-59; I.A., pp. 175-77; JAHRS I, pp. 92-102; V, pp. 21-32.
7. *E.I.,* IV, pp. 142-45; XII, pp. 4-6; JAHRS VI, pp. 53-54; X, pp. 143-144; I.A., XIII, pp. 48-50; c.p. 12 of MER 1934-35.
8. Cf. the phrase Bharadvaja-sagotranam Pallavanam kulam etc.
9. Cf. Visnukundin prasasti in their c.p. grants.
10. *E.I.,* XXIII, pp. 58-59.
11. *E.I.,* XII, pp. 1-3; c.p. 24 of MER 1934-35.
12. *Ibid,* XIV, pp. 47-52.
13. *Ibid,* XVII, pp. 327-330.
14. *I.A.,* IX, pp. 102-103.

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gift of the village of Āntukkuru and 108 paṭṭis of land in the village of Tānthikoṇtha on the southern bank of the river Krsnabēṇṇa to a brāhmaṇ named Koṭṭiśarman of the Kāśyapa gōtra. The donor is described as of the *vamśa* of the sage Ānanda and the family of Kandara, as a devotee of Śambhu resident at Vankēśvara, as being born out of the Hiraṇyagarbha and as one who subjugated by valour the circle of feudatories.

3. The Chejerla stone inscription[15]—Beginning with an invocation to Siddhēśvara, this inscription seems to record the building of many temples, gifts of villages and of many utensils to a Śiva temple. The donor was, obviously, Raṇamahāmalla. He is stated to be the son of a daughter (mahādēvī) of Kandara. He is described as one whose commands were like those of Viṣṇu, as the lord of plentiful villages, as one who had an eagle banner, and as one who was an adept in all the kaḷas and had the title Satsabhāmalla. The donor's maternal grandfather Kandara is described as having killed many enemy elephants in a battle at Dhānyakaṭaka, as having the title pṛthvīduvarāja, as the moon to the sky that is the gōtra of the sage Ānanda, as one who caused the widowhood of many Andhra women, as the lord of Trikūṭaparvata, as having a monkey banner and as the lord of Kandarapura and two janapadas.

The first question that arises is *how many rulers were there in the dynasty?* Hultzsch and Fleet who edited the c.p. grants did not take into account the stone inscription. Hultzsch concerned himself only with the question of precedence between Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman. Among recent writers, Sircar refers to the stone inscription but never took it into consideration.[16] Dr. Subrahmaniam arbitrarily states that the Kandara of the stone inscription was the founder of the family implying thereby that the other rulers came after him[17] Dr. Gopalachari discussed[18] the paleography of these records at length and placed Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman after Kandara of the Chezerla inscription identifying thereby the two Kandaras. According to this view there would be only three rulers in this line—Dāmōdaravarman, Attivarman and Kandara, besides his grandson. But there are several strong reasons for placing the two c. p. grants before the stone inscription and concluding that there were at least four kings in this family—Kandara I, Dāmōdaravarman, Attivarman, and Kandara II, besides the latter's grandson.

The next problem is that of the mutual relation of these rulers. None of the grants mention the genealogy of the donor. Attivarman is described as Hiraṇyagarbhaprasūta while Dāmōdaravarman figures as hiraṇyagarbhōdbhavōdbhava. The last phrase indicates that Dāmōdaravarman's father was a hiraṇyagarbhodbhava. The two c. p. grants resemble each other closely and do not admit of any long interval. On these grounds Sircar has suggested[19] that Dāmōdaravarman may be taken to have been a son of Attivarman. Gopa-

15. *S.I.I.*, VI, No.
16. *Suc. Sat*, p. 56n.
17. *Buddhist Remains in Andhra etc.*, p. 109.
18. *Early Hist. Andhr.*, pp. 191-194.
19. *Suc. Sat.*, p. 60.

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lachari, however, postulates a long interval between the two c. p.s, assigns the Gorantla plates to a far later date and considers Attivarman to have been a distant and unrelated successor of Dāmōdaravarman.[20] Another fact mentioned in this connection is that Buddha worship was earlier than the worship of Śiva, that Dāmōdarvarman was a devotee of the Buddha and that he must have, therefore, preceded Attivarman.[21] Actually, however, there is one important consideration that helps us considerably in this connection. The names of the donees are all in the Prākṛt language in the Mattepadu plates and this is conclusive evidence of their antiquity. The Gorantla plates which are entirely in Sanskrit and their donor Attivarman must have been later.

Of the three Ānanda gōtra records two are not dated and only the Mattepadu plates are dated in the second year of the reign of Dāmōdaravarman. But this does not help us fixing his age. *The chronology of those rulers must be determined, therefore, on other grounds.* Hultzsch has remarked that the alphabet of the Mattepadu plates is of an early southern type.[22] Sircar holds that the characters of the Gorantla plates resemble those of the Iksvaku inscriptions, that the two Ānanda gōtra c. ps resemble each other very closely and assigns Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman to the second half of the fourth century[23] A.D. Dr. Subrahmaniam arbitrarily assigned the Ānanda gōtra kings to the sixth century A.D.[24] B. V. K. Rao ascribes the Mattepadu plates to the beginning of the fourth century and the Gorantla plates to a century later.[25] Dr. Gopalachari makes certain radical and novel suggestions in this connecion. He takes the Chezerla stone inscription as the pivot. He compares its characters with those of an inscription of Pallava Mahēndravarman I incised on the other side of the stone, postulates an interval of 30 or 35 years between the two and assigns Kandara to the first quarter and his grandson to the third quarter of the sixth century.[26] He holds that the alphabet of the Mattepadu plates resembles that of the Pikira and Mangadur grants[27] of Pallava Simhavarman and the grants of the Sālankāyanas. He argues further that the issuer of the two grants was Simhavarman II, the successor of Simhavarman I, in whose reign the Lōkavibhāga was composed and on that basis assigns the Mattepadu plates to the first quarter of the 6th century A.D. Since he was not the immediate successor of of Kandara he is said to have flourished not earlier than 550 A.D.[28] This view is the result of a serious mistake. Even if Simhavarman I is taken to be the king mentioned in the Lōkavibhāga, his date, according to that very work, would be S. 358-380 or 436-458 A.D. Simhavarman II was his immediate successor and could not, as such, have flourished later than the third quarter of the same century. If his Pikira and Mangadur grants resemble the Mattepadu plates as contended

20. *Early Hist. Andhr.*, p. 194.
21. Cf. *Suc. Sat.*, p. 58.
22. *E.I.*, VII, p. 327.
23. *Suc. Sat.*, p. 57.
24. *Bud. Rem. Andhr.*, p. 109.
25. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, pp. 336 & 341.
26. *Early Hist. Andhr.*, p. 187.
27. *Ibid*, p. 190.
28. *Ibid*, p. 191.

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above, Dāmōdaravarman must have flourished in the third or last quarter of the fifth century. Regarding the determination of Attivarman's date Dr. Gopalachari indulges in a number of paleographical antics. He compares the characters of the Gorantla plates with those of the Kailasanatha and Dharmarajaratha inscriptions and assigns the grant to the second quarter of the seventh century at the earliest.[29] This is again another serious mistake. There is no point in comparing the alphabet of inscriptions found in the Guntur district with that of records found in distant South India. The proper thing would be to compare inscriptions found in the same region. As a matter of fact the character of the Gōrantla plates bear close resemblance to the Pallava and Sālankāyana grants. Further, Dr. Gopalachari's date conflicts with all known facts of contemporary history. It is now known beyond any doubt that Kubjaviṣṇu, the founder of the Vēngī Cāḷukyan kingdom, commenced his rule in 624 A.D. and that his dominion extended far into the Guntur district. Viṣṇuvardhana and his son and successor, Jayasima I ruled between 624-642 and 642-673 A.D. respectively.[30] Thus it was the Vēngī Cāḷukyas that ruled over the northern half of the Guntur district in the second quarter of the seventh century and not the rulers of Ānanda gōtra. It is, therefore, wrong to assign Attivarman to this period.

A careful study of the contemporary history of coastal Āndhradēśa and of the contents of the Pallava and Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions helps us admirably to solve the Ānanda gōtra problem. The Ānanda gōtras are not mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta. Vēngī Cāḷukyan rule was established on the east coast right into the Guntur district by 625 A.D. *Hence the period of these kings must be between 350-600 A.D.* The Allahabad inscription mentions after Hastivarman of Vēngī, an Ugrasēna of Pālakka whose identity is not known.[31] This Pālakka is taken to be identical with Pālakkaḍa, Pālakkara or Palōtkaṭa which figures in the later Pallava grants and is located in the Nellore district. Thus about the time of the Gupta invasion there seems to have been no ruler in the Guntur district. The earliest known later Pallava inscriptions found in the Guntur district are the Chandalur plates of Kumāraviṣṇu[32] 425-450 A.D. and the Omgōḍu grant of Skandavarman[33] 450-475 A.D. The latter was issued from Tāmbrāpa, identified with Chebrol in the northern part of the Guntur district, and contains a gift made in the Karmarāṣṭra. Skandavarman's father, Vīravarman, is described as having obtained victories in many battles and his grandfather, Skandavarman, is said to have obtained a kingdom by his valour.[34] Taking all these facts into consideration it may be argued that the Pallavas lost their hold over the Guntur district about the time of the Gupta invasion, that Skandavarman and Vīravarman had to carry on a bitter struggle in order to recover it, that some one was in occupation of this region and offerred them stiff

29. *Ibid*, p. 194.
30. Venkataramanayya—*Calukyas of Vengi*, pp. 57 & 64.
31. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, Texts pp. 6-17, line 20.
32. *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 233-236.
33. *Ibid*, XV, pp. 249-52.
34. *Ibid*.

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resistance and that ultimately Skandavarman could complete this process of recovery by penetrating almost up to the Krishna in the north. Since the Ānanda gōtra kings flourished in the northern part of the Guntur district they should in all probability be the rivals of the later Pallavas. Kandara I of the Ānanda gōtra may, therefore, be assigned to 375-400 A.D.

Another important feature of Pallava history helps us further. As indicated by his Uruvapalli[35] and Nedumgaraya grants[36] Simhavarman I's rule seems to have been confined to the Muṇḍarāṣṭra. His immediate successor Simhavarman II made gifts not only in Muṇḍarāṣṭra but also in the Karmarāṣṭra and Vēngōrāṣṭra. The last mentioned region is taken to be identical with the territory lying to the north of the Krishna. This shows another wave of Pallava aggression under the lead of Simhavarman II. It seems as though Pallava authority over the Karmarāṣṭra or the Guntur district was temporarily eclipsed during the reign of Simhavarman I. This may as well be due to Ānanda gōtra aggression. *Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman may* be assigned *to this time, to 425-475 A.D.*

The last Pallava ruler known from the Sanskrit grants to have ruled over coastal Āndhradēśa is Viṣṇugōpa. He flourished between 475-500 A.D. The list of Pallava rulers found in the Vāyalūr pillar inscription[37] is pressed into service here and three rulers, Simhavarman, Simhaviṣṇu and Mahēndravarman I, are located after Viṣṇugōpa.[38] There is no evidence of the rule of the first two kings of this group in the coastal districts. Mahēndravarman's rule is attested by his Chezerla inscription.[39] The later half of the sixth century was the time of Viṣṇukuṇḍin aggression to the south of the Krishna as will be shown below. It is very likely, therefore, that Simhavarman and Simhaviṣṇu did not rule over this region. There would thus be another gap of about 50 years in Pallava rule over the Guntur district. Kandara II and his grandson may, therefore, be assigned to this period 500-550 A.D.

The Chezerla stone inscription constitutes another important problems of Ānanda gōtra history. It has been left out by some and made the basis of many fanciful theories by others. This is a long inscription running into 50 lines and worn out in many places. It mentions two kings, Kandararāja and his daughter's son, who had the title Raṇamahāmalla. There are a number of epithets in lines 2-12, all in the genetive case, qualifying Kandararāja. There is another set of epithets in lines 13-34, all in the Nominative case, qualifying Raṇamahāmalla. The remaining part of the record refers to the setting up of temples and gifts of villages and utensils. The group of genetive epithets states that Kandara fought elephant battles at Dhānyakaṭaka, that he was born in the Ānanda gōtra, that he caused offence to the lord of the Kṛṣṇabēṇṇā by bringing about the widowhood of many Āndhra women, that he was the lord of the Trikūṭaparvata, that he had a monkey banner and that he was the ruler of Kandarapura and two janapadas. It is stated further

35. *I.A.*, V, pp. 50-53.
36. *Bharati*, vol. XVIII, pp. 698-713.
37.
38. Ubreuil—*Ancient Deccan*, pp.
39. *C.I.I.*, VI, no.

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that by his daughter (Mahādēvī) he begot a grandson who had the titles Satsabhāmalla and Raṇamahāmalla. This Raṇamahāmalla was a chieftain of great valour, the lord of rich janapadas and villages, had an eagle banner and was an adept in all the arts.

Dr. Gopalachari has derived many fanciful inferences from this inscription[40], viz. that the Kandara of this record was the founder of the dynasty, that the Pallavas to the south and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to the north connived at his rise and foundation of an independent kingdom, that Kandara's daughter married a Pallava who had the titles Pṛthvīduvarāja and begot Raṇamahāmalla and that Dhānyakaṭaka was in the possession of the Pallava son-in-law of Kandara. Most of these inferences are unwarranted.

We have already pointed out that the Mattepadu and Gōrantla plates were earlier than the Chezerla stone inscription, that there were two Kandaras in the family and that the Kandara of the Chezerla inscriptions becomes Kandara II. He cannot, therefore, be taken to be the founder of the family. It is not stated anywhere in the long stone inscription who the father of Raṇamāhāmalla was. Dr. Gopalachari takes the expression *Pṛthvīduvarājah* occurring in line 4, construes it with *Kandararājasya priya sutāyāṁ* occurring further down and infers that Raṇamahāmalla was the son of this Pṛthvīduvarāja. It is very strange that in spite of admitting that the expression Pṛthvīduvarājaḥ is the genetive form of the noun Pṛthvīyuvarāṭ[41] he should make this unwarranted inference. Further this epithet occurs among a number of others also, all in the genetive and tearing off one of them from its proper context and tagging it on to unconnectible parts of the inscription is not fair and justified. Further the title Yuvarāja is not an exclusive Pallava title. Pṛthvīduvarāja, on the other hand, never occurs in any Pallava record but it is to be met with only in the records of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī and Vēngī. The argument that titles like Sat sabhāmalla and Raṇamahāmalla are distinctive Pallava titles is not clinching. It may as well mean that the bearer of these titles was a Pallava subordinate. There is no evidence of Pallava rule over the Guntur district after Viṣṇugōpa 475-500 A.D. It thus becomes impossible that a Pallava was in possession of Dhānyakaṭaka after this date. Thus the entire theory of Pallava connections of Kandara and his grandson becomes a figment of imagination.

It is possible to offer a reasonable explanation for the exploits of Kandara II. He and his grandson flourished, as already stated 500-550 A.D. Kandara's fighting elephant battles at Dhānyakaṭaka and his causing offence to the lord of the Krīshna and causing the widowhood of Āndhra women may be taken together. It follows then that an Āndhra ruler was the lord of territories on either side of the Krishna including the famous city of Dhānyakaṭaka. This was the time when the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were in the heyday of their glory under Mādhavavarman I. This king is known to have crossed the Gōdāvary and made extensive conquests. An inscription from Vēlpūr in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district, wherein also lies Chezerla,

40. *Early Hist. Andhr.*, pp. 187-188.
41. *Ibid*, p. 188, No. 17.

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mentions a Viṣṇukuṇḍin king named Mādhavavarman. Madhavavarman's grandson and immediate successor Mādhavavarman II styles himself lord of Trikūṭa which is identified with the Kōṭappakonda hill in the same taluk. It may, therefore, be inferred reasonably that the Mādhavavarman of the Vēlpūr inscription is Mādhavavarman I and that he invaded the territory to the south of the Krishna and conquered the Guntur and Narasaraopet taluks of the Guntur district. This Mādhavavarman also flourished in the first half of the sixth century A.D. In contemporary Vākāṭaka inscriptions he seems to figure as an Āndhra ruler. He would thus be the Āndhra ruler who was in possession of Dhānyakaṭaka and could call himself the lord of the Krishnabēṇṇā. His soldiers would be Āndhra soldiers and their death would cause the widowhood of Āndhra women. For these reasons it looks almost certain that it was with the Viṣṇukuṇḍins that Kandara II fought for the northern half of the Guntur district which was the original Ānanda gōtra dominion. Perhaps the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I or his father Simhaviṣṇu invaded this region after the death of Mādhavavarman I and subjugated the grandson of Kandara who might then have been in possession of his maternal grandfather's territories. As a token of his Pallava subordination this chieftain might have assumed the Pallava titles of Satsabhāmalla and Raṇamahāmalla.

OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN ANCIENT INDIA

SHRIMATI SUKANYA AMBIAH

One of the interesting problems relating to ancient Indian political theory and State organization concerns ownership of land. The literary works are unequivocal in forbidding proprietary rights to the king. Still, a careful examination of inscriptions creates the impression that the kings always exercised certain powers in relation to land which gave them more than proprietary or ownership rights. This paper is devoted to an examination of this aspect.

In the early Vēdic times, the king is told, at the time of the coronation, that the State was being given to him for its welfare, prosperity and growth. This shows that it was a trust and did not, as such, confer ownership of any kind. Traditions regarding the origin of the State as found in the Mahābhārata and the Buddhist literature emphasise the king's obligation to give protection, while in return the people must supply him with the necessary men and money.[1] Even here there is no mention of land and its ownership by the king. Ancient writers on Law have elaborated this view and denied clearly the right of ownership of land to the king. According to Jaimini,[2] "the land belongs to all alike." According to the Mīmāmsa School,[3] "all possible pretensions by the Crown to such right are denied."

1. *Mbh. Śānti-Parva.*, Rājadharma, p. 193, (Madras Edition) ; *Manu*, Ch. 7, V. 54
2. *Jaimini's Sūtras*, 6.7.3.
3. Jayaswal *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 176-177. Cf. The Vyavahāramayūkha.

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Mādhavāchārya, a celebrated legal authority, states[4] that the great or public land (*Mahā-Bhūmī*) cannot be given away by the king on the ground that the king's sovereignty extends only to giving protection and punishing the wicked. Even in the case of a conqueror his right extends only to the houses, lands etc. of the conquered prince and not to the public land. A king's right is alwâys limited to the collection of taxes.

According to the Bhaṭṭa-Dīpika,[5] "Conquest or Imperium does not confer ownership of the conquered land." According to Kātyāyana,[6] "The mastership of the king is confined to the collection of the 1/6th share and the control of the inhabitants of the land." Thus both Mīmāmsa and Dharma Śāstra are agreed in denying ownership of land to the king or the State.

There are numerous inscriptions wherein it is clearly stated that some land was differentiated from the rest and was known by a special name. One of the Nāsik inscriptions of the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[7] refers to the gift of a land called *Rājakaṁ Khetaṁ*. Another inscription from the same place[8] mentions *Rāja Kṣētra*. The Chendalūr Plates of Kumāra-Viṣṇu[9] register the gift of 432 *Paṭṭikas* of land out of a *Rāja-Vastu* or Royal demesne of 800 *Paṭṭikas* as a Brahmadēya. The British Museum Plates of Chāru Dēvī[10] and the Achyutāpuram Plates of Indravarman contain gifts of land made near a *Rāja Taṭaka*. Obviously, like the tank, the land also was royal property. These four instances show, beyond doubt, that part of the land in the State was known as *Rāja Kṣētra* and that it was obviously distinct from the *Mahābhūmī* or public land.

One interesting question that arises at this stage is: How was the *Rāja-Kṣētra* formed? There are three possible explanations. In the first place, it must have been customary to set apart some land for the personal use of the Crown. Secondly, this royal demesne might have accrued as a result of escheat or confiscation in the case of offenders. A third possibility is that the king might have purchased the land from out of his own funds. In any case, however, it is certain that there was some land owned by the king which would be disposed of according to his pleasure.

There are hundreds and thousands of inscriptions which contain gifts of land, and of villages and groups of villages made by kings to temples, to batches of scholars or to individual scholars. These are known as Dēva-bhōgas, Brahmadēyas, Vṛttis and Agrahāras. There is nothing in these inscriptions to the effect that these lands or villages so freely gifted by so many kings were *Rajakṣētra* or *Rājasva*. It may be argued that though lacking proprietary right in land, the king had the regulating right and by gifting these lands and villages, the kings were discharging their duty of patronising

4. *Nyāyamāla* (Anandāshrama Sanskrit Series), p. 358.
5. (Mysore Edition), Vol. II, p. 317.
6. Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity*, p. 179, Part II.
7. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nāsik Ins. No. 5, *Etha Nagara Simē Rājakaṁkheta-Bhikhūnam Dadama.*
8. *Ibid*, No. 8.
9. *Ibid*, pp. 233-236.
10. *Ibid*, pp. 143-146.
11. *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 128-129.

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gods and learned men.[12] This argument holds good provided the gift was for a public purpose. There are numerous instances of kings making gifts of lands and villages for purely personal and non-public purposes like the increase of Dharma, Āyu, Bala and Yaśā,[13] for the prosperity of one's Kula and Gōtra,[14] for victory and longevity, and for the Mōkṣa of several generations including that of the donor.[16]

The absence of the specific mention that all the lands and villages thus gifted were *Rājakṣētra* in all these instances and the absurdity of numerous villages constituting royal demesne show that these villages and lands were part of the Mahā Bhūmī or Public land. *It comes to mean thus that the king actually gifted public land according to his pleasure for both public and private purposes.*

Jaimini, the famous Law-giver, states[17] "although a piece of land may be gifted to an individual, a monarch cannot gift the whole land nor a province to a subordinate." This dictum also is contradicted by actual practice. There are many instances of large blocks of land being gifted by kings to their subordinates. These were so big as to become subsequently important feudatory principalities. The founder of the Velanāḍu line of rulers is known[18] to have obtained the Ṣaṭsahasra or 6000 villages to the south of the river Krishna as a gift from Trinayana Pallava. Another chieftain named Malla also received[19] a similar gift. Buddha Varman, the ancestor of the Koṇḍapaḍamaṭi chiefs, obtained[20] a district of 210 villages from Viṣṇu-Vardhana, the founder of the Vēngī Cāḷukyan kingdom. A Kōna chief, named Mummaḍḍi Bhīma, obtained[21] the Vēngī country from Rājēndra Cōḍa. There is the famous instance of the Reḍḍi king, Kumāragiri, conferring[22] on his general Kāṭaya Vēma, a part of his own kingdom as a perpetual and hereditary fief. All the regions thus gifted were public land. They were neither conquered nor purchased by the donors. It is thus clear that the kings disposed of large tracts of land as freely as though they owned these lands.

A number of copper-plate grants contain special provisions like *Anugrahas* and *Parihāras* etc. and exemptions from the rendering of certain services. Obviously, all these were attached to the land and were either cancelled or transferred to the donee along with the land gifted. There are, however, certain provisions which seem to stand in a different category. Thus, for example, whatever is found on the surface like trees, grass, water and stones and whatever is found below the surface like *Nidhi* and *Nikṣēpa* are also gifted away.[23] This presumes the donor's ownership of all these. Otherwise,

12. Cf. *The Nāsik Ins. of Bālaśrī* LI, 5 & 7 where this duty is mentioned.
13. *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 1-10.
14. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 84-89.
15. *Ibid*, Vol. XV, pp. 249-252.
16. *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, pp. 327-330.
17. Jayaswal *Hindu Polity*, p. 175, Part II.
18. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1153.
19. *Ibid*.
20. *Ibid*, No. 1141.
21. *E.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 110-112.
22. Cf. *the Tottaramūḍi Plates*.
23. *Ibid*, Vol. I, (pp. 5-7, 53-56) ; Vol. IV, (pp. 358-359) ; Vol. V, (pp. 35-36) ; Vol. XI, (pp. 149-152) ; Vol. XXI, (pp.) ; Vol. XXV, (pp.

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they would not have been specifically mentioned. It is impossible that ownership extended to things found below and above the surface of land without extending to the land itself.

The Nāyaṁkara system is another instance to the point. It originated in the period of the rule of the Kākatīya kings of Warangal and continued as part of the administrative system of the Vijayanagara Empire. The empire was generally divided into a number of territorial units named Nāyaṁkaras. Each Nāyaṁkara was assigned to one Nāyaka obviously on the conditions that each Nāyaka paid the king a stipulated amount of money and supplied him with a contingent of soldiers. Within his Nāyaṁkara, the Nāyaka was supreme and enjoyed wide powers and rights including the right of ownership. There are numerous instances of Nāyakas gifting lands and villages on their own account as freely as any private owner of land. Since they were the creatures of the kings, the obvious inference is that the kings themselves had these rights.

There is one way in which this apparent conflict between theory and practice regarding ownership of land may be reconciled. When States were small and the communities were limited corporate ownership of land by the people as a whole could be possible. As the size of the States increased and as social and political life became more and more complicated, the State, and meaning thereby the king, had necessarily to grow stronger and concentrate all power. It might be that during this process of centralisation the kings actually developed and exercised proprietary rights over all public land.

SOME NOTES ON THE AFFINITY BETWEEN THE INDUS VALLEY AND EXTRA-INDIAN SCULPTURES

Dr. C. C. Das Gupta

The object of this article is to show the relation between the Indus Valley and extra-Indian sculptures with the help of certain specimens which were not taken into consideration by any scholar before.

First, we shall take the terracotta figurines into consideration and make a comparative study of them and contemporary figures and figurines of other countries. This analytical treatment will show whether the Indus Valley terracotta figurines are the products of Indian artistic expression uninfluenced by extra-Indian factors or are related to similar figurines of the contemporary age through a cultural bond. Many scholars have shown that the Indus Valley civilisation is very closely connected with the Sumerian civilisation which lay at the root of Babylonian, Assyrian and Achaemenian civilisations, as cognates. In Cunningham's time it was believed that the seals of the Indus Valley type found at Harappa were foreign to India.

24. Mahalingam—*Administration and social life under Vijayanagara*, p. 82.

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Regarding one of these seals he has remarked, "The seal is a smooth black stone without polish. On it is engraved very deeply a bull without hump, looking at the right, with two stars under the neck. Above the bull there is an inscription in six characters, which are quite unknown to me. They are certainly not Indian letters ; and as the bull which accompanies them is without a hump, I conclude that the seal is foreign to India."[1] That a great advance has been made along this line is evident from a comparative study of his statement and of the recent trend of Indus Valley archaeology. In the monumental works[2] on the Indus Valley civilisation a great deal of brilliant research has been incorporated showing the fundamental relation between the Indus Valley and the Western Asiatic, particularly Sumerian, civilisation ; and Gadd,[3] Langdon,[4] Fabri,[5] Frankfort,[6] Mackay,[7] Das Gupta[8] and others have produced further evidence for the validity of this thesis. Here it will be our endeavour to find out the relation between the Indus Valley and Western Asiatic terracotta figurines. In course of this discussion we may also take sculptures made of materials other than clay to prove our point. The Indus Valley terracotta figurines may be broadly divided into three sections, viz. human figurines, animals and birds. Human figurines may again be sub-divided into two sub-sections, viz., male figurine and female figurine. Thus, in all, we find four different types of terracotta figurines as prevalent in the Indus Valley age.

So far as male figurines are concerned, the first point which strikes us is the remarkable similiarity in modelling between some terracotta figurines belonging to the Indus Valley age and some terracotta figurines belonging to the earliest periods of Sumerian civilisation. The similarity between terracotta figurines discovered at Mohenjo-daro[9] and two clay figurines belonging to the earliest periods of Sumerian civilisation[10] is remarkable so far as modelling is concerned. The great similarity between the eyes of one figurine[11] and those of some Indus Valley terracotta figurines[12] is worth noting. Handcock calls the eyes of this figurine as consisting "of flattened balls"[13] which are round in shape ; and the above-mentioned Indus Valley terracotta figurines have eyes which are round in shape and which are very similar in treatment. No definite age has been ascribed to these two Sumerian figurines, though their very early date, being of Sumerian origin, is quite evident ; but the age of the above-mentioned Indus Valley terracotta figurines has been arrived at from a study of the strata in which they are found. From the point of

1. *CASIR*, Vol. V, p. 108, 1875.
2. *MIC*, 1931 ; *FEM*, 1938 ; *EH*, 1940.
3. *PBA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 191-210, pls. I-III, 1932.
4. *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 593-96, 1931 ; *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 47-48, 1932.
5. *IAL*, Vol. VI, pp. 120-21, 1932.
6. *ABIA*, pp. 1-12, pl. I, 1934.
7. *A*, 1931.
8. *IC*, Vol. III, pp. 186-87, 1936.
9. *MIC*, Vol. III, pp. XCIV-XCV, 1931.
10. *MA*, p. 318, figs. 85A & B, 1912.
11. *Ibid*, fig. 85A, 1912.
12. *MIC*, Vol. III, pp. XCIV, 11, 14, XCV, 8, 13, 14, 19-22, 24-26, 1931.
13. *MA*, p. 317, 1912.

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archaeological stratification Marshall has divided the Indus Valley civilisation as found at Mohenjo-daro into three periods, viz., Late, Intermediate and Early. Late and Intermediate periods have again been sub-divided into three sub-periods each. The following tabular form gives us an idea of the stratification at Mohenjo-daro:—

1st Stratum (? Late I Period) . . . 1-2 ft.
2nd ,, (? Late II Period) . . . 3-5 ft.
3rd ,, (? Late III Period) . . . 7-9 ft.
4th ,, (? Intermediate I period) . . . 12-13 ft. 6 in.
5th ,, (? Intermediate II Period) . . . 15-16 ft.
6th ,, (? I Intermediate III Period) . . . 18-19 ft.
7th ,, (? Early I Period) . . . 38-39 ft.[14]

From this table we understand that nothing has been said about the strata 6 ft., 11 ft., 14 ft., 17ft., and 20-37 ft. Regarding the strata 20-37 ft. Marshall remarks, "Between the sixth and seventh strata it will be observed that there is an unusually large interval of 20 ft. It is not, however, to be inferred therefrom that the period of time which elapsed between these strata was proportionately prolonged. The intervening space is occupied almost entirely by crude brick or alluvial mud heaped up artificially so as to form an immense platform over the whole of this stupa area, as well as over a big expanse of ground to the north of it, and thus place the buildings erected on it out of reach of the floods".[15] Most probably the non-mention of the strata 6 ft., 11 ft., 14 ft., and 17 ft., should be accounted for in the similar way. Marshall has further remarked that "we have provisionally allowed a space of 500 years, that is, two generations a piece for each of the successive strata brought to light, without counting those that are still submerged"[16] and that "the occupation of Mohenjo-daro fell approximately between 3250 B.C.-2750 B.C."[17] Working along this line we may tentatively hold that Early period may be said to belong to c. 3250-3150 B.C., Intermediate period to c. 3150-2950 B.C., and Late period to c. 2950-2750 B.C. All the terracotta figurines which have been referred to in connection with the comparison with the Sumerian terracotta figurines belong to Late period.[18] Thus their age is approximately c. 2950-2750 B.C. ; and the Sumerian specimens mentioned are certainly not far from this age. There are, moreover, some other specimens found at Mohenjo-daro and at Kish which have remarkable points of resemblance and the comparison of these specimens leads us to opine that they belong to the same origin. At Kish in the A cemetery Mackay has found a terracotta male figurine whose lower body is lost. Its arms are roughly made. It has the pinched nose, flat round pellets of clay for eyes, the mouth just indicated and wears a turban over which there is a wig.[19]

14. *MIC*, Vol. I, p. 124, 1931.
15. *Ibid*, p. 124, 1931.
16. *Ibid*, p. 103, 1931.
17. *Ibid*, p. 104, 1931.
18. *Ibid*, pp. 342-46, 1931.
19. *SPACK*, pl. XLVII, 1, 1929.

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There is a fundamental similarity between this figurine and another terracotta figurine found at Mohenjo-daro.[20] This Mohenjo-daro terracotta figurine belongs to Late II period[21] and consequently is to be ascribed to c. 2950-2750 B.C. The age of the Kish terracotta figurine is not difinitely stated ; but there is no doubt that it belongs to the Sumerian age.[22]

Besides the striking similarity between the Indus Valley and the Sumerian terracotta figurines we find also the striking similarity between the Indus Valley figurines in stone, terracotta and other materials on one hand and the Sumerian sculptures in stone, terracotta and other materials on the other hand. This further proves the fundamental relationship which existed between these two centres of culture. In order to prove this point we should compare some concrete examples. In Mohenjo-daro one terracotta bull[23] has been found. This has got great resemblance with some specimens[24] found in the Near East. The alabaster bull or bison illustrated in Contenau's work has been found at Elam and belongs to "la periode archaique qui pricide la dynastiec d'Agade". Regarding the bull made of slate Langdon remarks "They obviously belong to a series of plaques which represented rural and other scenes. The figures are made of pure, white limestone, but the composition of the scenes cannot be represented for hardly any part of the slate frame-work of the plaques could be found. This series of plaques reveals a Sumerian art of elegance, and shows that their artistic genius has been underestimated."[25] The bull found at Mohenjo-daro belongs to the Intermediate period.[26] A careful and comparative study of these three representations of bull in different materials such as clay, alabaster and slate at different places, viz., Elam, Kish and Mohenjo-daro and belonging to the pre-Agad epoch of Elam, the pre-Sargonic period of Kish and the Intermediate period of the Indus Valley culture have the remarkable similarity among themselves so far as modelling is concerned, the most striking point of similarity being the general flabbiness of the body.

Let us now come to the birds. There is a great similarity, so far as modelling is concerned, between one terracotta dove found at Mohenjo-daro[27] and other figurines representing dove at different places in Near East.[28] Let us, first of all, deal with the age of these dove figurines one by one. The Mohenjo-daro specimen which belongs to the Intermediate period is to be ascribed to the period *c.* 3150-2950 B.C., the specimen illustrated in Contenau's work is found at Tell-al-Obeid and is ascribed to *c.* 300 B.C.,[29] the specimen illustrated in Hall and Wooley's work, which was found at Al,

20. *MIC*, Vol. III, pl. XCIV, 2, 1931. This similarity has been first noticed by Das Gupta (*IC*, Vol. III, pp. 186-87, 1936).
21. *MIC*, Vol. I, p. 345, 1931.
22. *SPACK*, p. 212, 1929.
23. *MIC*, Vol. III, pl. XCVII, 23, 1931.
24. *MAO*, fig. 389, 1927 ; *EK*, Vol. I, pl. XLI, u. fig., 1924.
25. *EK*, Vol. I, pp. 72-73, 1924.
26. *MIC*, Vol. I, p. 354, 1931.
27. *Ibid*, Vol. III, pl. XCVI, 1, 1931.
28. *MAO*, Vol. 2, fig. 342, 1927 ; *UEAV*, pl. XXXIII, 3, 4, 1927 ; *DP*, Vol. VII, fig. 69, 1905.
29. *MAO*, Vol. I, p. 446, 1927.

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is not definitely ascribed to any age.[30] Regarding the dove illustrated in Morgan's work there is the following observation, "La colombe en terre emaille, l'oiseau d'Ishtar suivart toute apparence, est d'un travail tres soigne ; une tige du bronze la traversant la fixait probablement a l'eztremite d'un sceptre" ;[31] but its age is not properly indicated. A close perusal of these doves found at different places shows that they are very similar in execution. They resemble each other very strikingly except in one or two points. Unlike all the specimens mentioned above the Mohenjo-daro specimen has its wings outstretched. Like other three examples the Mohenjo-daro specimen "stands upon a somewhat unsatisfactory base, which is slightly hollowed beneath."[32] Except these two points of difference there is a great similarity between these specimens.

Thus we see that there exists a fundamental relationship between the terracotta figurines of the Indus Valley age on one hand and the figurines made in clay, stone and other materials of the Near East, particularly of the land inhabited by the Sumerians. This assertion is further corroborated by the similarity, noticed by many scholars, between other products, particularly the inscribed and uninscribed seals, of the Indus Valley and the Sumerian ages. Yet in spite of the fundamental similarity there are some characteristics which are peculiar to the Indus Valley people and which have differentiated all the products of the Indus Valley age from those of the Near East. This assertion makes room for the hypothesis that the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates on one hand and the Indus on the other hand constitutes an area where one culture originated. This culture penetrated to the west in the Tigris-Euphrates valley and to the east in the Indus Valley. Then in both these centres local influence made them as typical of the places where they thrived. Regarding this point Stein has opined that at British Baluchistan, Makran, Southern Persia, Fars, the ancient Persis which constitute the Indo-Iranian borderland plentiful remains of the chalcolithic and later periods have been recovered which provide the links with the earliest civilisations as yet known from Mesopotamia and Elam on one hand and from the Indus Valley on the other hand.[33] This is the latest view on this problem. Other important views on this problem are the following. Coomaraswamy holds the view propounded by Marshall. He observes, "But it is at least probable that the civilisation of which we have now obtained this first glimpse was developed in the Indus Valley itself and was as distinctive of that region, as the civilisation of the Pharaohs was distinctive of the Nile ; and if the Sumerians, as is generally taken, represent an intrusive element in Mesopotamia, then the possibility is clearly suggested of India proving ultimately to be the cradle of their civilisation, which in its turn lay at the root of Babylonian, Assyrian and Western Asiatic culture

30. *UEAV*, p. 98, 1927. Though these birds are not ascribed to any definite age, there is no doubt that they are of Sumerian origin.
31. *DP*, Vol. VII, p. 47, 1905. Though its age is not indicated, there is no doubt that it is of Sumerian origin.
32. *MIC*, Vol. I, p. 350, 1931.
33. *M*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 129, 140-41, 1934.

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generally."[34] Here it is relevant to offer some criticism to this statement. It is quite true, as Marshall and Coomaraswamy believe, that the Indus Valley civilisation is distinctive of the Indus Valley, in as much as there are some factors in this culture which have given it a distinctive stamp ; but this statement does not appear to be fully true because there are some factors in the Indus Valley civilisation which connect it with the Western Asiatic, particularly Sumerian, cultures. Secondly, it is not possible to follow the chain of argument by which Coomaraswamy leads one to conclude that India is to be considered as the cradle of the Sumerian civilisation because the Sumerians are supposed to be an intrusive element in ancient Mesopotamia. It has not yet been proved that the Sumerian culture is later in age than the Indus Valley culture and that the Sumerian culture is nothing but an offshoot of the Indus Valley culture according to archaeological evidence ; and unless these two hypotheses can be established, it will not be logical to conclude that India was the cradle of the Sumerian civilisation. Regarding this problem Kramrisch opines that the sculptures of the Indus Valley age supply the link between the palaeolithic and later Indian arts by observing that "the main medium in India of translation from actual seeing into artistic form is modelling. In this respect the heritage of the palaeolithic art is carried on into the chalcolithic stage, to which the Indus civilisation belongs".[35] But Kramrisch has not proved by concrete examples how the palaeolithic art of India and the Indus Valley sculpture are related with reference to modelling. In India no sculpture has been found as yet to which the palaeolithic age may be ascribed.[36] It is, therefore, difficult to substantiate the theory of Kramrisch and it appears that Stein's theory is the best of all.

A list of abbreviations of books and journals used in this article:—

(1) A—*Antiquity ;* (2) A B I A—*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology,* Kern Institute, Leyden ; (3) C A S I R—Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports ;* (4) D P—*Delegation en Perse* by J. de Morgan, 1905 ; (5) E H—*Excavations at Harappa* by M. S. Vats, 2 vols. ; (6) E K—*Excavations at Kish* by S. Langdon ; (7) F E M—*Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro* by E. Mackey, 2 vols. ; (8) H I I A—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art* by A. K. Coomaraswamy ; (9) I A L—*Indian Arts and Letters ;* (10) I C—*Indian Culture ;* (11) I S—*Indian Sculpture* by S. Kramrisch ; (12) J P A S B (NS)—*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series) ; (13) J R A S—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland ;* (14) M—Man ; (15) M A—*Mesopotamian Archaeology* by P. S. P. Handcock ; (16) M A O—*Manual d'archaeologie orientale* by G. Contenau ; (17) M I C—*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation.* Edited by J. Marshall, 3 vols. ; (18) P B A—*Proceedings of the British Academy ;* (19) S P A C K—*A Sumerian palace and the "A" cemet at Kish, Mesopotamia* by E. Mackay ; (20) U E A V—*Ur Excavations,* vol. I. Al-Ulaid by H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley.

34. *HIIA,* p. 5, 1927.
35. *IS,* p. 3, 1933.
36. *JPASB* (NS), Vol. XXVII, pp. 1-96, 1931.

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VEDIC ORIGIN OF INDIAN REPUBLICS

DR. R. B. PANDEY

The pioneer researcher in the history of Indian republics Dr. K. P. Jayaswal held the view that republics in India were post-Vedic institutions. "Hindu Republics are another illustration of the communal self-governing habits of the post-Vedic age. . . . . The early Vedas know only monarchy. Departure from this normal constitution was made in post-Vedic times, and, as Megasthenes also records the tradition that 'sovereignty (Kingship) was dissolved and democratic governments set up in various places."[1] The Mahābhārata similarily considers monarchy alone as the Vedic form of government. The hymns of the R.V. and Atharvan, the view of the Mahābhārata and the tradition which Megasthenes heard in India in the fourth century B.C., all point to the fact that republican form of government in India came long after monarchy, and after the early Vedic age."[2]

The basis of Jayaswal's view can be analysed under three heads:

(1) *No mention of republics in the early Vedic literature.*
In the hymns of the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda Dr. Jayaswal could not find any term or reference indicating the existence of the republican form of government. Mr. Macdonell and Dr. A. B. Keith held a similar opinion in their Vedic Index.[3] The German scholar Zimmer, however, mentioned some passages in the early Vedic literature where he found that normally there was no king in some states. Messrs. Macdonell and Keith dissented from the opinion of Zimmer and maintained that the passages depended upon by him were not conclusive.

(2) *The view expressed in the Mahābhārata.*
In the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata there is a Vedic saying which runs as follows: 'No one should live in a non-monarchical state.'[4]

(3) *The records of Megasthenes.*
The records of the Greek ambassador regarding the origin of republics in India may be summarised as follows: "When the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionysus made his appearance from the Western regions with a considerable army. He overran the whole of India as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. But the excessive heat of India caused his soldiers to be sick and seek shelter among hills. He was the founder of great cities and showed the people how to worship the deity and introduced laws and courts of justice. After reigning over the whole of India for 52 years, he died of old age, while his sons succeeding to the govern-

1. *Epitome of Megasthenes,* Diod. II, 38; Mc. Grindle, *Megasthenes,* 38, 40.
2. *Hindu Polity* (second ed.), p. 23.
3. Vol. II, p. 210.
4. नाराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु वस्तव्यमिति वैदिकम्। XII, 66-5 (Kumbh Ed.)

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ment, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession, to posterity. At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved and democratic governments were set up and the most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government though some retained the king until the invasion of the country by Alexander."[5]

To the arguments produced by Jayaswal a few more may be added in favour of his hypotheses. These are the historical evidences available in India and the Greek and Roman analogy:

(1) *Historical evidences.*

In Indian history and tradition we find many evidences of monarchical states changing into republics. In the Vedic and epic periods the Videhas of Mithila had a monarchical form of Government but during the Buddhist period they adopted a republican form of government. Originally the Yaudheyas, the Ambasthas, the Śivis and the Madras had monarchical form of government, but in later history they changed into republics. Similarly in the earlier history of the country the Kurus and the Pāñchalas were under the monarchical form but the Arthaśāstra mentions them among the republics along with the Lichhavīs, the Vrijjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas etc.[6] Many other instances can be furnished from the history of ancient India.

(2) *Greek and Roman analogy.*

In Greek and Roman history we find that in certain periods there was a number of monarchical states. When monarchs became weak and deficinecy crept in, the nobles dethroned them and took the right and duty of the government in their own hands. In the same manner these powers, later on, came into the hands of the people. Throughout the great part of Greece in the eighth century B.C., the monarchics were declining and disappearing and republics were taking their place.[7] In Rome also at first there were Latin kings ; then the city fell into the hands of the Etruscan rulers whose tyranious conduct led at last to their expulsion and Rome became a Latin speaking republic.[8]

Let us examine and verify these arguments and evidences and see how far they are reliable in tracing the origin of Indian republics.

(1) *Examination of the Vedic data.*

The opinions of K. P. Jayaswal, Macdonell and Keith on the Vedic data regarding the form of government during the early Vedic period are not conclusive. Jayaswal in an indecisive manner says, "The early Vedas know only monarchy. Departure from this *normal* constitution was made in post-Vedic times" this implies that there

5. Mac Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian,* pp. 34-36.
6. *Arthaśāstra,* XI, 376-79.
7. J. B. Burry, *A History of Greece,* p. 98.
8. H. G. Wells, *Outline of History,* p. 420.
9. *Hindu Polity* (second edition), p. 23.

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could be some non-monarchical forms of government also. Macdonell and Keith, in the similar manner could not assert that monarchy was the only form of government during the Vedic period. They state, "It is quite clear that the *normal,* though not universal, form of government in early India was that by kings."[10] They are not able to controvert the views of Zimmer successfully. Zimmer tells us that the non-monarchical states of the Vedic times were some sort of oligarchy.[11] He produces the following verse in favour of his hypothesis:

"As the kings (rājānaḥ) assemble together in the *samiti,* the plants (oṣadhī) gather together in him who is called a physician, one who heals diseases and destroys demons.[12] He is of the opinion that the state was not ruled by a single king but several members of the royal family jointly ruled the state. He also holds that some of the passages in the Atharvaveda relating to the election of kings refer to the contest of a member of an obligarchy for supremacy over others. He finds in ancient India a parallel of the oligarchical form of government existing among the ancient German tribes. Dr. Samasastri holds a similar opinion. According to him the word *rājan* corresponding with the Roman 'rex' seems to have originally signified a 'chief' or 'noble' but not a hereditary monarch and he quotes certain Vedic passages in support of his views.[13]

A more convincing evidence regarding the existence of republics during the Vedic period is found in the Vedic passage which refers to "the descendants of the Vītihavyas, who ruled over a thousand men and were ten hundred in number, were overwhelmed after they had eaten a Brahman's cow."[14] Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out that the Vitihavyas, thousand in number, ruled a territory inhabited by a thousand members: the number thousand must be conventional and the state must have been republican. It is also noteworthy that these people were anti-Brahmanic as the republican people of the Buddhist period.[15]

In the Brāhmaṇa literature we find the mention of non-monarchical states, obviously of an earlier period. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[16] states that "among the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras, the whole community was consecrated to rulership and their institution was called *'vairājya'* (the state without a king)." Dr. Jayaswal concedes that *'Vairājya'* means a kingless constitution and that "the greater portion of the Aryan India—north, west and south—was covered with republican institutions ; only in the middle-Madhyadeśa—monarchy prevailed.[17] Dr. Majumdar is definite about the existence of non-monarchical states in Vedic India. He says, "Regarding the antiquity of

10. *Vedic Index,* Vol. II, p. 210.
11. *Altindisches Leben,* pp. 176-177.
12. *Atharvaveda,* I, 9 ; III, 4 ; *Rigveda,* X 97, 6.
13. *Evolution of Hindu Polity,* p. 11.
14. *Atharvaveda,* V, 18, 20.
15. *Corporate Life in Ancient India,* pp. 220-21.
16. VII, 3-14. (second ed.)
17. *Hindu Polity* (second ed.), p. 82.

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non-monarchical form of government, there are some grounds for the belief that it was not unknown even in the Vedic period."[18]

(2) *Examination of the view held in the Makābhārata.*

The Mahābhārata saying 'nārājakeṣu rāṣtreṣu vastavyam iti vaidikaṁ'[19] is supposed by K. P. Jayaswal to mean that "according to the Vedic rule one should not live in a non-monarchical state." But a little reflection will show that here the meaning of the term *'arājaka'* is a bit over-stretched in favour of his theory. The natural meaning of term should be 'chaotic' or, in the context of a monarchical state, 'without a king'. It has no reference to a particular type or constitution of the state. P. C. Roy gives a better translation of the Mahābhārata text: 'No one should live in kingdoms torn by anarchy."[20] I think a still better translation would lie: 'No one should live in anarchical states." Even if we accept the meaning suggested by Jayaswal the prohibitory Vedic text implies that the non-monarchical form of the state was known in the Vedic period. We get the description of an *'arājaka janapada'* in the Rāmāyaṇa[21] also, which in the monarchical context means 'an anarchical state or territory.' Here the poet has glorified the existence of the king. He tells us that no evil is greater than anarchy. We get here the evils of anarchy stated ; there is nothing to prove that in the Vedic period there were no non-monarchical states.

(3) *Examination of the records of Megasthenes.*

The records of Megasthenes cannot be absolutely reliable as an historical fact. He recorded many things which are based only on imagination and heresay evidence. Strabo, another Greek historian, doubts the veracity of Megasthenes in the following words: "Generally speaking the men who have written on the affairs of India were a set of liars. Deimachos holds the first place in the list, Megasthenes comes next. . . . No faith whatever can be placed in Deimachos and Megasthenes. It is not wroth while to study their accounts with care, so conflicting are they and so incredible."[22] Mac Crindle, himself, comments upon Megasthenes: "The fact is that they (Strabo and others) find fault with only parts of narrative of Megasthenes—the one in which he writes of fabulous races of India and the other where he gives an account of Herakles and the Indian Dionysus."[23] So far as ancient Indian literature is concerned we do not find any traditional record of the events given by Megasthenes which shows that the Greek ambassador concocted these stories on the basis of his imagination. Perhaps in writing these historical fables he was inspired by the history of his own country, where a few centuries earlier monarchy had given way to republics, though he seems to have forgotten that republics again were absorbed by monarchy hardly a generation earlier than his own time.

18. *Corporate Life in Ancient India,* p. 218.
19. *Mahābhārata,* XII, 66. 5—(Kumbh. Bombay edition).
20. *Ibid,* XII, 67. 5.
21. II, 67, 8-36.
22. Mac Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian,* p. 20.
23. *Ibid,* p. 21.

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(4) *Examination of other grounds.*

Other grounds which may be produced in favour of the post-Vedic origin of republics in India are equally untenable. The evidences of Indian history regarding the formation of some republics and the Greek and Roman analogy depict the history of a later age. They certainly do not belong to the original period of the development of political institutions among the early Aryans. No doubt in the time of Homer and possibly before him also, of which we have any record, normally there were monarchical states. But history did not commence at the same time. Before the establishment of monarchy there were some other types of political institutions in Greece which were converted into monarchies. Even the fabulous records of Megasthenes that the invaders established monarchies in ancient India imply that some non-monarchical type of governments existed in rural area which were replaced by monarchies.

Indian traditions regarding the origin of monarchy.

In the Aitareya Brāhmana we find a statement regarding the origin of monarchy in ancient India as follows: "The *Devas* and the *Asuras* were fighting. . . . The *Asuras* defeated the *Devas*. . . . The *Devas* said, 'It is on account of our having no King that the *Asuras* defeat us. Let us have a King.''[24] The only natural inference we can draw from this passage is that the early Aryans had no king and consequently no monarchical system of Government. It was during their war with the *Asuras* that they realised that the monarchical system of government was more effective against an organized military force than smaller republican units however inspired by their love of freedom and self-rule and adopted a monarchical type of government. Other traditions recorded in the Mahābhārata[25] and the Buddist literature[26] also state that monarchy was invariably preceded by a non-monarchical type of state in India.

Evidence of Anglo-Saxon Polity.

The development of early Anglo-Saxon Polity may help us in the proper understanding of early Indian Polity. Caesar's account of the first century B.C. of Germany shows that originally the Anglo-Saxons had a republican constitution. They were divided into so many tribal organizations. Their tribal council was the sovereign body which determined peace and war. Bede writes about them, "These old Saxons have not a king but a great number of *satraps* set over their nation, who in any case of imminent war cast lots equally and on whomsoever the lot falls, him they all follow as leader during the war, him they all obey for the time, but when the war is over, all the *satraps* again resume their equal power.''[27] In the time of peace the tribal council was supreme and did everything. The tribal state was divided into

24. देवासुरा वा एषु लोकेषु समयतंत...तांस्तत असुरा अजयन्...देवा अब्रुवन्नराज तथा वै नो जयन्ति राजानं कर वा महा इति तथेति। Aihareya Br. I, 14.

25. *Sāntiparva*, ch. 67.
26. Dīghanikaya, *Sacred Books of the Buddhist*, IV, pp. 77.
27. Stubbs: *Constitutional History of England*, Part I, pp. 29-30.

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many divisions each of which was administered by an elected magistrate. Tacitus (first century A.D.) gives almost a similar account about the political institutions of the Anglo-Saxons. Stubbs holds a similar opinion: ". . . A large proportion of the tribes dispensed with royalty, the state or civitas was a sufficient centre and the tie of nationality a sufficient bond of cohesion. In these still, as in Caesar's time the Principals chosen in the national council acted independently of one another in peace and in war obeyed the leader whose valour marked him out for election."[28] There was a great possibility of similar political development in India also and the Indo-Aryans cannot be treated as an exception to this rule.

Conclusion from evidences.

We have seen that the arguments advanced in favour of the post-Vedic origin of Indian republics do not take into accounts the earlier political development of the Indo-Aryans and the Indian traditions regarding the origin of monarchy in India. They are also indifferent to the process of the development of early society. All available data lead us to believe that before the establishment of hereditary monarchy there were some sort of non-monarchical institutions. Under the circumstances, the hypothesis that republics in India were post-Vedic institutions evolved on the ruins of earlier monarchies cannot be maintained. The hypothesis may be applicable to the later republics of India, but certainly not to the earlier ones.

Vedic Republics.

Some of the Vedic hymns contain references to, and descriptions of, two most important political institutions of the Vedic times—the *Samiti* and the *Sabhā*. An analysis of descriptions reveal the following features of these institutions:

(*i*) The *Samiti* consisted of the entire people of a state (obviously small in area) ; the *Sabha* was composed of the elders among the people.

(*ii*) The *samiti* elected *'Rājan'* or the leader of the people ; at election there were several contestants.

(*iii*) The *Samiti* was the supreme sovereign body which transacted all important business of the state ; the *Sabha* was the judicial body and its decision were irrevocable and binding.

(*iv*) Deliberations in these assemblies were carried on through debates and discussions.

(*v*) Members of these assemblies tried to excell one another in debates, at the same time aiming at concord and common policy.

These features answer more to the republican nature, contents and function of these assemblies than to monarchical ones. Perhaps the word *'rājan'* used in connection with these assemblies misled many scholars in regarding them as monarchical. As a matter of fact the word *'rājan'* is used in the sense of the Roman word *'rex'* meaning a 'leader' or a 'consul'. That even

28. Stubbs: *Constitutional History of England,* Part I, p. 72.

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the republican leaders adopted the title of *'rājā'* is borne out by the imperialist Kauṭilya, who say that some of the republics were 'living upon the word (=bearing the title of) *'rājā*.[29] Besides the *Samiti* and the *Sabha* other Vedic institutions like *Saṁgrāma, Vidatha, Senā* etc. were also of republican nature.

The testimony of the Vedic hymns is corroborated by the traditions recorded in the Vedas and the Purāṇas. One passage in the Atharvaveda (V. 18.10) runs as follows: "They that ruled, a thousand, and were ten hundreds, those Vaitahavyas, having devoured the cow of the Brahman, perished". Dr. R. C. Majumdar opines on this passage: ". . . there can be scarcely any doubt that we have here an example of oligarchical or republican clan. It is also worthy of note that like the later non-monarchical clans (Mallas, Lichchhavis etc.) they were anti-Brahmanical."[30] The Vaitahavyas were obviously the descendants of Vitihavya or the Vitihotra, a scion of the Haihayas, who are so famous in the Puranic and Epic history.[31] The Haihayas constituted a branch of the Yadavas. Many of the Yadava branches had non-monarchical or republican system of political organization which continued up to the Mahābhārata War and even survived it. According to the Puranic calculation the Vaitahavyas and the early descendants of Yadu belonged almost to the beginning of the Vedic period.

THE VIDATHA

RAM SHARAN SHARMA

Although much has been written to elucidate the nature of the Vedic assemblies *Sabhā* and *Samiti* scant attention has been paid to the study of the Vidatha, an important Vedic institution. Its importance will appear from the fact that while the *Sabhā* and *Samiti* have been mentioned respectively only eight and nine times in the *Rigveda* the Vidatha has been mentioned 122 times. Similarly in the *Atharvaveda* the *Sabhā* and *Samiti* occur respectively seventeen and thirteen times but the Vidatha occurs twenty-two times. Hence even when the Vidatha was declining in importance in subsequent times it received more attention than the *Sabhā* and *Samiti*.

There are six views regarding the meaning of the Vidatha.[1] They generally emphasise either the religious or worldly aspects of the Vidatha. Roth seems to make a synthesis of various views and concludes that the Vidatha was an assembly meant for secular, religious and military purposes. Following him Jayaswal thinks that the Vidatha was probably "the parent folk assembly from which the *Sabhā, Samiti* and *Senā* differentiated."[2] Unfortunately no attempts were made to substantiate these views by examining

29. *Arthaśāstra,* XI, 1.
30. *Corporate Life in Ancient India,* p. 220.
31. *Mahābhārata,* XIII, 30, 1946-96.

1. They have been summarised in *Vedic Index* Vol. II, p. 296 of Macdonell and Keith and in U. N. Ghoshal's *History of Public Life,* pt. I, p. 28.
2. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity,* old edn. pt. I, p. 20.

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the copious references to the Vidatha in the *Rigveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. Proceeding on the basis that there should be similarity between the life of the primitive people known to anthropology and that of ancient peoples known to history it is possible to elucidate and supplement the obscure references to the Vidatha in the Vedic literature and to get the correct picture of its composition and functions.

As to the composition the one characteristic feature which distinguishes the *Sabhā* and *Samiti* from the Vidatha is the frequent association of woman with it. In the *Rv.* there is only one reference indicating the connection of the woman with the *Sabhā*. She is described as worthy of going to the *Sabhā*.[3] But the same source furnishes at least four references in case of the woman's connection with the Vidatha. They inform us that the *Yoshā* went to the Vidatha.[4] Grown-up males are described as placing strong and social maiden for the sake of good in the Vidathas.[5] It appears that the female member was not a mute participant in the affairs of the Vidatha. Thus in the *Rv. Suryā* is instructed to speak to the assembled people in the Vidatha.[6] We learn further from the *Av.* that women took part in the deliberations of the Vidatha. Thus the desire was expressed in the marriage ceremony that the bride may not only figure as a housewife but having control she may speak to Vidatha (council).[7] Again it is said that she may speak to the Vidatha in her advanced age.[8] This should not be taken to mean that man got undue preference over woman. Even with regard to man the same desire of speaking to the Vidatha (council) in advanced age is repeated.[9] So in the deliberative functions of the Vidatha woman had an equal voice with man. The above references make it clear that the Vidatha was attended by woman as well and that it was a sort of assembly. It may be compared to the council of the Iroquois[10] gens which served as "the democratic assembly of all adult male and female members of the gens, all with equal voice."[11] In this respect the Vidatha was completely different from the earliest known popular assemblies of the Greeks, Romans and Germans in which women did not find any place. But the old Welsh laws, not later than the eleventh century, show that the women had the right to vote at the popular assemblies.[12] So far as India is concerned if we assume that matriarchy preceded patriarchy it will have to be admitted that the Vidatha is an institution of the highest antiquity.

3. *Rv.* I, 167. 3.

4. *Ibid,* गृहा चरन्ती मनुषी न योषा सभावयी विदथेव सं वाक्

5. *Rv. I,* 167. 6. आस्थापयन्त युवतिं युवान। सुभे निमिञ्जां विदथेषु पजाम

6. *Rv.* X, 85. 26. गृहान्गच्छ गृहपत्नीयथासोवशिनी त्वं विदथमावदासि

7. *Av.* XIV, 1. 20, repeats exactly the same hyman as *Rv.* X, 85-26.

8. *Av.* XIV, 1. 21 & *Rv.* X, 85. 27. एना पत्यो तन्वं १ संसृजस्वाधा जिव्रीविदथमावदाथः

There is slight variation in the *Av* hymn.

9. *Av.* VIII, 1. 6.

10. A league of five (later six) tribes which inhabited New York State.

11. F. Engels: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* Moscow, 1948, p. 126.

12. *Ibid,* p. 188.

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The Vidatha being an assembly there are references to its deliberative functions. We learn from the *Av.* that people aspired for talking big in the Vidatha.[13] The householder prayed for warding off the death so that living he could speak to the council.[14] It seems that in the deliberations of the Vidatha advanced age received some weightage which is generally found in primitive assemblies.

What was the subject of deliberations in the Vidatha can be known only vaguely. According to Oldenberg one of the meanings of the Vidatha is the "act of disposing of any business" or the like. This meaning appears in well known passages "may we with valiant men mightily raise our voice at the determining (of ordinance)."[15] There seems to be some sense in this for *Mitra-Varuṇa* are described as directing the thoughts of the three gatherings (Vidathas) in the sky, air and earth. They are described as strengthening the law.[16] At another place *Agni* who comes to the Vidatha is described as an ordainer.[17] This shows that the Vidatha probably made laws and ordinances for the regulation of the affairs of the tribe. It may be presumed that the Vidatha transacted the tribal business which is characteristic of primitive assemblies.

Again, in the opinion of Oldenberg another meaning of the Vidatha is distribution.[18] There is some evidence to accept this meaning. According to a passage of the *Rv.* the members summoned in the Vidatha are instructed to be present in the distribution of whatever is produced daily by God *Savitar*.[19] At another place *Agni* is described as the liberal distributor (*aṁśa*) of produces in the Vidatha.[20] It is worthy of remark that distribution of produces was an important function of the primitive assemblies. Till recent times the practice prevailed among the tribal people that whatever game was obtained by an individual was not solely appropriated by him but shared together with his neighbours.[21] On this basis it is possible to suppose that the people assembled in the Vidatha made distribution of what they procured as food. But there is at least one reference which betrays a tendency towards individual accumulation. Thus a sacrificer has been described as moving with his chariot "first in rank and wealthy, munificent and lauded in assemblies (Vidatheshu)."[22]

Probably most of the references in the *Rv.* point to the military nature of the Vidatha. About two dozen references in the *Rv.* indicate its military character. An important subject for discussion in the Vidatha was the exploits of the heroes. For example the Vidatha discussed the conquering might

13. *Av.* XIII, 3.
14. *Av.* XII, 2. 30 & VIII, 1. 6.
15. *Sacred Books of the East,* Vol. 46, p. 26.
16. *Rv.* VI, 66. 10.
17. *Rv.* III, 14. 1.
18. *S.B.E.* Vol. 46, p. 26.
19. *Rv.* VII, 40-1. भीमृष्टिविद्म्या..... । यदघदेवः सवितासुवातिस्यामास्य रविनीविभागे ॥
20. *Rv.* II, 1. 4. त्वमग्ने राजा वरुणो..... । त्वलर्यमा सत्पतिर्यस्य संभुजं त्वमंशो विदथे देव फाययुः ॥
21. Will Durant: *The Story of Civilization,* Vol. I, p. 17. New York, 1942.
22. Rv. II, 27-12. स रेवान्याति प्रथमो पथेय वसुदाना विदथेषु प्रशस्तः;

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of *Agni*.[23] Invocations are made to the various gods in which the Vidatha is described as full of heroes. There are at least twenty-one hymns in the *Rv.* which end with the verse "with brave sons (or heroes) in the assembly (Vidatha) may we speak aloud."[24] It seems that the main military function of the Vidatha may have been to conduct the tribal war against the hostile tribes—a phenomenon which was natural in the earliest phase of the Indo-Aryan history. It is well-known that primitive tribes consider themselves in a state of perpetual war with a tribe with which they have not concluded terms of peace. That is why the members of the Iroquois gens were bound to give one another assistance, protection and particularly support in avenging injuries inflicted by outsiders.[25]

It is natural to suppose that the Vidatha conducted its military operations under some war-chief. That it was led by some kind of chief can be inferred from several passages. At one place *Indra* is called the might of the Vidatha and at another place he is described as a lord of heroes leading the people to the Vidathas.[26] *Pūshan* is described as the hero of the Vidatha and *Agni's* will is represented like that of sovereign in an assembly.[27] Such statements leave no doubt that the Vidatha had its own chief. As to how the chief was appointed is difficult to determine. There are, however, two references which show that *Agni*, frequently described as the priest, was elected in the Vidatha. According to one assage *Agni*, the *Hotṛi* priest who makes the assembly full, is elected at sacrificial offerings by great and small alike.[28] Another passage says that the arrangers elect *Agni* as their priest in the sacred gatherings (Vidathas).[29] The sense of consent in accepting *Agni* as priest is found in another hymn which says that Gods and men have made *Agni* their chief support.[30] Thus it is obvious that *Agni*, the chief priest was elected in the Vidatha. There is no indication how Indra was made the hero or the warchief of the Vidatha. But since in early times no distinction can be made between the warchief and the priest—in many cases the same person combining both the offices—it would not be untenable to hold that the warchief was also elected by the people assembled in the Vidatha. This is further corroborated by anthropological evidence. For, the council of the Iroquois gens which was a 'democratic assembly' consisting of all male and female members elected and deposed the *sachems* and chiefs and it also elected the Keepers of Faith who exercised religious func-

23. *Rv.* 8-1.
24. *Rv.* II, 1-16 ; 2-13 ; 11-21 ; 13-13 ; 14-12 ; 15-10 ; 16-9 ; 17-9 ; 18-9 ; 19-9 ; 20-9 ; 23-19 ; 24-16 ; 27-17 ; 28-11 ; 29-7 ; 33-15 ; 35-15 ; I, 117-25 ; II, 12-15 & VIII, 48-14. "बृहद्वदेम विदथे सुवीराः"
25. F. Engels: op. cit. p. 124.
26. *Rv.* I, 56-2 & II, 130-1.
27. *Rv.* VII, 36-8 & IV, 21-2.
28. *Rv.* X, 91-8 वेधाकरं विदथस्यप्रसाधे नमग्रिहोतारं परिभूतमंमतिम् । तमिदमें हविषासमानमिन्द्रं निम्नेहुवश्चतेनान्धंत्वत् ॥
29. *Rv.* X, 91-9 त्वामिदत्रहणतेत्वायवोहोतारमग्रे विदथे धुवेधसः
30. *Rv.* X, 92. 2.

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sions.[31] Had there been no real election of the warchiefs in the Vidatha in the early times, the tradition would not have been carried down to the age of the *Samiti* and it would not have continued in the form of various formalities observed in the coronation ceremonies described in the *Brāhmaṇas*.[32]

In point of number next to the military nature references point to the religious character of the Vidatha. It seems that the religious character of the Vidatha appeared so predominant and all-pervading to Sāyaṇa that he explained the Vidatha as *Yajña* or sacrifice. The meaning of sacrifice assigned to the Vidatha may be true of some passages but it cannot suit other passages in which the Vidatha and *Yajña* have ben put as exclusive and independent terms.[33] For instance in a passage Heaven and Earth are praised with sacrifices (*yajñaiḥ*) in the assemblies (Vidatheshu).[34] In another passage *Indra* and *Varuṇa* are invoked "to make our sacrifice (*yajñam*) fair amid the assemblies (*Vidatheshu*).[35] These passages which distinguished between the Vidatha and *yajña* can be supplemented by some other similar ones.[36] So in all cases it would not be correct to render the Vidatha as sacrifice. This is not to argue against religious character of the Vidatha which has been emphasised by conceiving the Vidatha of the gods and the heaven. Thus *Agni* is described as going on his embassy between both the gathering-places (vidathas) of heaven and earth.[37] The Vidatha was undoubtedly a sort of common ground of the whole folk for the worship of the gods. People assembled in the Vidatha worshipped *Indra, Agni, Mitravaruṇa, Viśvedevas* and other gods.[38] What is significant about the worship performed in the Vidatha is that it is done in a collective manner and blessings are sought for all the people. There is no manifestation of the desire of adding to one's own wealth and progeny at the cost of others. Thus *Savitar* is invited to come to "*our* synod' and invoked to gladden "all *our* people.[39] Likewise when *Agni* is being landed in the assembly he is asked to "give *us* wealth with stores of heroes and mighty strength in a food and noble offspring."[40]

Most of the *Av.* references show that the Vidatha continued primarily as a religious body in subsequent times. In the *Av.* gods are regarded as maintainers of the Vidatha[41] and they are invoked in the council (Vidatha).[42]

31. Lewis H. Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 85. New York, 1907.
32. It seems that the practices of cattle-raid and dice playing were meant to test the heroism and sagacity of the person who aspired for chieftainship.
33. Griffith whose translation has been generally accepted in this article translates the Vidatha variously as synod, assembly, gathering and sacrifice. Whitney renders Vidatha as council.
34. *Rv.* I, 159. 1. प्रदृयावा यज्ञः पृथिवी ऋताव्धा मही स्तुषे विदथेषु प्रचेतसा
35. *Rv* VII, 84. 3. क्रतंनीयज्ञंविदथेषु.....
36. *Rv.* III, 4. 5 & III, 26. 6.
37. *Rv.* VIII, 39. 1.
38. *Rv.* III, 1. 18 & III, 14. 1 ; I, 130. 1 ; I, 153. 3.
39. *Rv.* I, 186. 1.
40. *Rv.* II, 4. 8 .....विदथेमसश्चसि। अग्ने अग्ने संयद्वीरं बृहन्तं द्युमन्तं वाजं स्वपत्यं रचिंदो।
41. *Av.* VII, 73 (77), 4.
42. *Av.* VIII, 3. 19.

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The *Av.* Vidatha is regarded as a heaven-gaining instrument[43] and *Agni* acts as the *hotri* priest of the council (Vidatha).[44]

There were two methods by which the gods were worshipped in the Vidatha. One was the common method of inviting them to sit on the sacred grass and to ask them to share in the food and the banquet of the assembly. Thus *Agni* is asked to enjoy the sacrificial cake in the Vidatha.[45] Similarly *Maruts* were asked to accept sacrifices offered in the Vidatha.[46] These were collective offerings made to the god and in this sense the Vidatha served as a sacrificial institution. The second method of worshipping gods was to sing their praises in the Vidatha. In some cases the sacred food offered to the god is nothing but in the form of praises.[47] There are several references which show that the Vidatha was the scene of singing. Singers assembled there and prayers were sung in honour of the gods. *Indra,* the might of the Vidatha, received in large measure the songs of praise.[48] *Agni* who filled the Vidatha hall conserved the hoily acts of the singers.[49] The *Atharvaveda* also tells us that the gods were besung in the Vidatha so that they might be merciful to the devotees.[50] Such being the importance of singing priests (*hotṛis*) were invoked to assume the role of singers to inspire the people in the assemblies.[51]

The Vidatha was not only the scene of singing but probably also of drinking and sports. Thus God *Soma* is described as "driving the drops at our assemblies" which shows that the people enjoyed the *soma* drink in the Vidatha.[52] At one place it is said that the *Maruts* play sports in their gatherings (Vidatha).[53] This shows that the Vidatha was an institution which served as the playground for the people assembled there. It was also an assembly in which the simple folk discussed the virtues of the horse[54] just as they dilated upon the virtues of the kine in the *Sabhā.* They also sang about the merits of the car wrought by *Vibhvan.*[55] Therefore the Vidatha met in a homely atmosphere.

It is notable that common religious ceremonies, festivals, singing and playing characterise the assembly of the primitive tribes. Specially the religious functions of the early assemblies of the Indo-Aryans seem to be important. Speaking of tribal assemblies in Sweden Chadwick says: "They appear to have been primarily religious gatherings, for the great annual sacrifices at the chief national sanctuary. It is more than probable that such was the case also with the assemblies of the ancient Germans."[56]

43. *Av.* XVII, 1. 15.
44. *Av.* XVIII, 1. 20.
45. *Rv.* III, 28. 4.
46. *Rv.* III, 26. 4 & I, 166. 2.
47. *Rv.* I, 186. 1.
48. *Rv.* IV, 21. 40.
49. *Rv.* X, 122. 8 & II, 4. 8.
50. *Av.* I, 13. 4 & V, 12. 7.
51. *Rv.* X, 110. 7.
52. *Rv.* IX, 97. 56.
53. *Rv.* I, 166. 2. क्रीडन्ति क्रीडा विदथेषु घृष्वयः। नघन्ति रुद्रा अवसा नमस्विनम्
54. *Rv.* I, 162. 1.
55. *Rv.* IV, 36. 5. विश्वतष्टो विदथेषु प्रवाच्यो पं देवासोऽवथा स विचर्षणिः
56. H. Munro Chadwick: *The Heroic Age,* p. 369. Cambridge, 1912.

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In view of this all-embracing character of the Vidatha it would not be quite correct to attach undue importance to the fact that the Vidatha was a council of the wise. There are, of course, some references to this aspect of the Vidatha. We learn that there existed in heaven the synods (Vidathas) of the wise.[57] It is not known if *Vidathya* like *Sabheya* was a title of distinction.[58] But one or two stray references are not adequate to establish the general nature of the Vidatha.

A study of all the available references reveals that the Vidatha was the earliest folk-assembly of the Aryans in India attended both by males and females and performing all kinds of functions, economic, military, religious and social. It answered the needs of a primitive society which knew no division of labour and no domination of the male over the female, and which probably shared its produces in common. It seems that the keystone of the Vidatha system was co-operation. People assembled in the Vidatha sang together, prayed together, played together and deliberated together without any discrimination of sex. How far the Vidatha served as an instrument of government is difficult to determine. The internal evidence in itself is too fragmentary to solve this problem but the nature of primitive institutions as known to anthropology can throw some light on this question. In the opinion of Morgan the council of the gens was "the great feature of ancient society, Asiatic, European, and American from the institution of the gens in the savagery to civilization. It was the instrument of government as well as the supreme authority over the gens, the tribe and the confederacy."[59] Whether the same can be said of the Vidatha needs further investigation.

KALIṄGA UNDER THE NANDAS

AMAR CHAND

A certain Nandarāja is twice mentioned in the famous Hāthigumphā Inscription of Emperor Khāravela of Kaliṅga.[1] The inscription, a record of events in the 14 years of the Emperor's reign, has been badly preserved. Considerable portions of it have been damaged, so that both readings and interpretations of many a passage have become uncertain. The record, in its present state, therefore, can be used as a basis for history only with the utmost caution.

IDENTIFICATION OF 'NANDARAJA'

Now, the first problem is the identification of 'Nandarāja', and also the dynasty to which he belonged. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal at one time placed

57. *Rv.* III, 1. 2.
58. *Rv.* I, 91. 20. सादन्वं विदथ्यं सभेयं पितृश्रवणं यो ददाशदस्मै
59. Lewis H. Morgan: *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85.
1. Line 6—नंदराज निवसिसत ओघाटितं.....पणाडिं
Line 16—नंदराज नीतं च कालिगं-जित संनिवेस

Khāravela three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identified with Nandivardhana. According to the Jaina tradition, Nandarāja was proclaimed king after Udayin's assassination and sixty years after the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra.[2] But Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga king, and the Śaiśunāgas do not appear to do anything with Kaliṅga at all. On the contrary, the Kāliṅgas appear in the Purāṇas among the contemporaries of the Śaiśunāgas who were overpowered by a Nanda king with epithet 'Sarvakshatrāntaka'.[3] It is not Nandivardhana, but Mahāpadma Nanda, who is credited to have brought the entire land under his sole sway and also uprooted all the kshatriyas—rather the old reigning houses. We should, hence, identify Nandarāja of the Hāthigumphā Inscription, who held possession of Kaliṅga, with all conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his nine sons.

Prof. B. M. Barua, on the other hand, objects to the identification of Nandarāja with a king of the pre-Mauryan Nanda line on the ground that in the Asokan Inscriptions it is claimed very clearly that Kaliṅga remained unconquered (avijita) till the 7th year of Asoka's reign.[4] But such claims of the Mauryan Secretariat are perfectly at par with Gupta boasts. Samudragupta, for instance, has been called the 'ajitarājajetā', i.e. conqueror of unconquered kings.[5] In the later mediaevel period, Emperor Jahangir boasts that not even one of the Sultans of lofty dignity has obtained a victory over Kangra.[6] The term 'avijita' may, therefore, simply refer to the fact that Kaliṅga was not included within the limits of Asokan Vijita empire or rājavishaya, i.e. royal dominions. Such claims, if taken too literally, will appear to have very little of substance in them.

The suggestion of Prof. Rapson that Nandarāja may have been a local ruler of Kaliṅga, is negativated by the internal and positive evidence in the Hāthigumphā Inscription itself.[7] The passage meaning that 'Nandarāja came and took away the image of Kalinga-Jina[8] proves clearly that he was an outsider and did not belong to the Kalinga country, otherwise the question of taking away the image of Jina could not arise at all. Secondly, a post-Asokan neo-Nanda line of Magadha is also unknown to any sober historian.[9]

The Puranic tradition records that when 32 kings of Kaliṅga had reigned, Mahāpadma Nanda rose and exterminated the kshatriyas. This evidently suggests that between the period of the Mahābhārata War and the conquest of Northern India by Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha, 32 kings reigned in Kaliṅga for 1050 or 1115 years. Prof. R. D. Banerjee takes it to be the first dynasty of Kaliṅga rulers. The average reign of each king

2. *Pariśishṭa Parvan*, vi, 2437.
3. H. C. Raychaudhury, *Political Hist. of Anc. India*, 1950, p. 229f.
4. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIV, 1938, p. 259f.
5. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Gupta coins*, p. cx.
6. Rogers, *Tuzuk*, II, 184 ; also *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1905-6, p. 11.
7. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 538.
8. Original passage runs thus: नन्दराज नीतं च कालिगं-नित संनिवेस
9. A later Nanda or Nandodbhava line is, however, known to Epigraphy. But it ruled in Orissa itself, and hence the question of taking away the image of Kaliṅga-Jina to Magadha does not arise in this case. (Epi. Indi. XXI, App. 2043).

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would be 31.75 or 32.812 years and this average, according to him, is certainly not too much.[10]

Mahāpadma Nanda, as already stated, has been called Sarvakshatrāntaka, i.e. the destroyer of all kshatriyas and Ekarāṭ or the sole monarch of the earth. This might imply that he subjugated all the kshatriya-houses which ruled contemporaneously with the Śaiśunāgas, viz., the Aikshvākus, the Pāñchālas, the Kāśis, the Haihyas, the Kāliṅgas, the Aśmakas, the Kurus, the Maithilas, the Śūrasenas, the Vitihotras etc. etc.

Greek writers tell us that Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis in B.C. 326, and was informed that therefrom began the kingdom of the king of the Gangaridae and Prasii nations possessing a huge force of 20,000 horses, 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots, 3,000 or 4,000 elephants. The reigning king was alleged to be extremely unpopular owing to his wickedness and base origin. He had, it is said, great greed for wealth. The entire statement would refer to Dhana Nanda, the last of the Nandas. The fact that his dominions touched the Beas river in the East Punjab might support vast conquests of the Nandas. Conquest of some of the territories, occupied by the tribes and clans mentioned above, does not necessarily mean the total extinction of the old ruling-houses but merely a deprivation of their *yasa*, i.e. glory, and an extension of the suzerainty of the conqueror.

The Jainas too allude to wide dominions of the Nandas.[11] The existence on the Godavari river of a city called Nau-Nanda Dehra (Nander) also suggests that the Nanda dominions had once embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan, and, therefore, of the Kaliṅga country also.[12]

Reference to Nandaraja considered

With the Nanda family, we reach a stage of the East Indian History when the indubitable evidence of inscriptions becomes available to supplement the information gleaned from traditional literary sources. But the reign of the Nandas, on the whole, is one of the darkest event of the many hopelessly dark epochs in the history of ancient India.

As already pointed out, the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Emperor Khāravela twice mentions Nandarāja in connection with Kaliṅga. In the first place it mentions in line 6: 'And then, in the fifth year (Khāravela) caused the canal opened out by king Nanda 103 (or 300) years before.[13] It is clear from this that in the 5th year of his reign, Khāravela executed a public work which was associated with the memory of king Nanda. Different versions of this passage depend chiefly, though not solely, upon translation of "tivasasata." The following renderings have been proposed:

1. "He opened the three-yearly alm-house of Nandarāja," as translated by Indraji in the *International Oriental Congress Proceedings*, Leiden,

10. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 59.

11. समुद्रवसेनसेभ्य आसमुद्रमपिग्रियः, उपाय हस्तैराक्रम्य ततः सोक्रत नन्दसात्। परिशिष्ट पर्वन VII. 81

12. The ascription of this city to the later Nandas or Nandodbhava line known to Epigraphy may also not be improbable.

13. Original: पंचमे च पानि वसे नंदराज तिवससत ओकाटितं.....पणाडिं

1884, Pt. 3, p. 135. He took *sata* as *sattara* equalent to *satra* in Skt, and it means alms-house. But this rendering is not accepted by scholars now.

2. 'He had an acqueduct conducted into the city which had been used for 103 years since king Nanda'. This translation has been proposed by Prof. Luders in *Epi. Ind.* X App. 1345. p. 161. He took *sata* to be *śata* which means 'hundred'.
3. "He brings into the capital the canal excavated by king Nanda 300 years before," as proposed by K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, in *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. III, 1917, p. 425f.

Now, according to K. P. Jayaswal, the year in this passage may be taken as to the Nanda era referred to by Al-Biruṇi in *Tahqiq-i-Hind*. Pargiter places accession of the first Nanda ruler approximately in B. C. 402 calculating back from the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in B.C. 322 by adding 80 years as the duration of the reign period of the nine Nanda kings. According to this estimate the canal excavated by the Nanda king in Kaliṅga would be in (402 – 103 =) B.C. 299. But then it would be too late to ascribe the public work to Mahāpadma Nanda. Even if we take the Puranic account of 100 years as the duration of the nine Nandas (i.e. 88 years for Mahāpadma Nanda and 12 years for his sons), then we reach B.C. 319 as the year of excavation of the acqueduct, which too is absurd. (322 + 100 – 103 = B.C. 319). Prof. R. D. Banerji believes that the canal may have been excavated by the first king of the Nanda dynasty 103 years before the 5th year of Khāravela's reign, viz. 108 years before his accession. Agreeing with K. P. Jayaswal, he takes the era to be counted from B.C. 458. Hence the canal was excavated, according to him, in B.C. 355, says at least 33 years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Here the learned Professor appears to have taken the figure 103 to express not the interval between Nandarāja and Khāravela, but a date during the reign of Nanda which may have reckoned from some pre-existing era. But use of any such era in any particular part of the country or epoch is not proved. Khāravela himself, like Aśoka, uses regnal years and not any era.

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[14] on the other hand suggests that the interpretation of *ti-vasa-sata* accords substantially with the Puranic tradition, regarding the interval between the Nandas and the dynasty to which Sātakarṇi, the contemporary of Khāravela in his 2nd regnal year, belonged, (i.e. 137 years for the Mauryas, 112 years for the Śungas and 45 years for the Kāṇavas) say 294 years. If the expression is taken to mean 103 years, Khāravela's accession must be placed (103 – 5 =) 98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place 9 years before that (i.e. 98 – 9 = 89 years after Nandarāja, or not later than 324 – 89 = B.C. 235). Khāravela's senior partner in the royal office was on the throne at that time, and he may have had his predecessor or predecessors. But we learn from the Aśokan inscriptions that Kaliṅga was actually governed at that time by a Mauryan

14. *Political History of Ancient India*, 1950, p. 229f.

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Kumāra and not by a Kaliṅga-Adhipati or a Chakravarti, under the suzerainty of Aśoka. Therefore *ti-vasa-sata* may be understood to mean 300 and not 103 years.

The second reference to Nanda king is to be found in line 12, which means '(Khāravela) brought back the image of Kaliṅga-Jina which had been carried away by Nandarāja.[15] Here Nandarāja is charged with having taken away the image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara to Magadha, from where the same was brought back by Khāravela. This shows that the image was well-preserved by Nandarāja, so that it was there till the time of Khāravela. This would suggest that Nandarāja was a believer in the Faith of Jina. Literary traditions also confirm that the Nandas were followers of the Jaina religion. Therefore Nandarāja of the inscription must be identified with a ruler of the Nanda house, which was uprooted by Chandragupta Maurya in B.C. 322 or nearabout.

The above discussions prove that the Nandas had conquered and brought the adjoining territory under their sway. It would be in the fitness of circumstances to believe that a great conqueror, Mahāpadma Nanda, to whom the Purāṇas ascribe the subversion of all Kshatriya kingdoms, put an end to the Home rule in Kaliṅga also.

Prevalence of Jainism in Kalinga

The reference to Nandarāja as having taken away the image of Jina from Kaliṅga is very interesting from the point of view of ancient religion and culture of that country. It was a Jaina stronghold from the very beginning. The Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa informs us that Lord Mahāvīra had preached his Faith in Kaliṅga. Haribhadrīyavritti on Āvaśyaka confirms Mahāvīra's visit to the country of Kaliṅga and adds that the king of that country was a friend (or relation) of his father.

Above are some positive evidences confirming the prevalence of Jainism in Kaliṅga. There are certain negative evidences too. The Mahābhārata (Karṇa Parvan, Ch. 44, p. 155-6. Trans. P. C. Ray) informs us:

> "The Kāliṅgas are people of no religion. They should be avoided. The lowest Brāhmaṇas reside there from very remote times. They are without the Vedas, without knowledge, without sacrifice, and without power to assist at other's sacrifice. The gods do not accept any gifts from them." And so on.

Perfectly in the same spirit, the writer of the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra (I.i.30-31) regards Kaliṅga as an impure country, but evidently not unfrequented by Aryans. The commentator says that certain countries should not be entered. We are informed that whosoever goes to Kaliṅga, commits sin with his feet and hence must perform the Vaiśvānarīya Iṣṭi.

15. नन्दराज नीतं च कालिगं-जिन संनिवेस सन्निवेश is explained in Dictionaries as an assemblage, station, seat, open space near a town etc. (Monier William's). A commentator takes to mean 'a halting place for a caravan or procession.' Kuṇḍagrāma for instance was a सन्निवेश in the Videha country. (S.B.E. XXII. *Jaina Sutras* Pt. 1, Introduction).

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Now, why was so much of fuss created against the people of Kaliṅga in the Brāhmaṇa works? What made the highest and the most orthodox ones in the Aryan society—mainly based on the Varṇāśrama Dharma to raise a cry and create a stir against the very culture of the Kāliṅgas, who were one of the most strong allies of the Kurus and played no less important role in the great Mahābhārata battle? It must have been mainly the reason of the prevalence of a heterodox religion i.e. Jainism in the country. The followers of Jainism and Buddhism were not liked by Brāhmaṇas for they preached against sacrifice—the very basis of Brahmanic ritualism. That appears to be the reason why people of Kaliṅga were severely criticised ; their religion and culture were questioned ; they were degraded to the status of Śūdras, so that their very sight was sufficient to pollute any orthodox Brāhmaṇa. Instances of such condemnation are not wanting in ancient Indian literature. Brāhmaṇa writers created all sorts of doubts in Kshatriya-origin of the Nandas, simply because they were believer in the Jaina Faith. The Maurya dynasty, to which Aśoka the Great belonged, too, was not spared, may be because most of the rulers did not have faith in Brahminism, and preached against all sorts of sacrifices. Even Brāhmaṇas living in the Kaliṅga country were condemned in the most severe language. All this goes to prove indirectly prevalence of Jainism in Kaliṅga.

But this condemnation on the part of Brāhmaṇas, it appears, was not unanimous. The Mahābhārata contains references, side by side, showering praises upon the people of Kaliṅga. The country was thought to be one of the most sacred pilgrimages. Our heroes of the Mahābhārata War are very frequently spoken of visiting Kaliṅga on pilgrimage tour. Probably the tour was not thought to be complete without a bath in the Vaitarṇi. The detailed description of Yudhishṭhira's visit to Kaliṅga on pilgrimage is most noteworthy in this connection.

The Kaliṅga country, though included in the list of non-Aryan or Mlechchha countries, was credited with an Aryan origin. It is said to have been founded after prince Kaliṅga, the son of Bali from queen Sudeshnā, begotten by the great rishi Dīrghatamas. The Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra as already stated allows a person visiting Kaliṅga to perform certain sacrifice in order to purify himself. But such permission was not allowed to visitors of other non-Aryan countries. Duryodhana goes to the extent of marrying the daughter of Chitrāṅgada, the king of Kaliṅga, and there is not a single word against this union found in the Mahābhārata or other Brāhmaṇa works. We are, hence, on a safer ground in surmising that social contacts with Kaliṅga were maintained at least by Kshatriyas of Āryavarta, viz. the country lying to the north of Vindhya ranges up to the kingdom of Kāśi in the east.

Public Works

Greed of the Nandas for wealth is sometimes given undue prominence. They are believed to have deposited their wealth below the Gaṅgā-bed. Stūpas near Paṭaliputra, ascribed to Aśoka, were attributed by another tradition to Nandarāja and supposed to be his treasuries. (Smith, E. H., 1924,

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p. 43, n. 2.) In the Mudrā-Rākshasha (Act I) Chāṇakya speaks with contempt of the avaricious soul of the Nandas. It can be argued on the basis of the above that Nandarāja, while taking away the idol of Kaliṅga-Jina, must have taken great wealth from the defeated country. This is not improbable. But such a conclusion may not be in the fitness of things, for we know at the same time that Nandarāja is reputed to have excavated irrigated projects in Kaliṅga, one of which at least was in existence at the time of Khāravela. This act gives us an insight into positive public activities of the Nandas. Kaliṅga was a 'vijita' country and the interest shown in the welfare of the people there suggests greater interest in their own people, viz. the Māgadhas.

The Nandas also have been credited with the invention of a particular kind of measure called नन्दोप-क्रमाणि मानानि referred to in the Ashṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini. (II.4.21. Trans. S. C. Basu.)

The base origin and avariciousness of the Nandas, therefore, appear to be nothing more than a propaganda as mentioned above.

Art and Architecture

The image of the Kaliṅga-Jina itself is of no less interest to a student of art and architecture. It gives us an insight into the sculptural activities of the Kāliṅgas. The image must have possessed all qualities. It must have been most attractive and life-like image. The very look at it must have brought the greatest and the proudest down upon his knees and bow before it in reverence. That is why it was valued most and taken away by Nandarāja. The Kāliṅgas too, on the other hand, could never forget their great loss for times to come. So that when they could assert their independence and found themselves strong enough under the able leadership of Khāravela, they attacked Magadha and brought back their lovely and dear image. This act was of no little importance for the Kāliṅgas, and hence a mention of it was made in the Hāthigumphā inscription.

On the basis of antiquities unearthed at Taxila and other places it has been inferred that the cutting and polishing of hardstone in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. had reached a level of technical accomplishment which was sustained in the Maurya period, but never afterwards surpassed. (A. K. Comaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonasian Art.* 1927, London, p. 9-14.)

Identification of the Kalinga-Jina

There is a great difficulty in the identification of the Kaliṅga-Jina, because Jaina traditions do not assign any of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras of Kaliṅga. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji (*A.I.*, II, p. 136) have suggested that it should be taken to refer to the 10th Tīrthaṅkara, Lord Śītalanātha who was born at Bhadalpura which is probably identical with Bhadrachalam or Bhadrapuram in the Kaliṅga country. This town is at present situated in the Godavari district of the Madras Presidency.

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Image-Worship

From the reference to the image of Jina, we learn that image-worship had begun just after 200 years or a little earlier to the passing away of the last great Lord, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. Prevalence of image-worship in the 5th century B.C. is corroborated by various literary evidences. Pāṇini's Sūtra (v. 3. 99 also 96) gives us positive information about representations of gods. The rule applies to the images of gods which were made means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmaṇas not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door. (J. N. Banerji—*Hindu Iconography*, p. 44.) In 4th century B.C., Kauṭilya in the chapter on Dūrganivesa (Buildings within the fort) says—"In the centre of the city the apartments of gods shall be made. In the corners the guardian deities of the earth shall be set up". Here he mentions a number of gods and goddesses. He also mentions figures of goddesses and altars which were to be carved on wooden door frames of the royal underground chamber. In the 4th Rock Edict, Aśoka mentions about showing the public representations of aerial chariots, of elephants, masses of fire and other divine figures, and these might denote sculptural pieces.

We have no archaeological evidence worth the name, but mention may be made of two images (torso fragments) found at Lohanipura in Bankipura district in Bihar. Both are cut in the round and show excellent moulding. The style leaves no doubt that they are image of Tīrthaṅkaras. The site yielded a large number of bricks of the Maurya style and the foundation of a square temple. There was also a worn out coin found which has been attributed to earlier to the Maurya period, and thus would suggest the Nanda period.[16]

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF HARSHA

Bireshwar Nath Srivastava

The often quoted remark of Hsuan Chuang that "Harsha waged incessant warfare until in six years he had brought the Five Indias under allegiance", and then "reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon" has been a source of great controversy in deciding the chronology of Harsha's campaigns. On the authority of this information Dr. R. K. Mookerji[1] believes that Harsha's conquests were over by about A.D. 612, and that he had become king six years earlier in A.D. 606. C. V. Vaidya[2] has also fallen in line with that learned historian and states that "Harsha conquered India during the course of six years." But the statement of the Chinese pilgrim does not appear to be true to the letter. It has been now already established that he conquered Kangodh sometime about 642 A.D.

16. K. P. Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XXIII, 1937, pp. 130-32. *Jīvikārthe c-āpaṇye,"* V, 3. 99.

1. Harsha, 36 nt. 1.
2. Vaidya H.M.H.I., 13.

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and defeated Śasāṅka between 619-634 A.D. Therefore Harsha could not have been the Emperor of the Five Indias within a period of six years. In view of this let us discuss the date of his different campaigns separately.

We know from Hsuan Chuang's itinerary that in his determination to punish Śasāṅka, Harsha first went towards the east. He was, however, unable to get hold of the Gauḍa king for he appears to have left Gauḍa and fled towards the south. Harsha, however, could not find exactly his whereabouts[3] and remained satisfied by annexing the regions stretching from the Ganges to the Brahmaputra to his kingdom and appointing his friend and companion Mādhavagupta as his viceroy in the newly acquired regions.[4] This conquest of Harsha may have taken place before 612 A.D. for according to Hsuan Chuang Harsha first "procceded eastwards, invaded the States which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had brought the five Indias under allegiance".[5] But it is quite probable that his eastern conquest may have continued up to 618 A.D. for according to Ma-twan-lin, the Chinese encylopaedist, "in the year 618 there were great troubles in the kingdom", and we know for certain that in the year 619 A.D. Śaśāṅka was still in power in the coastal region of Orissa as evidenced by an inscription of his feudatory published in that year.

After consolidating his position in the east Harsha turned towards the west and conquered Valabhi and its dependencies. According to Smith this event "seems to have occurred later than A.D. 633 and before Hsuan Chaung's visit to Western India in 641 or 642."[6] But according to the same author Harsha's war against Pulakeśin took place in "about the year 620 A.D.",[7] while the Chinese pilgrim clearly states that he went against the Chalukya monarch after subjugating the countries from east to west.[8] It is, therefore, highly probable that the conquest of Valabhi preceded Harsha's attempt to conquer the Deccan, contrary to what has been stated by Smith.[9] Ma-twan-

3. Vaidya thinks that after conquering Śaśāṅka Harsha pardoned him and married his daughter who had been offered to Rājya (H.M.H.I., p. 328).

4. This assumption seems probable if the evidence of the Harshacharita and the Aphsad Inscriptions are together taken into consideration. The former mentions Mādhavagupta as a youthful companion of Harsha at the Thaneswar court while from the latter it is evident that he was ruling over the region of Magadha and is credited "with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harshadeva" (C.I.I., III, No. 42, pp. 204, 207, Sri-Harshadeva nija-saṁgama-vāñcchayā). This appointment perhaps made by Harsha either to reward his loyal services rendered during the beginning of his career or to make him a bulwark against the aggression of the King of Gauḍa who was in power in the south-western part of Bengal and northern part of Orissa at least till 619 A.D.

5. Watters, i, 343.

6. *Early History of India*, 4th Ed. 354.

7. *Early History of India*, 353.

8. Watters, ii, 239.

9. The assumption that Harsha may have marched against Valabhī after his attempt to defeat Pulakeśin II proved of no avail, is very improbable. Such an endeavour, to remove an enemy in the flank, was essential for Harsha. Northern powers are usually seen consolidating their position in the North, right up to Kathiawar before launching an attack on the trans-Vindhyan regions. The Mauryas had conquered Kathiawar before attacking the Deccan. The Muslims attacked Devagiri only after they had conquered Gujarat and Kathiawar. It would, therefore, seem almost certain that Harsha's winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakeśin.

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lin, at this stage, however, comes to our rescue and according to a statement of his that "In the years 618 and 627 there were great troubles in the kingdom. The King Śīlāditya made war and fought such battles as had never been before", it appears that this war may have taken place about 627-28 A.D.

The date of Harsha's conflict with the Chalukya monarch has also been one of great controversy. As already stated, Smith fixes it to be about 620 A.D.[10] while Fleet and Dr. R. K. Mookerji, on the authority of the Hyderabad Grant date this conflict sometime before 612 A.D.[11] Smith's date as already discussed is incorrect while the suggestion of Fleet and Mookerji is no better. The Hyderabad Grant of 612 A.D. brings to our notice that Pulakeshin acquired the title "Parameśvar" by "defeating the hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles."[12] Though it does not mention Harshavardhana by name, Fleet, on the authority of some subsequent records that more specifically refer that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana,"[13] wants us to believe that "by the title which was acquired by the victory over him (Harsha) that that victory had then already been achieved."[14] But it will not be safe to conclude only from this piece of epigraphic evidence that Pulakeśin had defeated Harsha earlier than 612 A.D. If the glorious achievement in Pulakeśin, viz., the defeat of Harṣa, was acquired before 612 A.D. the earlier inscriptions of that Chalukya king would also have been eloquent over it. But as is the case, they do not even adumbrate the same. The title "Parmeśvara" no doubt has been applied to Pulakeśin the Hyderabad Grant of 612 A.D., but every student of epigraphy knows that the royal panegyrists were not usually accustomed to weigh their words very carefully when they eulogised their patrons. Furthermore, that the title "Parmeśvara" had no connection whatsoever with the defeat of Harsha is evident from the fact that Ravikīrti does not apply it to his patron in his famous composition, although he therein refers to the defeat of Harsha euphimistically. Besides, the title "Parmeśvara" was in very common use in those days.[15] Most probably it was adopted by Pulakeśin II, as referred to in the Hyderabad Grant of 612 A.D., after defeating some king (or kings) during his early career but after successfully halting the huge army of Harsha across the Narbada he must have felt proud and may have assumed it as his second name.[16]

As Hsuan Chuang also states that Harsha proceeded against Pulakeśin after subjugating the east and the west it is probable that this conflict took place sometime after 627 A.D. (the date of war with Valabhi).

The lower limit of the campaign can further be pushed to about 630 A.D.

10. *Early History of India*, 353.
11. Dynasties, 351 ; Harsha, 36, n. 1 ; Vaidya, H.M.H.I., p. 13 ; Proc. *Indian History Congress*, 1939, pp. 584-604, K. C. Chattopadhya believes between 610-12 A.D.
12. Dynasties, 351 n.
13. *I.A.*, XIX, 305.
14. Dynasties, 351.
15. *C.I.I.*, iii, pp. 14, 214-18 ; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, x, 79.
16. *E.I.*, VI, 10, aparānāmadheyah.

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on the evidence of the Lohanera Plate Inscription of Pulakeśin II issued in that year. It describes his valour and exploits,[17] but is altogether silent about the most notable achievement of Pulakeśin—the defeat of Harsha. Negative evidence is no doubt generally to be accepted with caution, but the composer was out to describe the valour of the donor ; and if the most significant achievement of the latter known to us did not occur to him, the almost certain reason seems to be that it was not yet an accomplished fact. The date of the Aihole Inscription—634 A.D.—has already determined the upper limit for the war. It would be thus seen that we can fix the date of this war between the narrow limits of the years 630-634 A.D.

Our chronology finds unmistakable confirmation in the statement of Hsuan Chuang that "after thirty years his arms reposed, and he governed everywhere in peace."[18] Without taking the words of the pilgrim in their literal sense we really find that the campaigns of Harsha extended to a period of about thirty to thirty-five years. But Watters has construed the passage to mean that Harsha "reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon."[19] He argues that "it is against text and context to make him represent the king as fighting continuously for thirty or thirty six years." But the argument falls to ground if we consider the task with which the Emperor was comprehended. The political affairs of Northern India in those days were extremely complicated and before taking any step to build up an empire Harsha must have been extremely cautious. Besides, his campaigns were not continuous as stated by Watters except in Northern India as will be clearly evident from the statement of the pilgrim who clearly states, "he went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient ; the elephants were not unharnessed, nor the soldiers unhelmeted." His expeditions were launched separately in different directions. On this point, Samuel Beal another translator of Hsuan Chuang's itinerary also opines that his campaigns were spread over a period of about thirty years. It will thus not be possible for us to support the statement of Fleet noticed above that Harsha's wars with Valabhi and Pulakeśin took place within 612 A.D. Besides, the fact stated by Hsuan Chuang that Harsha conquered Kangodh in 643 A.D. still more disproves the theory of Fleet and renders the translation of Watters incorrect.

It is evident from what we have noticed above that Emperor Harsha during the first 30 years of his career as a ruler had to wage incessant wars against his political adversaries and even against those whom he considered to be potential danger. He sheathed his sword only when he felt that there would be no more trouble to his newly founded empire or obstruction to his peaceful administration. Circumstances forced him to appear in the role of a conqueror despite his earnest love for peace as a true Buddhist, and he played that part well as testified to by literary and epigraphic evidence.

17. Vijayī sāhasaikaratiḥ, anekacaturdantasaṁgrāmajanitaprāṇa ..... tayā ..... svabhujabalalabdhavikramākhyaḥ, ... pūrvāparāṁbhunāthaḥ, ... prasabhābhimṛṣṭānyarājaśrīḥ.

18. Beal, I, 213.

19. Watters, I, 343.

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LAND AND AGRICULTURE AS DEPICTED IN THE *KHAROSHṬHI* DOCUMENTS FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

During his archaeological expeditions in Central Asia, Sir A. Stein was able to unearth a mass of archaeological wealth (at the ruined sites of *Niya, Endere* and *Loulan*) in shape of *Kharoshṭhī* Documents on wooden tablets, leather and silk fragments and a few paper manuscripts. These documents, pertaining to the everyday life of the people in distant regions of Chinese Turkestan, are a storehouse of information regarding the social, religious, political and economic life of the area, in early centuries after the death of Christ.

LAND

Buma, bhuma and *bhumi* denote land in general while there were distinct epithets for different varieties of land, i.e.

1. Arable land, i.e. *bhuma—chhetra* or *bhuma chhitra* (cf. *Language*, p. 1 ; *Trans*, p. 92).

2. Farm land i.e. *goṭha bhuma.*

3. Mishi[1] land. Thomas F. W. (Acta Or., XII, p. 38) interprets *Mishi* as "farm land" while Burrow (*Language*, p. 111) suggests connection with Saka *ttumäshä.* From doc. no. 582 it is clear that a certain land was formerly *mishiya* but later on fell *akri.* In Sanskrit, *mish*="to moisten, wet" (Monier Williams, A *Skt. Eng. Dict.*, 1899, p. 818) while *akri* seems to have been derived from *akra*=inactive (Monier Williams, *ibid*, p. 2).

This may allow us to interpret *mishi*[2] or *mishiya* as "land fit for agricultural purposes and *akri* as "fallow land."

4. Kuthala[3] land. The exact meaning of this phrase being obscure, this much is evident that *kuthala* was fit for cultivation (no. 536, cf. *Acta Or.*, XII, p. 38 ; *Language*, p. 83-4). It is not possible to fully explain the phrase *"letga kuthala bhuma* in the *mishi* land" (no. 419). The numbering of the *kuthalas* in no. 327 may indicate that *kuthalas* were perhaps strips of land of a definite size and of a fixed area."

5. *Akri*[4] land. In the light of the interpretations as referred to above, it is rather difficult to agree with Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta,

Abbreviations used:—

I. Doc. no. or no. or KI. I, II, III=Rapson, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein in Ch. Turkestan*, Oxford, Vols. I, II, III, (Text only).

II. Trans.=Burrow T., *A Translation of the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1940), London.

III. Language=Burrow. T., *The Language of the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, (1937), Cambridge.

IV. BSOS=*Bulletion of the School of Oriental & African Studies*, University of London.

1. Other variants being *mishiya, mi* (no. 571) etc.

2. It is not plausible to agree with A. Stein who (*Serindia*, p. 232) thinks that *mishi* is some crop.

3. Also *Kuthali bhuma, Kuthala mishiyaṃmi* or even *Kuthale*.

4. Variants being *agri, akriya* etc,

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1942, p. 248) who interprets the word as *"agrya"=uttama* (cf. *Language,* p. 13). Consult Dr. Bailey, *BSOS,* XV, pp. 538-40 also.

6. *Kurora*[5] land:—It was also fit for cultivation. *Kurora* needs to be compared with N. Pers. *Kurāra,* "a plot of land with a raised border prepared for sowing" (*Language,* p. 84 ; *BSOS,* VII, p. 780).

7. Elevated land:—Cf. *prasta* in *prastami* (no. 225 ; *Trans* p. 42). In Skt. *prastha* denotes "tableland on the top of a mountain" (Monier Williams, *op. cit.,* p. 699). Here this land is also fit for sowing purposes.

8. *Chiraiṃta* land:—Burrow (*Language,* p. 90) suggests with uncertainty that it is *Chirāyitā*(?) i.e. "land that has grown poor by being used for a long time", while O. Stein (*BSOS,* VIII, p. 764, f.n.1.) conjectures that it denotes land "which has not been tilled for a long time."

9. *Laṭhana*:—(Cf. *laṭhanami* of no. 392 ; *laṭhaya* of no. 2981) i.e. "open lands" as opposed to the "enclosed ones" as viewed by Burrow (*Trans,* p. 80) who[6] also seeks to connect *laṭhana* with Pahl., N. Pers. *dastān* ; Arm. l. W. *dastan ;* Pers. *dast* (=plain, desert).

10. *Kabhoḍha* (cf. *BSOS,* VII, p. 513, *Trans,* p. 80 ; *Acta Or.* XIII, p. 68-70 ; *Language,* p. 81 ; *K I,* III, p. 337 of Index Verborum[7]).

11. Waste land (i.e. *vyartha-bhuma*). It is interesting to note the award of such land for cultivation purposes (no. 713) here.

12. Sandy Land (i.e. *sigatabhuma*):——It appears from the accounts of the Former Han Annals that the land of Shanshan kingdom was sandy and that there were few cultivated fields (*Serindia,* p. 335).

Ownership of Land

Assessment of annual tax (**संवत्सरि पल्पि**) "both from the people on private estates (*kilmechiyana*) and on the royal lands (*rajade*)[8] clearly refers to the existence of "crownlands" as well as "privately owned lands". Burrow (*Language,* p. 83) even goes to opine that *"raja* (=Skt. *rājya*) was the land directly owned by the king while *kilme*[9] were fiefs on estates granted to the nobility of the realm..... No one without a high title is mentioned as having a *kilme,*[10] so that it is not just a case of ordinary landed proprietorship and tenancy but something more approaching feudalism". That high officials were appointed as heads of various localities is clear from doc. no. 16 where

5. Simply *kurora* without *bhuma* in doc. no. 574.

6. *BSOS,* VII, p. 786 ; cf. *Language,* p. 114.

7. Here the phrase has been interpreted to mean some proper name. Such an interpretation does not seem to suit the context.

8. i.e. **संवत्सरि पल्पि चिंदितग यौ किथे चियन परिदे यंच रजदे ।** in no. 374 as interpreted by Burrow in *Trans,* p. 75.

9. According to Thomas (*Act. Or.,* XIII, p. 63), *"kilme* evidently denotes a portion of land, the occupant or tenant there of being *kilmeṃchi* and it looks as if *kilmeṃchis* (quasi tenants) were related to particular landlords or owners. It may be suggested that *kilme* was an allotment of the "lord's (or manorial) land" ; cf. Burrow in *JRAS,* 1935, p. 674.

10. Stein (*BSOS.,* VIII, p. 769 note 5) remarks that "the control of tilling and *kilme* institution remind the reader of the rules of bestowing land to tax payers in the first chapter of the second book of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* (*Janapadaniveśa*).

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a locality named *Petaavana* has been handed over by the king to *Chaṃkura* Arjuna (**मय महरयेन पेतअवन चंकुर अर्जुनस पिचविद**).

The documents refer to the lands and the villages owned by the king (cf. **तोंगक महयस अवन** in no. 549), the queen and even king's sons. Royal grants of lands were frequently made to the fugitives (no. 292) and the slaves (no. 24). Sometimes kings even granted persons from *mishiya* lands (cf. no. 296).

Private lands were freely sold, purchased and given in exchange to others. It was not at all essential to seek state's permission in the matter. There is even no reference to the payment of any tax while selling and purchasing lands.

Also private lands were given to the tenants for cultivation purposes[11] (nos. 450, 498). In return the tenants used to pay some tax to the owner of the soil.[12] Sometimes there was no payment of the taxes continuously for three years and the fourth year too was running. This led the landlord to order the tenant to come to former's residence bag and baggage (no. 450) etc. Not only that, the former even issued orders for the sale of the *goṭha* and *bhumachhetra* of his tenant. In fact, the peasants (or tillers of the soil), were tied to the soil by a sort of serfdom. Similar was the condition in China in centuries before the birth of Christ (Granet. M, *Chinese Civilization*, London, 1930, p. 150 ; cf. my paper on Taxation . . . . in *IHQ*, December 1953, pp. 340-353).

It is very interesting to note that nowhere do our documents refer to the sale and purchase of *kilme* lands. It appears that these personal estates of landlords (or manorial chiefs) were perhaps permanently inherited by their masters and their sale was never resorted to.

Marking of Boundaries and Measuring of Land

Documents refer to the complaints concerning the boundary disputes of lands (nos. 86, 37, 255) and even demonstration of the land before the *Vasus* (no. 37). Measuring of the districts (no. 37) and digging of ditches between lands and localities (no. 37) have also been recorded. Doc. no. 436 simply refers to a "boundary magistrate (*simichi mahatva*)" but furnishes no details whatsoever about the functions of this officer.

Reference to *kuthalas* as strips of land of a definite size has already been made above. Usually the land was measured by the amount of seed it required for cultivation purposes (i.e. *bhija payati*;[14] cf. *Languae*, p. 110). Rapson (*K.I.*, III, p. 371 *s. v. Śatade*), referring to *sad* of Wakhan, maintains that *śata* of our documents was some land-measure but O. Stein (*BSOS*, VIII, p. 772, f.n. 6) rightly criticized the views of Rapson.

11. *i.e.* no. 450 —**किषिवव करंनए**
no. 498 —**भुमक्षेव...क्रिषंनये कतस्य षिदवो।**

12. In case of royal lands, *ghee* as *vaka* was to be paid to the king (no. 496). Even *kilmechiyanas* were not free from the annual tax (no. 374 as referred to above.

13. *Sima* = Skt. *Sīmā* = boundary.

14. Cf. *bhija vajo* (nos. 580, 587) used in a similar sense ; *Language*, p. 118.

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Location of Land[15]

Our documents refer to the location of lands in the following contexts:—

(*a*) Sale and purchase of lands (nos. 572, 580, 678).

(*b*) Hiring the land on rent (no. 496)

(B) Agriculture

Sowing and Ploughing

People in those days were quite familiar with the art of sowing (*Vāvana ;* cf. *vavitaga, vuta*) and ploughing (*krishi,* cf. *krishitaga, krishiya, Krishi yavi*). Water (*utaga* or *udaga*) and seed (*bhiśa* or *bhija*) were quite indispensable for cultivation work (*krishivatra ; Language,* p. 31). Arable lands were often given to others for cultivation purposes (nos. 498, 160, 713, 278, 450). Sometimes even water and seed were provided for this work (no. 160). In the times of emergency, the king used to help the fugitives with corn and seeds in order to enable them to make copious and plentiful cultivation (no. 292).[16]

It was extremely essential to maintain proper record of sowing (nos. 83, 225, 536) and pay proper attention to the task of reckoning of corn meant for sowing (no. 83). Documents of watering (no. 72) and sowing (nos. 225, 536) were duly kept for record purposes. Sometimes 11 persons together sowed some *kuthala* in a particular locality (no. 536). There is absolutely no reference to any animal employed for ploughing the land. Speaking about the people of Cherchen (i.e. Chalmadana of our documents), Sung Yun (519 A.D.) states that they "know the use neither of oxen nor of ploughs for tilling the field" (*Serindia,* p. 297).

Spring was a suitable season for the cultivation work (no. 450 **वसंतांमि क्रिषिवत्र करंनए**). In ancient China agricultural year began in spring season (Granet. M. *Chinese Civilization,* London, 1930, p. 148). Also people believed that ploughing, sowing and tilling of vineyards, if conducted in the "Pig-*Nakshatra*", were sure to be successful and fruitful (no. 565—**सुगर निछत्र वावन मसु शड उछविन सिधि वर्धि भविष्यति**)

Irrigation[17]

Supply of water was the most important of all the problems connected with the agricultural operations. Our documents refer to water being given on loan (nos. 604, 502) and that too through outlets sometimes (no. 502 ; Trans, p. 98). Water was even diverted from one province to another so as to irrigate the waterless area (no. 368—**क्रिषिवत्रमि उदग नस्ति, अनोदक हुत, अहुनो तेष रजंमि उदग निवर्तयिदव्य**). Doc. no. 125 refers to the breaking open of water in a particular locality.

15. Directions referred to are *utara* (north), *dachhina* (south), *purva* (east), *pachima* (west) etc.

16. विनिल विस्तिर्न..... Cf. *Language,* p. 121, *Trans,* p. 53.

17. For traces of ancient irrigation in Chinese Turkestan, consult Stein's *Ancient Khotan,* I, pp. 474, 284-5 ; *Serindia,* pp. 410-11.

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Proper record of watering of the wheat too was maintained (no. 72). In this document are entered the names of 41 persons utilizing water for their wheat crops. We are also informed that wheat was generally watered twice or thrice though sometimes it required water four times too. It is regretting indeed that the existing records fail to refer to any rate of charges fixed for the water thus used. It is rather interesting to note that after having provided water, witnesses were duly recorded (no. 604).

Forcible Sowing and Cultivation

A few cases of water having been cut off by force (no. 604) and even land sown and ploughed in a similar manner (nos. 582, 740) have also been recorded.

Stimulus for Cultivation

Prosperity of the people depended much on the fertility of the soil and richness of the crops. Hence every care was taken in matters of corns sowed and fields ploughed (nos. 320, 83). Persons deputed for the work were expected to show keenness in matters of farms (nos. 164, 298). Whenever land went dry and water was needed, orders were issued to divert water from one province to another (no. 368 ; *Trans,* p. 73). Reference to the supply of seed for fugitives, just to enable them to make copious and plentiful cultivation, has already been made above.

A few records (nos. 581, 589) refer to the sale of lands and girls in times of drought (no. 581 ; *BSOS,* VII, pp. 511 and 782 ; *Language,* p. 19) and famine (nos. 581, 589 ; *BSOS,* VIII, p. 119, XI, p. 791). But nowhere is there any reference to the help accorded by state to the distressed and famine-stricken people.

Land Produce

A slight reference to 100 *milimas* of corn having been produced in a certain strip of land is to be met with in doc. no. 740. But nothing is known about the area of land in which that much amount of corn could be produced. Corn coming from the threshing floor (*khala,* no. 140 ; *Trans* p. 25) is also recorded.

Different corns and crops

(I) *Ohara* (no. 160 cf. *goṭha ohara*).

(II) *Ogana* was also some crop measured in *khis*[18] and *milimas* (*Language,* p. 81 ; JRAS, 1935, p. 673 ; *BSOS,* XI, p. 794)

18. Some weight standards. For details consult my article "Weights and Measures as depicted in the *Kharoshṭhī* documents from Chinese Turkestan" in *JBRS,* Patna, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 359 ff.

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while in two documents (nos. 562, 701) it has been used as a proper noun too.

(III) *Aḍina* or *aḍini* or *aḍiṃni*.
It was some corn or crop grown by seed (*Language*, p. 73). It is measured in *khis* (no. 222). H. W. Bailey (*BSOS*, XII, 1948, p. 332) interprets it to mean "millet." It is not plausible to agree with Thomas F. W. (*Act. Or.*, XII, p. 68 n. 1) who takes it as a personal name in no. 722.

(IV) *Anu* (no. 703)=millet (*KI*, III, p. 331 ; *Trans*, p. 141). It also occurs in the *Sanskṛit* literature [cf. V. S. Agrawala, *India As Known to Pāṇini*, 1953, University of Lucknow, p. 104] in the form *aṇu*.

Seeds

Bhija, biji, bhiśa etc., have been used in the sense of seed in general. Different varieties of seeds were also known such as:—

(I) *Juṭhi* or *Jhuṭhi* or *Chuṭhiya* or *Chuṭhie* (cf. *Language*, p. 92).
(II) *Sahini*.
(III) Wheat, i.e. *Goma* or *(Go)huma* or *Gohomi*, or *Godhūmi* (cf. *Language*, p. 88).
(IV) Barley i.e. *Yavi* or *Yava* or *Yavi*.
(V) *Vashḍhigaiṃ* (cf. *Trans*, p. 25).
(VI) *Kvavana* or *Kuvana*.
(VII) *Kaśa* (*Language*, p. 82).
(VIII) *Sikhi* (*Language*, p. 130).
(IX) *Dirpira* (no. 637, cf. *Trans*, p. 132, p. 133 note). It is measured in *khis* and *milimas* here.
(X) *Shamiyena* (no. 703). In no. 637 it denotes some wine as well (cf. *Shamiyo* wine in no. 225 ; 12 *shamiya* in no. 770 ; *BSOS*, IX, p. 118). Does it mean that *shamiya* wine was prepared from the corn of that very name?
(XI) *Koyimaṃḍhina* and *Tsaṃghina* have been taken as corns by Burrow (*Language*, p. 96).

This is in nutshell a short account of the lands and the system of agriculture as known to the Niya people in the early centuries of the Christian era.

19. *Aṃna* is the most common word used for corn in general. *Nisaga aṃna*= corn required for subsistence (*Language*, p. 101) ; *Paṃcharaina aṃna*=corn for fodder or food to be consumed on a journey (*Language*, p. 102, cf. *Trans*, p. 14, note of no. 65).

20. In no. 318, *kuvana* is an epithet of *prahuni* (garment) while is no. 185 it denotes a personal name (*KI*, III, p. 339).

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THE NATIONALITY OF VIJAYAMITRA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

SHRIMATI DEBALA MITRA

Numismatic evidence as well as the Bajaur Casket inscriptions attest to the existence of a line of four successive feudatory rulers, viz, Vijayamitra *apracaraja,* his son Indravarman *apracaraja,* his son Strategos Aspavarman and his nephew Mahārāja Sasan. Of these rulers, Aspavarman served first under Azes (II) and then under Gondophernes as a Strategos (General or Military Governor). Sasan, who began his career as a Mahārāja under Gondophernes became powerful enough to be a co-ruler with his suzerain. Later on, he ruled under Pacores, the successor of Gondophernes.

The names of Aspavarman and Sasan have an unmistakably Irānian ring, though the names of their predecessors Vijayamitra and Indravarman are clearly Indian. This led Mr. Whitehead to think that 'the line cannot have been Hindu by race. These Saka military chiefs had adopted high-sounding Indian names ; they had become Hinduized and claimed to be Kshatrayas'.[1] This opinion is shared by other scholars also, as there are innumerable instances of the foreigners being absorbed with the indigenous Indian population by embracing Indian religion and culture. The cases of the Śakas adopting Hindu names shortly after their settlement in India are also too frequent. But a careful consideration of the materials at our disposal leads us to doubt about the Śaka origin of this line of rulers and raises a strong presumption of their being Indians.

The casket discovered in the Bajaur region bears two sets of inscriptions.[2] The earlier one records the consecration of the corporeal relics of the Buddha by one Viyakamitra *apracaraja* under Menander. The later group inscribed after some fifty years, informs us that the relic casket, having decayed in course of time, was re-established afterwards by another chief named Vijayamitra *apracaraja,* who was apparently a descendant of Viyakamitra (Viryakamitra), as both bore the same title apracaraja. The similar name-ending in 'mitra', also points to the same conclusion.

Sten Konow's assertion that the original donor of the casket was Menander himself and that Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra were identical person who was responsible for the restoration of the relics about a century later is far from convincing.[3] The evidence of the technique of engraving goes against this view. Further, as shown by Majumdar, the portion containing the name of Viyakamitra was already in existence when the later portion bearing the name of Vijayamitra was incised.[4] Again, it is quite unconvincing that the engraver should commit such a serious blunder in writting the name of the chieftain under whose auspices the gift was made, without inviting notice, in the same record. The conclusion becomes irresistible that Viyakamitra

1. *Numismatic Chronicle,* 1944, p. 102.
2. *EP. IND.* Vol. XXIV, pp. 1 ff, edited by N. G. Majumdar.
3. *New Indian Antiquary,* Vol. II, (1939-40), pp. 641 ff.
4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIV, p. 7.

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was a predecessor of Vijayamitra though the exact relation between the two cannot be known in the present state of our knowledge.[5]

Now, Viyakamitra's ruling under the Indo-Greek king Menander precludes the possibility of his being of Śaka extraction, as there is little chance of the Śakas then settling and apparently ruling amicably in the Bajaur region. Nay, they have to come earlier as the adoption of the Hindu name and religion by Viyakamitra shows that some considerable time must have elapsed between the first immigration and Hinduisation. No evidence is still forthcoming to warrant such supposition. Again, the relation between the Śakas and the Greeks was at this time not at all friendly and the onrush of the Śakas was one of the prime factors of the end of the Greek rule in India. So, it seems unnatural that Menander would allow a Śaka chief to rule in his kingdom.

Further, the names of all the early members of the dynasty are Hindu, while the later ones bear foreign names. Had the family been Śaka, the reverse would have been the case. The first members should have retained their native names, as in the cases of the other foreign families in India, while the gradual Hinduisation should have promptped the later members to adopt Hindu names.

The presence of the Irānian names in the later members of the family can be easily explained away. This Indian family ruling under the Śakas, felt the influence of their overlords. Further, North-Western India and the Punjab being exposed to the Śaka-Parthian contacts and influences, it is too much to expect the inhabitants to remain completely unaffected. The name of the deity on the silver coins of the Audumbara chief Dharaghoṣa is written as Viśpamitra instead of Viśvāmitra. The Indian name Aśvavarman under the Śaka influence was changed into Aspavarman. The name Sasan in Irānian. The long contact of the family with the Śaka-Parthians is clear from their coins ; whether they had any matrimonial relations with the Śaka-Pahlava invaders is yet unknown. But the instances of the subordinates naming their children after the suzerains are not too rare in India.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF TAMLUK

PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

Tāmralipta, the ancient city-port of Bengal, has been located in the region of Tamluk in the Midnapore District of West Bengal. The place now stands by the side of the broad river the Rupnārāyan, which after rising from the Chotanāgpur hills meets the sacred Bhāgirathi in the north of Diamond Harbour.

The flourishing condition of the city in antiquity has been remarkably proved by a number of ancient Indian texts (viz., the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, the

5. Konow's argument that 'the existence of a ruler with the rather ambitious title *apracaraja* under Menander is very likely' loses much of its force when we see that the title is hereditary, as the son of Vijayamitra also bore the same title.

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Daśakumāracarita, the *Abhidhānacintāmani,* etc.) as well as the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Dipavaṁsa.* The international character of ancient Tāmralipti or Tāmralipta has also been known from the writings of the Classical Graeco-Roman authors and the Chinese.[1] It was at this port that the learned pilgrims of Cathay more than once remained for long periods for the study of sacred literatures.

Now, recently the present writer has collected a very large number of art-relics from Tamluk, which chiefly consist of terracotta figurines, beads and pottery-vases.[2] These are extremely interesting, and they decisively prove that the region of present Tamluk was once a great centre of cultural and commercial activities in the ancient days.

The terracottas may be classified into the following groups:—

1. Primitive type figures.
2. *Yakṣis* and other human figures.
3. Foreign type figures.
4. Plaques showing human and composite figures.
5. Figures representing animals, viz., elephants, horses, dogs, rams, fish, snakes and others.
6. Beads of different shapes and dimensions.
7. Miscellaneous objects (viz., wheels, flesh-rubber, balls, bangles etc.).

Among the primitive type figures several may be of Pre-Mauryan date. Thus, the small head of an ape with eyes made from "centrally pierced applied pellets" recalls the similar type of clay figures found at the pre-historic site of Kulli in Baluchistan.[3] Apart from this, a beak-faced crude female figure seems to have been created long before the age of the Mauryas.

A good number of *Yakṣi* figures, discovered at Tamluk, stylistically belong to the Maurya-Suṅga epoch. These mother-goddess type figures are extremely interesting not only from the archaeological point of view but also from the stand-point of aesthetics. The elaborate ornaments, the wonderful plaiting of hair and the fine skirts of these figures make us inclined to believe that the Maurya-Suṅga terracotta art reached one of its supreme stages at Tāmralipta. Some of the *Yakṣi* figurines bear close affinity to the famous Oxford figurine.[4]

There are numerous human figures which stylistically belong to the period between 1st century A.D. and 5th century A.D.

The foreign type figures with Greek, Roman and Egyptian affinity are highly interesting. A double-headed figure wearing Roman helmets seems to be a representation of the Roman door-god (connected with war) Janus.[5] It has a large ring above, which possibly suggests that the object was used as the lid of a large vessel (wine-jar?). A smiling female bust with Egyptian

1. P. C. Das Gupta, *Tāmralipta—"The Forgotten City of Bengal," The Calcutta Review,* June, 1952.
2. Most of these have been presented to the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.
3. Vide, Stuart Piggott: *Pre-historic India,* Ch. IV, Fig. 9.
4. Johnston: *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* Vol. X.
5. P. C. Das Gupta: *"Recent Archaeological Explorations at Tamluk"* in *The Modern Review,* November, 1952, Fig. No. 3.

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affinity is a strange piece, as it may be a representation of Isis, the Mother-Goddess of the Nile Valley.

A small head with conical head dress seems to be the figure of a Śaka.

The terracotta plaques recovered from Tamluk are also extremely interesting. One of these shows four human figures, two of which seem to be high-born ladies. The female figures are represented as wearing heavy ornaments, viz., necklace, *chhannavira* (double-garland), earings, bracelets and girdles made of round lobes. Another plaque bears two cowheaded human figures. One of these figures is also shown as wearing the double-garland or *chhannavira*.

The terracotta animal figures discovered from Tamluk show various styles. Most interesting among them are the figures of elephant, horse and ram. A kind of ornamented ramheads with cylindrical base are abundantly found. These were probably used as toy-chariots. The signs of "tilak" appear on the foreheads of most of these terracotta rams. Although, we are not sure, these may have some cult-significance.

Some of the animal figures found at Tamluk may be compared with the animal figures found in the different sites of northern India. The figures of hooded snakes found at Tamluk remind us of the prevalence of the cult of Manasā (the snake-goddess) in early Bengal.

The pottery-vases discovered at Tamluk are of various sizes and shapes. Many of the pottery-fragments bear interesting designs. A class of potsherds with mirror-like black glaze may be of Mauryan age.

The archaeological collection from Tamluk also consists of some stone figures. One of these seems to be a seated *Mātrikā* of the 7th or 8th century A.D.

Among the other stone objects two highly polished pieces may be mentioned.

There is also a punch-marked coin in the find. Most of these antiquities have been unearthed from about 15′-25′ depth while digging tanks and canals in the area of Tamluk.

After making continuous investigations in Tamluk region, the present writer has found traces of ancient roads, wells and edifices. These will surely convince the archaeologists about the existence of extensive ruins underneath the soils of present Tamluk.

TWO NEW DATED KUSHĀṆA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

K. D. Bajpai

Recently two new Kushāṇa inscriptions discovered in Mathura district have been acquired for the Archaeological Museum, Mathura. Both of these inscriptions are incised on the stone pedestals of Buddha images and are dated in the years 5 and 53 respectively of the Śaka era.

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The first inscription is on a fragmentary pedestal (Museum No. 3533) of a seated Buddha image, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$. As usuually found on the Mathura pedestals of the Kushāṇa period, in the centre there is a pilaster surmounted by a wheel. To its left stands a dwarf male figure holding with both hands a basket full of garlands. Behind him is seen a male figure taking the garland, evidently for worship. Part of the pedestal to the right of the pilaster is competely broken. On the upper edge of the pedestal is a Brāhmī inscription in two lines. Portions of the inscription in the beginning of both the lines are unfortunately gone. I read the inscription as follows:

Line 1. त्रस्य कनिष्कस्य स ५ वर्षा मास १ दि.....

Line 2. ह मातापित्राण पूजार्थं सर्वसत्वान पूजार्थं।

(i.e. in the year 5 of Kanishka, in the first month of rainy season, on..... day, for the homage to the parents and to all beings).

The inscription is evidently a dedicatory one and refers to the installation of an image by a person whose name is broken.

It is dated in the year 5 of Kushāṇa King Kanishka, which corresponds to 83 A.D.

The second inscription occurs on a red sandstone pedestal ($2'-2'' \times 10''$) of a Buddha image. This pedestal is better preserved than the previous one. In the centre is the usual pillar with the *chakra* flanked on each side by two male and female figures respectively holding garlands. On each corner of the pedestal is shown a couchant lion figure.

On the pedestal is incised a Brāhmī inscription in two lines. The first line is on the upper edge and is almost complete. The second line on the lower edge is fragmentary and at the beginning about two-third portion of it is damaged.

The inscription reads as follows:

Line 1. महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्यहुविष्कस्य स ५०३ व ४ दि १० एतस्य षुवय स.....वस्य दानं

Line 2. ... स विहारे प्रचर्य्य म..... हस।

Translation

(Year 53 of Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka, fourth month of rainy season, the 10th day—on this day as specified above, gift of.....in the..... Vihara for the Ācharya and.....)

The inscription is dated in the year 53 of the Śaka era (=131 A.D.) during the reign of Huvishka. The last date of Huvishka so far known from inscriptions is year 60 (=138 A.D.)

The name of the Vihāra where the image was set up is broken.

The characters of both the inscriptions described above are Brāhmī of the usual Kushāṇa type. The language is mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prākrit so commonly found in the Mathura inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period.

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SECTION II

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

711—1206 A.D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. GEORGE M. MORAES

I am deeply appreciative of the signal honour that the Indian History Congress has bestowed on me by selecting me to preside over Section II at its XV Session which is being held in this city with its glorious and historic associations. It is a matter of grateful pride that with the coming of national independence we are able to better assess our glorious past and to assign to those places which were the scenes of the epic achievements of our ancestors the honour they deserve. For, when we cast aside the fetters of an alien rule our minds also became free from the inhibitions to which they had been subject during the prolonged foreign domination, and we automatically acquired the habit of thinking like free men. The increased importance of the city of Gwalior which has become the seat of a new State is symbolic of this change.

2. Perhaps you have been influenced in your choice by the little research to my credit in the history of the Deccan. The history of the Deccan during the years A.D. 711 and 1206, we may safely say, is the history of India. The Deccan made its best contributions to learning and art during this period and established its hegemony over the greater part of India. Such indeed has been the pattern of the history of our country from time immemorial, the emphasis shifting now to the north, now to the south, now again to Maharashtra in the west and then to Bengal in the East. The main protagonists change as we advance from one period to another, but the stage remains the same, thus emphasizing the basic unity of our cultural heritage.

3. By the beginning of our era we note that Northern India had suffered an eclipse. Mir Qasim and his Arab columns had penetrated into Sind, giving a *coup de grace* to the Maitrakas of Vallabhi. Their overlords, the imperial Chālukyas of Bādāmi, who went to their assistance exhausted themselves in the task of stemming the tide of the invading hordes, but succeeded in preventing them from crossing into the hinterland. In the east the Tibetans had overwhelmed the Gangetic Valley and reduced the Hindu princes there. The result was that the task of upholding the great Hindu political and religious ideals and of fostering the national culture devolved on the powers of the Deccan and the south—the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the Hoysaḷas, the Seuṇas, the Pallavas and the Chōḷas.

4. During the two and half centuries of their rule the Chālukyas of Badami had built up an excellent administration and given an impetus to art and architecture. The unsurpassed frescoes of Ajanta and the sculptures of Bādāmi and the temples of Paṭṭadakal and other places in the Deccan, are some of the evidences which we still possess of the glory of their age. The Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang who sojourned in India in their time speaks with admiration of the people of the Deccan under the Chālukya rule:

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'The kingdom of Moholacha is nearly six thousand *li* (twelve thousand miles) in circuit. The capital, towards the west, is near a large river ; its circumference is thirty *li*. The soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm ; the manners are simple and honest. The natives are tall, and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude ; but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them, they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty, they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to give warning to their enemy ; after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives, but do not slay those that give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions, to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat, they drink wine to intoxicate them ; and then one of these men, spear in hand will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man met upon the road, the law does not punish them. Whenever the army commences a campaign, these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to blows, they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body, trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms.'

5. About the middle of the eighth century the imperial mantle of the Chālukyas fell on the Rāshṭrakūṭas who ruled from Malkhed. They continued the imperial traditions and sustained the glory of the Deccan. They have left us the architecture and art of Ellora in their own domains, and the school which flourished under their patronage has left the equally wonderful works of art in the dominions of their feudatories, the Śilāhāras of Thana, in the caves of Elephanta. During the two centuries of Rāshṭrakūṭa rule the country witnesed a golden age of Kannaḍa literature. Pampa, the greatest classical author in Kanarese literature flourished at this time, and composed his celebrated works, the *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Vikramārjunavijaya*. Ponna, on whom his patron Krishna III conferred the title of 'Ubhayakavichakravartin' or supreme among the poets of both (Sanskrit and Kannaḍa) languages, wrote his *Śāntipurāṇa*. Other famous poets who arose at this time were Raṇṇa—the celebrated author of the *Gaḍhāyuddha*, Asanga and Jīnachandra. Under the generous patronage of the Rāshṭrakūṭas Sanskrit literature was also given an impetus, and among the major works produced then are the *Amoghavṛtti* of Saktayāna, a work on grammar, the *Gaṇita Sārasangraha* of Vīrāchārya, a work on Mathematics, the *Nītivākyāmrita* of Somadeva, a work on the science of politics, and the *Kavirājamārga*, a work, said to have been

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composed by Emperor Amoghavarsha himself on Kannaḍa poetics ; while Vijñānēśvara produced his famous digest of civil law call the *Mitākshara.*

6. The closing quarter of the tenth century saw the revival of the imperial power of the Chālukyas, which rose as it were like the phenix from its own ashes, after a slumber of two centuries. They now made Kalyāṇī their capital, from whence they extended their Empire to the north and the south, and shone in renewed glory for well-nigh another two hundred years. Vikramāditya VI, the most successful of the line, after he had established his supremacy in the whole of South India, began a new era in 1076—the *Chālukya Vikrama Kāla.* Under them further progress was made in the arts and in literature, and their court became the centre of the wit and wisdom of the land. We find that King Someśvara II himself achieved the crown of literary merit by composing his philosophical treatise, the *Mānasōllāsa.* Their Śilāhāra feudatory Aparārka wrote his commentary on the Dharmaśāstra of Yājñavalkya. Bilhaṇa wrote his Vikramānkadēvacharita, probably the only historical poem produced in the Deccan during this period. For the first time in Indian history, use was made of the vernaculars by religious teachers in an attempt to reach the masses. Basava, the founder of Vīraśaivism, fashioned a new style of writing in the nature of poetic prose called the *'vachnas',* which forms a unique feature of Kannaḍa literature. Social equality, material well-being, and self-sufficiency were the new doctrines that revolutionized society.

The final collapse and extinction of the Chālukya house was the direct result of their rivalry with the Hoysaḷas and the Seuṇas who wrested from them the supremacy of the Deccan towards the close of the twelfth century.

8. We now come to the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra. Beginning as the feudatories of the Chālukyas they asserted their independence in 1191-92, and to commemorate this event their King Vīra Ballala I established the Hoysaḷa-Yādava era. Besides worsting the Chālukyas on the battle-field he vanquished Bhillama, the Seuṇa king of Devagiri. But the struggle with the Seuṇas appears to have continued during the whole of the twelfth century. For it was not till 1202 that he defeated and slew Bhillama in the vicinity of Gadag, thus achieving sole rulership of the Deccan.

9. Both under the Hoysaḷas and the Seuṇas literature and arts continued to flourish. Under Ballāḷa I, Nāgachandra otherwise known as Abhinava Pampa wrote his best known work commonly known as Pamparāmāyaṇa. Under Vishṇuvardhana, Rājāditya wrote his *Kshetra Gaṇita, Vyavahāraratna, Līlāvati,* and *Chitrahasuge,* all of them works on mathematics. And under Narasimha, Rāghavānaka, the most celebrated author of the times, wrote his widely read epic *Harishchandrakāvya.*

10. There was not much literary activity in Kannaḍa either at the Seuṇa court or in the Seuṇa country. The people being mainly Marathi-speaking, their literary activity was confined to Sanskrit, since Marathi had not yet developed into a literary medium. It was only in the latter half of the thirteenth century with the rise of the Mahānubhāva sect of the Jainas that certain works were produced in this language setting forth the tenets of their sect. The most celebrated scholar in the Seuṇa kingdom of the time

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was Bhāskara, who produced a great work on astronomy called the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi* and himself wrote a commentary on it, the *Vasantabhāṣhya*.

11. But the crowning achievements of the Hoysaḷa-Seuṇa period are the architectural monuments left behind by the Hoysaḷa monarchs for the admiration and reverence of posterity. The most famous specimens of Hoysaḷa style of architecture are the famous Keśava temple at Belūr,—the work of the celebrated architect Jākaṇāchārya and said to have been built to commemorate the conversion of the Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana to Vaishṇavism,—the Chennakeśvara temple at Hulikere, the Hoysaleśvara temple at Halebid, and the Kedāreśvara temple at Tarikere. The Hoysaḷa architecture owes its distinction to the marvellous elaboration and beauty of its details, and its ornamentation with sculpture of the very best class in India.

12. The overall picture at the close of the era is one of sustained progress. The science of government was developed considerably, and modern trends become more evident. What is more important is that new methods of administration are applied to the changing conditions and discerning students will notice an almost unbroken development of these methods down to Vijayanagara times. The history of this period provides a fascinating study to the scholar in its varied aspects. Apart from the mere political history of the states and chronology of achievements of the various dynasties, the work of outstanding thinkers and religious teachers, of poets, artists, sculptors, architects and mathematicians are food for the future researcher who can press into his service material existing in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Tamil and Marathi.

13. The greater part of this material is bound to be found scattered in the stone inscriptions with which Deccan as well as the coast abounds. True, this material has been surveyed, but so far only a part of it has been published, and the scholar has for the most part to depend for his work on the summaries appearing in the *Madras Eipgraphical Reports*.

14. It is a great pity that after the death of Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archæology, Mysore State, recently, the work started by Lewis Rice, who gave twelve monumental volumes of his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and continued by Dr. Sharma Shastri in the *Mysore Archæological Reports*, has been allowed to fall in arrears. What is worse is that the *Epigraphia Carnatica* has become a rare source-book not easily available even in libraries in big cities. It is, therefore, imperative that a new edition of this indispensable work should be published as early as possible. Also the work hitherto carried on by the Mysore Archæological Department should be placed on an all India basis so as to give it the needed patronage and impetus. Another useful suggestion which may be taken up by the Archæological Department of the Government of India is to collect and publish in a corpus the inscriptions published in the volumes of the long defunct *Indian Antiquary* by such eminent scholars and epigraphists as Fleet, Bhandarkar, Bhagavanlal Indraji, Jackson, Telang, Dixit, Pathak, and others, especially since these volumes are now hard to come by, and the sets that are left in a few libraries may soon disappear altogether. This will be a fitting continuation of the task already undertaken and executed

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by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in re-editing the northern inscriptions included in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* of the great John Faithful Fleet. Likewise the historical material embedded in literary works of the times should be collected and published as a source-book, as has been done in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* and *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History* by the late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Dr. N. Venkataramanayya respectively.

15. It is to be hoped that this and other tasks shall be taken up by our national ministry at an early date so as to provide the scholars with the facilities that have been wanting for so long.

MUṆḌĪRA—AN IMPORTANT SOLAR SHRINE IN ANCIENT INDIA

DILIP KUMAR BISWAS

The Brāhma Parvan of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* enumerates three important centres of sun-worship in Jambudvīpa (India). These are Mitravana, Muṇḍīra and Kālapriya. The Purāṇa further states that out of these three places, Sāmbapura (in Mitravana) was the Sun-god's permanent place of residence[1]:

"Sthānāni trīni devasya dvipe'smin bhāskarasya tu
Pūrvaṁ mitravanaṁ nāma tathā muṇḍīramuchyate
Kālapriyaṁ trītiyaṁ tu trisu lokesu Viśrutam
Tathānyadapi te vachmi yat purā brahmanoditam
Chandrabhāgātate nāmnā puram yat Sāmba-Sañjitam
dvīpe'sminchhāsvatam Sthānam yatra Sūryasya nityatā"

In another list found in a different chapter of the same 'Parvan', of the important solar shrines, we find the name Muṇḍīra replaced by 'Sutīra". Here it is stated that the Sun-god resides at Sutīra in the forenoon, at Kālapriya during mid-day and at Mitravana in the afternoon[2]:

"Sānnidhyaṁ mama pūrvāhṇe Sutīre drakshyate janah
Kālapriye cha madhyāhne parāhṇe chātra nityśaḥ"

In the 177th chapter of the *Varāha Purāṇa* we come across an interesting version of the Sāmba legend. Here also there is an enumeration of the three important shrines of the Sun-god founded by Sāmbha, namely Udayāchala, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna Astamānāchala[3]:

"Udayāchale cha saṁśrito yamunāyāścha dakshine
madhye Kālapriyaṁ devaṁ madhyāhṇe sthāpya chottamam
Mūlasthānam tatah paśchādastamānāchale ravini
Sthāpya trimūrtim Sāmbastu prātamādhyāparāhṇikaṁ"

1. *Bhaviṣya Punāṇa*, I. 72. 4-6 (Venkaṭeśvara Press Ed., p. 85).
2. *Ibid.* 1. 129. 16-17 (Ven. Press. Ed., p. 128).
3. *Varāha Purāṇa*, 177. 52-53 (Bibliotheca Indica Ed., pp. 996-97).

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According to the *Varāha Purāṇa* however Mathurā was the original seat of Sāmba's penance and hence this text explicitly states that Mathurā came to be known as Sāmbapura for that reason (evam Sāmbapuraṁ nāma Mathurānām Kuleśvaram.)[4] In the 'Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa' of the *Skānda Purāṇa* there is a slightly different description of the three so-called main shrines of the Sun-god. It is stated there that the Sun-god resides in the morning at the confluence of the Ganges and the sea as Muṇḍīrasvāmin, on the bank of the Yamunā at mid-day as Kālapriya and at Mūlasthāna on the bank of the Chandrabhāgā, where Sāmba attained realisation, in the evening[5]:

"Muṇḍīrasvāminaṁ prātargaṅgāsāgarasaṅgame
Kālapriyaṁ tu madhyāhne yamunātīramāśritam
Mūlasthānaṁ chāstamāne chandrabhāgātaṭe sthitam
Yatra Sāmbaḥ svayaṁ siddha upavāsaparāyana".

Of the three solar shrines mentioned in the Purāṇic texts, the original Sambapura (in Mitravana) has been universally identified with Multan in Sind, while the location of Kālapriya is uncertain. Dr. R. C. Hazra, in an illuminating paper has suggested the identification of Muṇḍīra with the famous Sun-temple of Koṇārka in the Puri district of Orissa.[6] The arguments advanced by him in support of his conclusion may be summarised in the following manner: First, he concludes that the above Purāṇic evidence leads us to suppose that the three solar shrines Muṇḍīra, Sutīra and Udayāchala were situated in the eastern part of India; Kālapriya was somewhere in the central region and Mitravana belonged to the west. On account of the fact that the two lists in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* mention the different names Muṇḍīra and Sutīra respectively besides giving the common names Mitravana and Kālapriya, the learned scholar seems to accept Sutīra as some sort of a second name for Muṇḍīra. In the second place, he seeks to find support for this conclusion in a passage of the *Sāmba Purāṇa* which describes a solar shrine in Orissa called Muṇḍīra. Afterwards he suggests the identification of this so-called Muṇḍīra-Sutīra in Orissa with the solar shrine of Konārka in the Puri district of Orissa. But this suggestion is in apparent conflict with the evidence furnished by the previously quoted passage of *Skānḍa Purāṇa* which distinctly says that the Sun remained at the confluence of Ganges and the sea in the morning as Muṇḍīrasvāmin. Dr. Hazra has tried to explain away this anomaly by interpreting the word "Gangā" in the above passage as a general name for any river that flows into the sea. He follows here, as he says, the Purāṇic definition[7]:

"Sarvāḥ puṇyāḥ Sarasvatyaḥ Sarvā gangāḥ samudragāḥ"

Thus he suggests the identification of 'Gaṇgā' in the present context with the small stream Chandrabhāgā that falls into the sea in the vicinity of the Koṇārka temple. An alternate suggestion, thrown out by him is the identification of "Gaṇgā" with the Sūrya-gaṇgā, the name of a river associated with the

4. *Ibid.* 177. 55 (Bibl. Ed., p. 997).
5. *Skānda Purāna*, 7, 1. 139, pp. 11-12 (Baṅgabasi Ed., Pt. VII, p. 4813).
6. "Three most prominent places of Sun-worship in ancient India" in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. IV, Pt. II., pp. 212-16.
7. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 45. 108 (Bangabasi Ed., p. 231).

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temple of Koṇārka by the *Kapila-Samhitā,* a late Sanskrit text on the holy places of Orissa.

These arguments are not powerful enough to make Dr. Hazra's theory unassailable. There is hardly any ground for holding that "Sutīra" of the second list of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* is another name for "Muṇḍīra" mentioned in the first. It appears to be a pure misreading for "Muṇḍīra" due probably to a scribe's error for which the Purāṇic texts are notorious. This is probably borne out by the fact that nowhere else in the Purāṇic literature there is a second mention of the word "Sutīra" in the context we are discussing. The *Sāmba Purāṇa* which according to Dr. Hazra supports the identification, also does never mention "Sutīra" by name. It just refers in a general way to the shore (tīra) of the salt ocean[8]:

"Tasministapovane deśe tīre tu lavaṇodadheḥ
tishṭhanti yecha saṁprāptā devadarśanākāmhinaḥ"

To construe the whole passage containing merely the description of a beautiful (raṃya) penance forest (*tapovana*) on the sea-shore, as referring to the place name "Sutīra" (meaning 'beautiful shore' literally) found in the *Bhaviṣya Purṇāa,* is to say the least, extremely far-fetched. The above passage, therefore, does by no means strengthen Dr. Hazra's case and Muṇḍīra described in the *Sāmba Purāṇa* cannot be identified with Koṇārka at least on the ground of the above identification. The explanation of the expression "Gaṇgā-sāgara-saṁgama" found in the *Skanda Purāṇa* passage as given by Dr. Hazra is equally unsatisfactory. The river Chandrabhāgā by the side of the Koṇārka temple is associated by the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* with Mitravana, the original solar shrine (identified by the author of the Saṁhitā with Koṇārka) and not with Muṇḍīra which is always carefully distinguished by all the Purāṇic texts from Mitravana.[9] The river Sūrja-gaṅgā mentioned by the same text in connection with Mitravana,[10] is apparently no new river but another name of the same Chandrabhāgā. Gadādhara Rājguru, the famous writer on Smriti in Orissa, makes it quite clear in his famous Nibandha work that any stream lying to the east of a sun-temple shall be known as Sūrya-gaṅgā. In this connection he quotes the following verse from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa[11]:

"Bhāskarāyatanābhyāse yattoyam purvataḥ sthitam
Sūryagaṅgeti Vijñeyam tatra snātvā divaṁ Vrajet"

It is, therefore, futile to look for a separate river called Sūrya-gaṅgā near Koṇārka temple. Besides referring directly to the Chandrabhāgā, the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* perhaps referred to the same river again as Sūrya-gaṅgā due to the reason given by Gadādhara. It may be pointed out however in defence of Dr. Hazra's view that inspite of these defects its main contention might yet be true as the *Sāmba Purāṇa* places Muṇḍīira somewhere in the coastal region of Orissa and it might be the same as Koṇārka. We should, however, remem-

8. *Sāmba Purāṇa,* 42, 1. (Venk. Press Ed., p. 53).
9. *Kapila-Saṁhitā,* 6. 29 (MS. I. F. 42 and MS. G. 311. Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).
10. *Ibid.* 6. 45.
11. *Gadādhara Paddhati,* (Bibl. Ind. Ed.), Vol. II (*āchārasāra*) p. 219.

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ber that the *Sāmba Purāṇa* never directly mentions Koṇārka in connection with its description of Muṇḍīra. On the other hand Koṇārka has been clearly identified with Mitravana by the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* and in all the Purāṇic lists of solar shrines quoted above Mitravana has been clearly distinguished from Muṇḍīra. So far as the *Sāmba Purāṇa* location of Muṇḍīra somewhere in Orissa, is concerned, we should note how dangerous it is to rely too much on such evidence. The *Sāmba Purāṇa* in its present form is admittedly a late work and it is quite possible that the original legends associated with the introduction of the Iranian sun-cult in India underwent a great deal of embellishment by the time the work reached its present form. In the case of the original story of Sāmba's penance at Mitravana, it is clearly evident that with the development and progress of the sun-cult, the legend also came to be associated almost invariably with all the new solar shrines that were being set up in the different parts of northern India[12] till at last the sun-temple of Koṇārka in the eastern coast came to be represented as the temple originally erected by Sāmba and the region round it, as Mitravana. We, however, know it almost for certain now that the original Sāmbapura in Mitravana is to be identified with Multan in Sind. It is not unlikely that the same thing might have happened with regard to "Muṇḍīra". The late reference in the *Sāmba Purāṇa* to its having been situated somewhere in Orissa cannot, therefore, be regarded as a clue to the identification of the original Muṇḍīra, just as the very late description of the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* of Koṇārka as Mitravana cannot possibly throw any light on the identification of the original Mitravana. In fact, the description of Muṇḍīra as an eastern shrine is itself not a little misleading. It appears in a specific form for the first time in the *Skaṇḍa Purāṇa* which is also a very late work. In the first passage from the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa,* there is no such indication at all and in the second one it has merely been said that Sūrya resides at Sutīra (misreading for Muṇḍīra?) in the morning. In the *Varāha Purāṇa* Muṇḍīra is not mentioned at all. So it is extremely difficult in the present state of our knowledge to be sure about the fact that the original solar shrine of Muṇḍīra was situated in the eastern region of India when the late *Skanda Purāṇa* is practically our sole guide in the matter and when the Purāṇic accounts of the solar shrines are definitely known to have been altered and embellished according to the will of the later authors.

Though up till now no definite conclusion has arrived at with regard to the identification of the solar shrine of Muṇḍīra, it does not appear impossible that the site is represented by the famous sun-temple of Modhera in Guzrat. It is situated about 18 miles south of Pātan and the small stream of Pushmāvatī is near by, flowing into the river Rupen. The name is sometimes pronounced also as Muṇḍera[13] which is very near to the Purāṇic Muṇḍīra. But apart from the striking similarity in name there are other arguments in

12. I have traced the different stages of this development of the Sāmba-legend in my Bengali article "Sambopākhyān O Sūryapūjā" in the Quarterly journal *Itihas,* Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 91-97.

13. Burges and Cousens—*The Archaeological Survey of Western India,* Vol. IX. (*The archaeological Antiquities of Western Guzrat*), pp. 71-81.

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favour of this tentative suggestion. Though the date of the ruined sun-temple of Modhera or Muṇḍera falls during the 11th century A.D., archaeological and literary traditions associate this and other adjoining regions in Guzrat and Kāthiwar with the sun-cult particularly of the Magian variety from very early times. Remains of sun-temples as well as cult-images of the Sun-god have come to light in large numbers all over this region, clearly indicating its importance as a centre of sun-worship.[14] This point has also been emphasized by the Prabhāsa-khanda of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* which associates the Sāmba-legend with Prabhāsa or the Kāthiwar region and makes Prabhāsa the second permanent abode of the Sun-god[15]:

"Tasmin Kshetre mahādevi puram yat Sāmbasañjakam
Dvītiyaṁ Śāśvataṁ Sthānam tatra sūryasya nityaśaḥ"

This seems by no means unnatural when we take into account the fact that the Magian sun-priests of Persia came to India from the north-west and it must have been the western regions like Sind, Guzrat etc. which became the original seats of their activities and influence. This Magian infiltration into these countries of the west and the north-west began probably during the early centuries of the Christian era. The earliest notable sun-temple was built up in Multan in Sind under the influence of these foreign priests and that region became famous in Indian tradition as the original solar shrine of Mitravana. Magian influence must have very soon travelled to Guzrat and Kāthiwar as archaeological and literary evidence indicates and it is not impossible that very soon the next famous solar shrine of Muṇḍīra grew up in this area. We may, therefore, in the present state of our knowledge tentatively identify Muṇḍīra with Modhera or Muṇḍera in Guzrat, a site famous for the ruins of a magnificent solar shrine that it once contained.

NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

The chronology and events of the long reign of Nandivarman II have been often discussed with not very conclusive or satisfactory results. But new facts have come into light in recent years, and there is real need for a review of the whole reign in the light of these facts. Without attempting a full history of the reign for which more space would be required than can be found here, brief hints may be given as a preliminary to such a history.

First about the date of accession. It is well known that a break occurred in Pallava succession at the end of the reign of Parameśvaravarman II, and that he was succeeded by Nandivarman II, a prince of a collateral line, chosen for the purpose by the officials of the kingdom and the representatives

14. H. D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Guzrat*, pp. 84-91, 137-38, 157-64, 212-14 etc.
15. *Skanda Purāṇa*, 7. 1. 100. 4 (Baṅgabasi Ed., Pt. VII, p. 4757).

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of the people with the consent of his father Hiraṇyavarman. The beginning of Nandivarman's reign was placed in 717 by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil and in 710 by Gopalan, while other scholars like M. S. Sarma and Dr. N. Venkataramanyya have expressed the need for postulating a later date than 717. The real date is now seen clearly to lie about 731 from a Kannaḍa stone inscription from Uḷchala in the Kurnool district. Dated in the 35th year of Vijayāditya (730-31), the Chāḷukya king of Bādāmi, it records that *yuvarāja* Vikramāditya II was returning after conquering Kāñchī and levying tribute from the Pallava king Parameśvara, and that Vikramāditya then made a gift of the villages Uḷchala and Pariyalu to Durvinīt-Eṛeyappa of the Koṅguṇi (i.e. Western Gaṅga) family.[1] Though Nandivarman II had the personal name Parameśvara,[2] he is never referred to by this name after he was crowned king, but always as Nandivarman or Nandipōttaraiyan. Hence Parameśvarman of the Uḷchala inscription was beyond doubt Parameśvara II. and the confusion in the state that ensued after his death was still in the future in 731, which must, therefore, be taken to be the earliest possible date for the accession of Nandivarman II.

The Uḷchala inscription is valuable also as showing the close cooperation of the Western Gaṅgas with the Chālukyas against the Pallavas of Kāñchī. Eṛeyappa, who accompanied Vikramāditya to Kāñchī and was rewarded by him on the return after victory, was, most certainly, Duggamāṛa Eṛeyappa II, a son of Śrīpurusha. Soon after the withdrawal of Vikramāditya from Kāñchīpuram, Parameśvaravarman evidently thought of punishing the Gaṅga ruler for his share in the invasion of Kāñchī by leading a counter-invasion into the Gaṅga country ; but his effort ended in disaster and he lost his life in the battle. Of Śrīpurusha, a Gaṅga inscription records the following[3] :

Śrīpurusham Śrī Vallabhan enip anvarthanāman tāḷdi
Gaja—śāstra kartṛiv enisi ||
Vri. Śātrava-saṅkuḷa-praḷaya-Bhiravam emba yaśam podaḷdu lōka-traya-madhyadoḷ pareye bīrada Kāñchiya Kāḍuveṭṭiyam
chitrav idam Viḷardeyol asugoḷe kādi tadīya—Pallava—
chchhatramam viddukoṇḍu meṛedam bhuja—garbbaman ā—
mahībhuja||
Ka. ā nṛipa—chūḍāmaṇi Kāñ—
chī—nāthana kayyol irddukoṇḍam gada Per
mānaḍiy emb—ī—pesaraman
ēn—embudo Gaṅga—nṛipara śauryōnnatiyam. ||

That is to say, (in Rice's Translation), 'Śrīpurusha, being considered Śrīvallabha (the husband of Śrī) bore a significant name, and was known as the author of Gajaśāstra. Gaining fame as a Bhairava of the last deluge to his banded enemies, which spread out in the middle of the three worlds ;

1. *Ancient India*, no. 5, p. 54.
2. *SII.* IV, no. 135 (37 of 1888) Sec. c. l. 2.
3. *EC.* VIII, no. 35, pp. 251 (Text) and 135 (Trans.).

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fighting to the death, in a wonderful manner, in Vilarde, Kāḍuveṭṭi of the warlike Kāñchī, and taking away his Pallava umbrella, that great king distinguished himself by the power of his arm. That crest-jewel of kings took away from the hands of the Kāñchī king, did he not, the name Permmānaḍi,—what can be said of the greatness of the valour of the Gaṅga king?'

This inscription is late and bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1077. It does not give the name of the Kāḍuveṭṭi, Pallava king who lost his life in Viḷande or Viḷarde. Nevertheless, we may tentatively accept it as the record of a correct tradition on the relations between Śrīpurusha and Parameśvara II of Kāñchī who was his contemporary in the early years of his reign. There is no other occasion in Pallava history when a king could have lost his life in battle in the Gaṅga country, and the confusion that ensued in Kāñchī on the death of Parameśvara is best explained by his sudden and unexpected death in battle in a foreign country. For at the news of his death, the kingdom was threatened with anarchy (*rājyam utsanuamāga*), and the officials (*māttarakula*), the members of the *Ghaṭikā* and the popular assembly (*mūla-prakṛiti*) averted the danger by going on deputation to Hiraṇyavarman and securing his consent for enthroning his son Nandivarman II. In the sculptured panels of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, the threat of anarchy is eloquently indicated by blank space.[4]

When the deputation from Kāñchī went to Hiraṇyavarman to seek his aid in the choice of a suitable ruler, they carried with them the insignia of royalty which included a crown shaped like an elephant's scalp. As a diadem of this shape is first seen to have been borne by the Indo-Greek king Demetrius, it has been held that the presence of this crown among the Pallava royal insignia confirms the theory of an ultimately foreign origin for the dynasty.[5]

Called to the throne at the tender age of twelve, Nandivarman had a long reign of sixty-five years which was seldom free from trouble. At the very outset there appeared a pretender to the throne by name Chitramāya. Claiming Pallava descent, he commanded support not only from a section of the people in the Pallava country, but from the contemporary Pāṇḍya king Māṛavarman Rājasimha I (730-65) ; the Chēra also made common cause with him as also Udayana, a Śabara chieftain, possibly ruling in some part of the wild country in the northern marches of the Pallava kingdom. How and where the enemies of Nandivarman met is not clear, but they are said to have defeated Nandivarman in battle and immured him in the fortress of Nandipuram.[6] The devotion of the able general Udayachandra of the Pūchān-kula, a family noted for its hereditary loyalty to the Pallavas, relieved Nandivarman in his sore straits. The general is said to have defeated the enemies of Nandivarman in several battles, killed Chitramāya and bestowed the entire kingdom on Pallavamalla. The battles were at Niṁbavana, Chūtavana, Śaṅkaragrāma, Nellore, Nelvēli, Śūrāvaḷundūr and other places. The names of battles mentioned in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍyas are

4. *MASI.* no. 63, p. 54 ; and Pl. XV.
5. *SII.* XII, pp. I-II.
6. Udayendiram Plates, *SII.* II, pp. 361 ff. (ll. 46-61).

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different ; viz. Neḍuvayal, Maṇṇaikurichi, Tirumangai, Pūvaḷūr, Koḍumbāḷūr, etc.[7] But the former series of battles were Pallava victories, and in the second set the Pāṇḍyas claim victory. Hence we may safely assume that all these battles formed part of a single war in which the Pāṇḍya sided one of the parties to a civil war in the Pallava country.

The identification of Nandipuram where Nandivarman had to stand a siege is important for a correct understanding of the campaigns. Till recently Nandipuram was taken to be identical with Nāthankōyil within three miles of Kumbakonam.[8] This was based on two facts: the Vaishṇava hymnist Tirumaṅgai, celebrates a shrine called Nandipura-viṇṇagaram in this village ;[9] secondly, the campaigns are seen to have extended as far south as Koḍumbāḷūr in Pudukkōṭṭai territory, and this made it easy to postulate a siege of Nandivarman far to the south of Kāṇchī. But the identification of the battle-fields where Udayachandra won his spurs in the service of his master was neither attempted nor easy. Recently Sri K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar has studied the question afresh from this point of view and has proposed a series of identifications which appear to be very satisfactory indeed.[10] Nandipuram is now identified with Nandivaram in Chingleput district, also called Nandipura in inscriptions of a later time.[11] The other places easily fall into position in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam—Nimbhava being Vēppaṅguḷam near Kāñchī, Chūtavana being Māṅgāḍu in Śrīperumbudūr taluk which has late Pallava inscriptions, Śaṅkaragrāma being Śaṅkaraṁpāḍi in Arkonam taluq, and Śūrāvaḷundūr still passes under the same name or as Śūrāviḷundūr in the Chidambaram taluq of South Arcot. Nenmali (Nelvēli), where the Śabara leader Udayana fought against Udayachandra and lost his life together with his mirror-banner of peacock's tail, is the same as modern Nenmali or Nemmali near Tiruttaṇi, about thirty miles to the north of Kāñchī and a proper scene for a contest with a wild Śabara chieftain. Nellore where the next battle was fought thus comes well within the range of the war area. The Udayendiram grant states that Udayachandra destroyed the fort of Kālīdurga protected by the goddess of Kālī, and defeated the Pāṇḍya army at Maṇṇaikkuḍi which may be the same as Maṇṇaikurichi of the Vēlvikuḍi grant, and Maṇṇai of Tirumaṅgai, where, according to the hymnist, the Villava (Chēra) turned and fled. Although the location of Kālīdurga is unknown, Maṇṇaikkuḍi may be the same as Maṇṇivākkam[12] in the Chingleput taluq which contains a temple called Maṇṇiśvaram. Most of the battles must have been fought before the siege of Nandipuram was raised as is implied in the statement in the inscription that they were fought by Udayachandra on behalf of the Pallava. This war against Chitramāya and Rājasiṁha I was the first of the several crises that Nandivarman II faced in his long reign.

Tirumaṅgai's hymn mentioned above is an unmistakable evidence that

7. *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 57.
8. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 124.
9. *Periya Tirumoḷi*, V, 10.
10. *JOR*. XIX, pp. 191-5.
11. 255 of 1910 ; 34 of 1934/5.
12. 169 of 1929/30.

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Nandivarman II erected a Vishṇu temple at Nāthankōyil some time later in his reign ; but that place could not have been the focus of his resistance to Chitramāya so soon after his accession to the Pallava throne, though the long-drawn hostilities between the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas necessarily involved fighting in the southern marches of the Pallava kingdom.

The battle in Nellore must have occurred some time later and the circumstances leading to it are explained in an obscure passage in the Udayendiram grant which has been best elucidated by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the light of emendations suggested by Dr. V. Raghavan.[13] The text is: "In the northern region also (Udayachandra) pursued the Nishāda chief called Pṛithivīvyāghra, who, in desiring to become very powerful (*prabalāyamānam*), was running after the horse of the *aśvamedha,* defeated (him), ordered (him) out of the district (*vishaya*) of Vishṇurāja, (which) he subjected to the Pallava, and seized faultless pearl necklaces of excellent lustre, an immeasurable heap of gold and elephants.' Who performed the horse sacrifice and let loose the horse pursued by Pṛithivīvyāghra? And who was Pṛthivīvyāghra himself? Pṛithivīvyāghra was most probably the head of the Boyas of Nellore and a feudatory of the Eastern Chālukya Vishṇuvardhana III. Though Hultzsch attributed the horse sacrifice to Pṛithivīvyāghra himself, it seems better to suppose that it was Nandivarman II who, after his initial successes against Chitramāya and his Pāṇḍya ally, desired to celebrate the horse-sacrifice and let loose the horse. It must be conceded, however, that there is no other evidence of the sacrifice performed by him. But on this assumption the story becomes easy to follow. The Nishāda chief, perhaps with the connivance of his Eastern Chālukya suzerain, contested the claim of Nandivarman to imperial position and tried to obstruct the sacrifice by seizing the horse. Udayachandra punished him by driving him out of his fief and annexing it to the Pallava kingdom.

The last clause in the extract from the inscription is interpreted differently by some writers including Dr. Venkataramanayya. They translate it thus: 'having brought Niravadya, and others under his control, took (from them) beautiful necklaces, large quantities of gold and elephants.' Niravadya was a title of the Bādāmi Chālukya ruler Vijayāditya, and Venkataramanayya says: 'It is not unlikely that Vijayāditya came to defend his territories (which included the Ceded Districts) or joined his cousin Vishṇuvardhana III against the common enemy.' This may be so, and the chronology of Vijayāditya's reign which lasted up to 733 just renders this possible. But one should like to get better evidence in support than the dubious and obscure adjectival pharase *niravadya pramukhāṁśu hārān.*

An inscription at Mallam in the Gudur taluq[14] dated in the fifteenth year of Nandivarman II (*c.* 747) records a gift of gold by order of the Chālukkiarasar at the request of Āluva-arasan, and is doubtless connected in some way with the celebrated expedition of Vikramāditya II against Kāñchīpuram commemorated by a well-known Kannaḍa inscription of his on one of the

13. *Eastern Cālukyas,* pp. 75-76.
14. Nell. Inscr. pp. 429-30 ; g. 54.

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pillars of the Rājasiṁheśvara temple in the Pallava capital. The details of this famous episode have been often narrated in histories.

The next important event calling for notice is the invasion of the rising Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga whose aim was more to detach Nandivarman from his allegiance to the Chālukya and secure his friendship. Dantidurga achieved his object and gave his daughter Revā in marriage to Nandivarman perhaps about 751 or thereabout even before his overthrow of Kīrtivarman II.

The Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha had cooperated with Vikramāditya in his invasion of Kāñchī ; he had also defeated and killed Nandivarman's predecessor Parameśvaravarman II at Viḷarde. Earlier still, on another occasion an earlier Gaṅga ruler Bhūvikrama had defeated Parameśvaravarman I (also at Viḷarde) and deprived him of the crown-jewel *ugrodaya*. About 783 Nandivarman invaded the Gaṅga kingdom, captured many strongholds, and compelled Śrīpurusha to surrender much wealth and restore the royal necklace bearing the gem *ugrodaya*.[15] At the same time some territory captured from Śrīpurusha was handed over by Nandivarman to his Bāṇa feudatory Jayanandivarman whose descendants ruled there till they were displaced by the Choḷas under Parāntaka I.

The real foe of Nandivarman was, however, the Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka (765-815). The Pallava army was defeated at Peṇṇāgaḍm on the south bank of the Kāvērī, and Nandivarman who sensed the danger from the aggressive energy of the youthful Pāṇḍyan king organized an alliance against him. The rulers of Koṅgu and Kerala and the Adigaimāns of Tagaḍūr joined him. But all to no purpose ; the Pāṇḍya was successful in breaking the confederacy and extending his empire to the north and north-west, and Nandivarman lost much territory. A Paṇḍya inscription records the destruction of Vēṁbil about 776 and Jaṭila's encampment at Niyaman in the Tanjore district.[16] Another inscription mentions five years later the Pāṇḍyan king's camp at Araśūr on the banks of the Peṇṇār in Toṇḍaināḍu.[17]

In the midst of these preoccupations, Nandivarman co-operated with the Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda II in helping the Gaṅga Śivamāra II to gain the throne against the opposition of his brother Duggamāṛa Eṛeyappa. Both the Rāshṭrakūṭa and Pallava monarchs are said to have been present at the coronation of Śivamāra II and tied the fillet of royalty on his head with their own hands.[18] This was perhaps in 778. Very soon after Govinda II was opposed by his energetic and ambitious younger brother Dhruva Nirupama ; a civil war ensued and Govinda was supported, among others, by Śivamāra II and Nandivarman II. But Dhruva won and became king about 780. The allies of Govinda were punished, Śivamāra being imprisoned for several years, and Nandivarman had to make his submission to Dhruva and surrender a tribute of war-elephants.

15. Taṇḍantoṭṭam plates, *SII.*, II., p. 557, v. 6 ; *EI.* XXII, p. 113.
16. 414 of 1904.
17. 105 of 1905.
18. *MAR.* 1924, p. 74 ; *EC.* IX, Nl. 60.

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The remaining fifteen years of Nandivarman's rule were peaceful. Evidently he was greater as a diplomat than as a soldier. In the early years his successes were due to the martial ability of Udayachandra, and the military record of his later years is by no means very good. Yet he made his political influence felt over the whole of south India, and maintained his power and position to the end of his long reign. He was a worshipper of Vishṇu and built the Vaikuṇṭhapermuāḷ temple, the Paramēchchura-viṇṇagaram of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār, at Kāñchī, one of the finest temples in the Pallava style. He is said to have been proficient in archery, in elephant lore, in the composition of poetry and in the arts of love. He patronized learning and the inscriptions of his reign possess a notable literary quality. Tirumaṅgai was his contemporary. He was succeeded by Dantivarman, his son by the Rāshṭrakūṭa princess Revā.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE VISHNU TEMPLE MENTIONED IN PAVANADUTA

DR. SUKUMAR SEN

Dhoyī the author of *Pvanadūta* makes the South Wind Messenger of the love lorn Kuvalayāvatī, the daughter of the Gandharva chief in the Malaya Hills, to the hero Lakshmanasena, came from Kerala to the capital of the Sena king *via* some places of interest. The first station is Suhma (south-west Bengal) is reached immediately after Yayātinagara where there was a Kerala settlement. The station in Suhma is not mentioned by name but is described in the following two verses (27, 28):

gaṅgāvīciplutaparisaraḥ saudhamālāvataṃsaḥ
yāsyatyuccais tvayi rasamayo vismayaṃ suhmadeśaḥ
śrotrakrīḍābharaṇapadavīṃ bhūmidevāṅganānāṃ
tālīpatraṃ navaśaśikalākomalaṃ yatra bhāti.

'Washed extensively by the waves of the Gaṅgā, adorned by a chain of palaces, and pleasant, the Suhma country shall excite high curiosity in thee. Palmyra leaves, tender (and white) as the cresent moon, serve as playful ear-ornaments of the women of the earthly gods (*i.e.* the brahmans) there.'

tasmin senānvayanṛpatinā devarājyābhiṣikto
devaḥ sākṣād vasati kamalākelikāro murāriḥ
pāṇau līlākamalam asakṛd yatsamīpe vahanto
laksmīśaṅkāṃ prakṛtisubhagāḥ kurvate vāraramāḥ.

'At that place, having been established in the kingdom of gods by a king of the Sena dynasty, God Murāri, the lover of Kamalā, dwells in state. As they attend Him temple girls, charming by nature and holding lotus blossoms in their hands, are often mistaken for Lakshmi.'

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The next verse describes the next station of the Wind Messenger:

yātaś cordhvaṃ dhanapatinagenaiva gaurair agāraiḥ
paśyes tasmin nagaram anagham cāru candrārdhamauleḥ
yatrānekapriyanakhapadavyājato vārarāmāḥ
bhartur bhūṣāśaśadharakalācihnam aṅge vahanti.

'Departing therefrom, high up, thou shall find, by the white houses like the hill of the lord of wealth (i.e. Kubera), the blameless and fine city of the god wearing the cresent moon (Śiva), where the temple girls carry in their limb the insignia of their Master's prized ornament, the cresent moon, disguised as so many nail prints of their lovers.'

It appears from the above descriptions that the first station of the Wind Messenger in Bengal was a place in Suhma not far off from the Kalinga border, a place washed by the Ganga and where a rich Vishnu temple was built and/or endowed by a Sena king, and that the next station was a place sacred to Śiva. The reference to the hill of Kubera probably indicates that the second station was to the north of the first. From the next verses the Wind Messenger's course to the capital of the Sena king seems to have been northerly. If it is so the Vishnu temple must have been situated in or near old Tāmralipta or Dāmalipta, modern Tamluk (occurring as Tāmralāpitapur in two late eighteenth century manuscript copies of Rāmeśvara's *Śiva-sankīrtana*).

Daṇḍin in *Daśakumāracarita* mentions the Śakti deity Vindhyavāsinī in Dāmalipta, and it is probably the same deity that is now known as Barga-bhīmā that has made Tamluk a place of pilgrimage. The temple of Barga-bhīmā, a stone structure, is built up on the ruins of an older structure generally believed to have been a Vishnu temple. There no doubt that there was once a famous Vishnu temple in the Tāmralipta region as it gave the place its second name Vishnugṛha (cited in the thirteenth and fourteenth century lexicons) or Vishnuhari (from older Vishnughari,—as in some Middle Bengali narrative poems belonging to south-west Bengal ; Vishnu's temple is also mentioned).

If this identification is accepted the identification of the next station, the city of Śiva, becomes easier. It can be no other places than Chandrakonā, formerly known as Chandragarh, where the Śiva deity Māleśvara or Malleśvara has been receiving homage from far and wide and from time immemorial. Chandrakonā lies a few miles to the north of Tamluk.

The author of *Pavanadūta* does not mention by name the Sena king who had founded or endowed the temple. Apparently he was neither Lakshmana-sena nor Vallālasena. But Dhoyī's expression is strikingly similar to that of Umāpatidhara when he describes, in the Deopara inscription, the founding of the temple and joint Vishnu-Siva deity Pradyumneśvara by Lakshmana's grandfather Vijayasena who, being the founder of the Sena dynasty, can be truely called 'senanvayanṛpati'. An abundance of temple girls appears to have been a remarkable common feature between the two temple endowments.

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THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA INVASIONS OF NORTHERN INDIA IN THE TENTH CENTURY A.D.

DR. G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

The story of the Rāshṭrakūṭa invasions of northern India in the tenth century A.D. is well-known. The present paper makes only a revised study of the same, and draws attention to a few facts specially in connection with Kṛishṇa III's northern expeditions, which have not been noted before.

In the opening years of the tenth century A.D. the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne was occupied by Kṛishṇa II who ruled from 878 to *c.* 914. Throughout his reign he was engaged in a serious feud with the eastern Chālukyas. But nonetheless his powerful northern neighbour, namely the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, also claimed his attention. Thus we learn from the Bagumra Plates of Indra III that old men vividly recollected the courage and heroism of Kṛishṇ II in his sanguinary fights with the "roaring Gurjaras".[1] Another set of copper plates from the same locality refers to a victory over the same enemy, in a battle fought near Ujjayinī, gained by a feudatory of the king before his very eyes sometime before 888 A.D.[2] The *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra which was completed in 908-9 states that "the (war) elephants of Kṛishṇa drank the waters of the Ganges." Dr. Altekar regards this as mere conventional praise.[3] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya on the other hand thinks that the statement is substantially correct. He argues that taking advantage of the confusion due to the outbreak of a war of succession after the death of the Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla I, Kṛishṇa led an expedition to the north and occupied the doab between the Ganges and the Yamunā. He places the event on the eve of the accession of Mahīpāla I, and says that the Pratīhāra king dispossessed the Karṇāṭakas, and reconquered his kingdom and capital. The learned scholar finds support for his view in the Prologue of the *Chaṇḍakauśika* of Kshemīsvara which refers to Mahīpāla's victory over the Karṇāṭaka forces. He further adds, "No doubt, Mahīpāla suffered defeat at the hands of Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III during the latter part of his reign ; but the circumstances were different. At the time of Indra's accession to the throne or a little later, the Rāshṭrakūṭas lost most of the northern provinces of their kingdom owing to the aggressions of Mahīpāla, who after establishing himself firmly on the throne, planned an invasion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions as a measure of retaliation. He met with considerable success in his enterprise ; and if we may trust Rājaśekhara, he not only reduced several people on the borderland of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom to submission but annexed some of its outlying provinces including Lāṭa and Kerala. It was for dislodging Mahīpāla from his territories that Indra II launched his expedition."[4]

1. *JBBRAS.* XVIII. 257 ff.
2. *EI.* IX. 24.
3. A. S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times,* p. 97.
4. *Pro. Ind. Hist. Congress* (Sixth Session), 167ff.

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Dr. Venkataramanayya's suggestion is ingenious, but he has not adduced a single proof to show that Mahīpāla's accession actually took place between 907/8, the last known date of Mahendrapāla I, and 908/9, the date of the completion of the *Uttarapurāṇa*. Otherwise the evidence of the *Chaṇḍakauśika* can hardly be regarded as relevant in this context. We should also remember that according to some scholars the reign of Bhoja II intervened between those of Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla. Finally the silence of Rājaśekhara about the alleged expulsion of the Karṇāṭakas from the Pratīhāra home-province is no less striking in this connection. Therefore it seems to us that there is no cogent reason to think that the event referred to in the *Chaṇḍakauśika* relates to the northern expedition of Kṛishṇa II and not to that of Indra III. The statement of the *Uttarapurāṇa* stands uncoroborated, and too much importance cannot be attached to it in the present state of our knowledge.

In his contest with the Pratīhāras Kṛishṇa II gained at least one important advantage, namely, he saved the Lāṭa province from being overrun by the enemy. We learn from the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV that Kṛishṇa II, by his prowess, expelled an enemy from Kheṭaka.[5] The place, as Fleet pointed out, is very probably to be identified with Kaira in Gujarat.[6] The enemy in question was also very probably the Pratīhāras.[7] The Kapaḍvaṇaj Plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa king clearly indicate his control over the Kaira region till 910 A.D. We are also inclined to think that the rise of the Paramāras in the Gujarat region took place in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. under the aegis of Kṛishṇa II, rather than that of Kṛishṇa III. This conclusion is supported by the definite statement of the Harsola plates that Bappairāja (Vākpati II), grandfather of Paramāra Harsha-Siyaka II, belonged to the family of Akālavarsha who meditated on the feet of Amoghavarsha,[8] and this Akālavarsha can hardly be identified with Kṛishṇa III, a contemporary of Harsha-Siyaka II. Our contention receives confirmation from several other early Paramāra records which speak of Vākpati (II) as meditating on the feet of Kṛishṇa,[9] who is usually identified with Upendrarāja, a distant ancestor of Vākpati, but who was very probably none other than Akālavarsha-Kṛishṇa II.

We now take up the subject of Indra III's northern expedition in course of which he is said to have devastated Kanauj. It might have followed some hostile activities on the part of Mahīpāla in the south as revealed by Rajaśekhara. But there is nothing to show that he went as far as to annex Lāṭa and Kerala, the latter obviously an impossibility. The details of Indra III's northern campaign as given in the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV and the *Pampa-Bhārata* are well-known, and it is needless to repeat them here. It may, however, be pointed out that the evidence of the *Pampa-Bhārata* receives

5. *EI.* VII. 29; *IA.* XII. 247. Altekar, *ibid.* 98.
6. *EI.* XIII. 180.
7. *Pro. Ind. Hist. Cong.* (Sixth Session), 164 ff.; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 839.
8. *EI.* XIX, 239-40.
9. H. C. Ray, *ibid.*, p. 852.

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striking confirmation from the Vemulavāḍa inscription which reports that the Chālukya prince Narasiṁha defeated in battle-field seven indomitable chiefs of Mālava and made them tributaries, and alone having subdued the advancing host of the Gurjjara king, "wrote the story of his heroism on the slab (attached to) the pillar of a confederacy of kings at Kālapriya."[10] There can hardly be any doubt that Indra's route of march lay through the Mālava country which apparently was included within the Pratīhāra dominions at this time, and that an important engagement took place at Kālapriya. Scholars usually identify this place with Ujjain. But as Altekar points out it may stand for Kālpi, a place situated on the bank of the Yamunā in the Jalaun district of the Uttara Pradesa.[11] This latter view seems to us more probable as Kālpi is actually referred to as Kālapriyapaṭṭana in an inscription of the fifteenth century.[12] The Gurjara king apparently opposed the passage of the invader across the river Yamunā at the head of a confederacy of feudatories before the enemy could enter the doab and sack Kanauj.

Scholars usually place the date of Indra III's northern expedition between 915 and 918, the latter date being supposed to be the year of accession of Indra III's son Govinda IV. But this is no longer tenable as we now know that his rule certainly extended to 925, and possibly to 927, and Govinda IV probably did not come to the throne till 930.[13] Under the circumstance we may have to advance the date of Indra's northern expedition by at least ten years.

The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV represent that Gaṅgā and Yamunā rendered service in his place.[14] On the basis of this statement it has been contended that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king retained some hold on the doab till 930 A.D.[15] Besides a study of the *Karpuramañjarī* has led Professor Mirashi to think that Vallabhabharāja, king of Kuṇṭala (identified with Govinda IV) gave his daughter in marriage to the hero Chaṅḍapāla (identified with Pratihāra Mahīpāla I)[16] But it is difficult to say how far the above mentioned views are correct. The *Chaṇḍakauśika* definitely points to the hostile relationship subsisting between the Pratīhāras and the Karṇāṭakas, and further shows that Mahīpāla was successful in retrieving the disaster that befell his empire. This is also corroborated by epigraphic evidence.[17]

The earliest venture of Kṛishṇa III in the north is referred to in his Deoli plates of the year 940.[18] They tell us that "hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara."[19] Dr. Altekar points out that this description refers to Kṛishṇa

10. *JAHRS.* VI, 169 ff.
11. Altekar, *ibid.*, 102 n.
12. *Bhandarkar's List of Inscription,* No. 859.
13. *EI.* XXVI, 161 ff.
14. *IA.* VII, 36.
15. H. C. Ray, *ibid.*, I, 581.
16. *IA.* VI.
17. H. C. Ray, *ibid.*
18. *EI.* V, 192 ; cf. *EI.* IV, 284, 289.
19. *EI.* XIX.

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III's achievements as a crown prince. Kṛishṇa's occupation of the Kālañjara region, as has been pointed out, is suggested by the find of his Jura Prasasti in the Maihar State of the Baghelkhand Agency.[19] His claim of conquest of the Chitrakūṭa region, it may be noted, is corroborated by an inscription from the Mysore State which says that the Gaṅgā prince Butuga II, sister's husband of Kṛishṇa, took Chitrakūṭa by assault and conquered the Seven Mālavas, "the boundaries of which he marked with stone, and gave the country the name of Mālava Gaṅgā.[20]

About a quarter of a century later Kṛishṇa led yet another expedition into the Uttarāpatha as we learn from the Kūḍalur Plates of the Gaṅgā chief Mārasiṁha II, dated 963 A.D.[21] It was directed against a king styled Aśvapati. We are inclined to identify him with the contemporary Chandella or Haihaya king. As some of the later kings of these families are known to have assumed the title Aśvapati[22] it is not altogether impossible that their ancestors also took the same epithet. It is interesting to note in this connection that Chandella Dhaṅga (954-1002) is said to have come into hostile contact with the king of Kuntala, and his immediate ancestor Yaśovarman is represented as having easily conquered Kālañjara,[23] very probably from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Did Kṛishṇa therefore make an attempt to recover Kālañjara from the Chandellas?

At a subsequent date the services of Mārasiṁha were requisitioned by Kṛishṇa to lead a third expedition to the north. Thus we learn from a Sravana-Belgola epigraph that the former "became acquainted with the king of the Gurjaras by conquering the northern region for Kṛishṇa (III)."[23a] The same event is apparently alluded to in the following extract from a Lakshmeshwar inscription[24]:—

"At his (Mārasiṁha's) journeying forth, the lord of the Gurjaras received a rough command from messangers:—'O Sir, at the order of the king who destroyed the Cholas (apparently Kṛishṇa III), the chief of the Gaṅgas comes quickly against thee; cease to fight with the unequalled force of (thy) enemy, which possesses the pride of the array and accoutrements of elephants and horses, and prepare to depart across the (river) Gaṅga'. . . . . When he was staying in the courtyard of the habitation of the goddess of fortune, at the confluence of the Mandakinī, which was produced by the trickling of the water (used) in the rite of ablution of Jinendra, and of the Kālindī, which was made to cease to be white by the rut of the wounded elephants of his fierce enemies,—the fame of the king Gaṅga-Kandarpa (i.e. Mārasiṁha II), which surpassed the moon . . . . spread abroad . . . ."

The reference to the Ganges and its confluence with the Yamunā clearly suggests that the Rāshṭrakūṭas in this expedition overran the doab and

19. *E.I.* XIX.
20. *EC.* VIII, Nagar 35; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 46.
21. *EAS. AR.* 1921 26.
21. *MAS. AR.* 1921, 26.
23. *Ibid.*
23a. *EC.* II, No. 59, Translation, p. 11n.
24. *IA.* VII, 104, 108.

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defeated the Pratīhāra king, probably Vijayapāla. This view receives support from a passage of the Kavirahasya of Halayūdhya which is supposed to contain an eulogy of Kṛishṇa III, and which speaks of the journey of that king towards *Uttarāpatha* and Kanauj and of a great battle apparently fought at this time.[25] M. V. Krishna Rao has drawn our attention to an inscription which speaks of two followers of Mārasiṁha who attained great distinction in war by rescuing the hill forts of Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa and also earned the title of *Ujjeni Bhujangas*.[26] The purpose of this last expedition of Kṛishṇa, therefore, may have been to regain his lost influence in south-eastern Rajputana and Central India.

MILITARY DEFENCE UNDER THE PĀLA EMPIRE

(*c.* 750—1150 A.D.)

DR. BIMALKANTI MAJUMDAR

The Pāla empire was the last of the series of the pre-Muslim empires in India which began with the mighty Mauryas in the fourth century B.C. The Pāla kings practically ruled over Bengal and Bihar, often carrying their arms beyond these regions. They thus developed a strong military power with land and naval forces to justify their sovereignty extending over more than three centuries.

The military tradition and warlike tendencies of the people of Bengal and their rulers go as far back as the Epic and Purāṇic times. The great Epic preserves an account of the great struggle of the Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras and Śuhmas against the eminent Epic heroes like Krishna, Bhīmsena and Karṇa.[1]

In the fourth or fifth century A.D. the people of Bengal had probably raised the standard of revolt against king Chandra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Delhi. This king whose identification is in dispute destroyed the power of his enemies in the Vaṅga countries 'who offered him a united resistance'.[2] Proximity to the sea enabled the Gauḍa people to be a sea-faring nation. In the seventh century they appeared as a great military power under Śaśāṅka,* king of Karnasuvarna or Western Bengal. In the 8th century the Pāla kings of Bengal carved out for themselves an extensive dominion in Eastern India and under Dharmapāla and Devapāla the country attained the status of a north Indian power by means of wars and conquests.[3]

25. S. Srikantha Sastri, *Sources of Karnataka History*, I, 101.
26. The Gangas of Talakad, 101.
1. *Mabht.* Sabhā Parva ; Bhīṣma Parva.
2. *CII.* III, 141. King Chandra is sometimes identified with Chandragupta II. For arguments vide Select Inscriptions by D. S. Sircar, p. 275 fn.

* The state organisation in independent Bengal under Śaśāṅka was similar to that of the Imperial Guptas. The monarch was dependent on feudal aristocracy. The gradation of feudal chiefs seems to rest upon the extent of land under their control, the political status they enjoyed and personal influence they had at the Court of the paramount power. (Dr. N. R. Ray's article in *Caturanga*, Pous B.S. 1352).

3. Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla (*Ep. Ind.* IV, 243). Monghyr grant of Devapāla (*Ep. Ind.* XXIII, 290).

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They ruled for over three centuries and raised Bengal to the position of eminence politically and culturally. The military organisation and defensive arrangements of the Pālas who built up a strong and fairly big kingdom and held it for a pretty long time, is not a matter of minor importance. The land-grants of the Pāla kings give us a long list of officials,[4] both civil and military and although it is difficult to determine the functions of these officials in every case, the list serves our purpose, giving us a fair idea of the organisation of the Pāla state.

1. ARMY: As to the composition, the Pāla army must have been composed of foot soldiers, mounted soldiers, elephants, ships, herds of cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep.[5] The Nālandā Copper Plate No. 3 of Dharmapāla refers to the traditional five-fold division of the army, viz., cavalry, infantry, chariot, elephants and navy.[6] During his campaign against the Kaivartas Rāmapāla, as the Rāmacarita[7] informs us, made liberal distribution of wealth and land to his feudatories to raise a powerful army consisting of cavalry, elephants and infantry. The use of chariots on a large scale had fallen into the background since the time of Harṣa. But the reference to an official called 'Gaulmika' is an indication of chariots being one of constituents of the army. 'Gaulmika' was probably an officer in charge of a military squadron called Gulma, consisting of 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horses and 45 foot soldiers.[8] There are illustrations of chariots and armed warriors in the Pāhārpur Plate No. LVII (*History of Bengal*, Vol. I).

As regards the method of recruitment, the probability is that men from different provinces of India formed part of the army as was the practice prevalent in other parts of the country in previous ages. Inscriptions mention Gauḍa forces, besides men belonging to the tribes like Mālava-Kaś-Hūṇa-Kulika-Karnāṭa-Lāṭa-Choda etc. Dr. Majumdar[9] writes,—'The mention in the Pāla records of a number of tribal names along with the official may be taken as referring to the military units recruited from other tribes[10]..... .....the fact there is no reference to these tribes in Khalimpur Copper plate of Dharmapāla, might lead one to presume that this military organisation was not fully developed till towards the close of his reign. The name 'Gauḍa' in the list is certainly very interesting and possibly refers to soldiers recruited in the home territory of the Pālas.....it is obvious from this list that the Pāla kings recruited mercenary soldiers from all parts of India'.

It may be mentioned here that as late as the time of the Vijaynagar empire (1336-1650 A.D.) some parts of the army, viz. the infantry and the

4. *H. B.* Vol. I, Chapter X, Appx. pp. 284-89.
5. The expression 'nau-bala-hasty-āśva-go-mahish-ājavik-ādi-Vyāpritaka' occurs in the grants of the Candra, Varman and Sena Kings of Bengal (of the Ramganj c.p. of Ś'varagnosha of Dhakkarī, (*I.B.* 149).
6. *H.B.* Vol. I, p. 279.
7. *R.C.I.* 43. 44-45.
8. *H.B.* Vol. I, App. A. p. 285. Dr. Fleet translates it as 'Superintendent of wood and forest (*C.I.I.* III, 54. fn. 4).
9. *H.B.* Vol. I, p. 279.
10. The words Chātu-bhāta which follow these tribal names mean regular and irregular troops (*C.I.I.* III, 98).

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cavalry were recruited from all classes and creeds including Muslims. The use of elephants, camels and artillery has been proved from foreign accounts.[11]

Nothing definite is known regarding other important military matters such as plans of campaign and general methods of warfare. But the reference in the Pāla records to an officer called 'Mahāvyūhapati' certainly points to the formation and use of different kinds of battle-arrays already noticed in the time of Kauṭilya and the Mahābhārata as an essential part of military strategy, and the *History of Bengal*[12] would have us believe that "marches of each element in dense formations were general rule in military movements". The appointment of officers like 'Koṭṭapāla, (in charge of forts) and 'Antapāla' (in charge of frontiers) and the employment of messenger spies show the efficiency of the Defence Department of the Pāla empire.* The recruitment of mercenary soldiers and the long list of officers maintained by the state would clearly suggest that the entire army establishment received salaries in cash, and the contingents supplied by Sāmantas fought on behalf of their overlord and acted possibly on the basis of feudal obligations.

2. NAVY: Bengal built up early a naval tradition. The account of the conquest of Laṅkā (Ceylon) by Vijoysiṁha, son of Siṁhabāhu as preserved in the Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon is an echo of Bengal's naval activities and military exploits. Thrown into the arms of the sea and noted for nautical aptitude, the people of Bengal utilised their naval resources to the fullest extent. Kālidāsa[13] has mentioned the naval force of the country by referring to Raghu's conquest of the Vaṅga chiefs with their fleets. Epigraphic evidence proves the existence of harbours and dockyards in the sixth century A.D. A copper plate grant of Dharmāditya[14] dated 531 A.D. mentions 'nāvāṭakṣenī' or a ship-building harbour. 'The Arabian sea was used mainly for trade purposes, the Bay of Bengal was different. The supremacy in that sea was naval and political, based on an extensive colonisation of the islands and it ceased only with the breakdown of Coḷa power in the 13th century' so says Panikkar[15] while describing the influence of sea power on Indian history. By the time the Pālas became the dominant power in Bengal and Bihar the importance of the navy was fully realised and we shall not be far from the truth if we say that it formed a regular feature of their military operations.* Three well-known epigraphic records may be quoted in this

11. *A.H.* I, pp. 382-83.
12. Vol. I, p. 280.
* The mention in the Irda Copper plate of the Kamboja King Nayapāla of the adhyakshavargga—the Senāpati, the Sainika-Saingha-Mukhya, the Dūta, the Gūḍhapurusha, and the Mantrapala (political advisers) has enabled Dr. R. C. Majumdar to opine that in the Military Department 'there were various organised units whose chiefs assisted the Commander-in-chief. The Foreign Department seems to have two distinct branches, one dealing with general policy regarding external affairs and the other corresponding to an Intelligence Department, whose fields of activity lay in foreign countries." (*H.B.* Vol. I, p. 283).
13. *Raghuvaṁśa,* IV, 36.
14. *I.A.* XIX, 198.
15. *India and the Indian Ocean,* Chapter II, p. 28.
* The *Yukti-Kalpataru,* a work written in the 11th century, mentions three kinds of ships. The author refers to 27 other types of vessels, the largest of which being 276 ft. × 36 ft. and 2,300 tons in weight. For details see R. K. Mookerjee—*Indian Shipping,* pp. 21-24.

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connection. The Khalimpur Copper plate[16] of Dharmapāla runs thus:—

> "Now—from his royal camp of victory at Pāṭaliputra, where the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the path of Bhāgīrathī make it seem as if a series of mountain tops had been sunk to build another causeway (for Rāma's passage)"

The Kamauli grant[17] of Vaidyadeva states that in the reign of Kumārapāla he (his favourite minister) obtained a naval victory in South Bengal. Moreover, the Sena King Vijaysena (*c.* 1095-1158) led a naval expedition to the west and advanced along the course of the Ganges.[18] "We may refer", writes the *History of Bengal,* "from the above passage that Vijaysena's victorious fleet sailed westward beyond Rājmahal."

The records referred to above are sufficient materials to warrant the conclusion that the Pāla kings maintained a powerful navy and exercised some sort of control over the sea. It is no exaggeration to say that the Gauḍa people, who had built up a naval power and who have been described as living on the sea shore (Samudrāśraya) in the Harāhā Inscription[19] of 554 A.D., left their naval traditions as a legacy to their successors—the Pālas and the Senas of Bengal. It can, therefore, be affirmed that had any attack like that of the Arabs on Thānā in the early eighth century been launched by way of eastern shore, the result might have been quite different. Like the people of Bengal in the Hindu period, did not the people of Mahārāshtra under Shivāji show that "the Hindu race can build a nation, found a state, defeat enemies and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners"? In proportion to their ambitions, resources and military abilities, the Pālas did much fighting adding and losing territories in their struggle with other Indian states and finally leaving a name behind in the dynastic chronicle of northern India. Their long and successful rule over a wide area in the teeth of opposition from their acquisitive neighbours bears testimony to their stable governmental organisation. But one thing that strikes us is that their regime synchronises with a period of Indian history in which Eastern region's placid calm was not disturbed nor its ability to defend itself tested by any terrible invasion from outside. Being far away from the storm-centre of North Indian politics and freed from the restraining influence of a central authority, Bengal and Bihar did not feel the tremor of Sultān Mahmūd's terrific thrust. When the Muslims fell upon them, the Pāla power was a mere shadow of its former self, territorially and militarily,[20] and, therefore, quite unable to defend itself. The loss of Bengal to the Senas and the subsequent conquest of Bihar and part of western Bengal by Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyār Khalji, point to the same conclusion, although the extent and important of such conquests might have been unduly exaggerated by Muslim historians.[21]

21. *H.B.*, I, p. 224.
16. *Ep. Ind.* IV, 299.
17. *Ibid.* II, 351.
18. *I.B.* III, 54.
19. *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 110, et seq.
20. For weakness of the successors of Kamārapāla and their inability to defend themselves against attacks from outside and within, see *H.B.*, Vol. I, p. 170.

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3. OFFICIALS OF MILITARY DEPARTMENT: From the Pāla, Varman, Candra and Sena inscriptions[22] the following list of officers for War and Peace may be drawn up:—

I. *Army*	II. *Navy*	III. *Foreign Department*
1. Mahāsenāpati or Commander-in-Chief.	1. Nākādhyaksha, probably a mistake for Nāvādhyaksha or Naukādhyaksha or Superintendent of ship. In the Sena period this office was renamed "Nau-bala- Vyāpṛtaka"*	1. Mahā-Sandhi-Vigrahika or Minister in charge of Peace and War.
2. Senāpati or Commander of the Army.		2. Dūta or the Ambassador.
3. Koṭṭapāla or officer in charge of Forts.		
4. Gaulmika or officer in charge of a military squadron.		
5. Balādhyaksha or officer in charge of Infantry.		
6. Mahāgaṇastha, probably a military officer.[23]		
7. Mahabalādhikaranika or officer in charge of the Military Secretariat.		
8. Prantapāla or the warden of Marches.		

The military failure of a nation depends on many things. The defeat of the Bengalee people at the hands of the Turks at the time of Lakṣmanasena, in many respects an enlightened and capable ruler,[24] does not prove that they never learnt to fight and organise themselves for defence and that cowardice

22. *Ibid.*, I, Appx. pp. 284-89.
* "The use of the term "bala" after "nau" brings out the real charcter of fleet." *A.W.A.I.*, p. 62.
23. "Gana denotes a body of troops consisting of 27 chariots, as many elephants, 81 horses and 135 foot" *H.B.*, Vol. I, p. 288.
The officer has been mentioned in the following epigraphs:—
(1) Khalimpur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, 253).
(2) Belavā grant of Bhojavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, 40).
(3) Tarpandighi grant of Lakṣmana Sena (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, 9).
24. *Tabaqāti Nāsirī*, Raverty's tr. pp. 555-56; *H.B.*, Vol. I, p. 219.

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had been the badge of their life. The reverses that the Bengalees suffered at the hands of the Turkish General in about 1199 A.D. do not tell of personal frailties or the frailty of a particular class but of the system to which the nation and the country as a whole stuck.

KINGSHIP IN THE CHANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS

Dr. R. K. Dikshit

The Chandellas, who reigned supreme over Jejākabhukti from IX to XIV century A.D., have left many inscriptions which throw a flood of light on the system of their administration. The structure of their government generally conformed to the normal pattern. This is evident, among other things, from an allusion to the seven constituent parts (*aṅgāni sapta*) of the state in one of their records (*E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 8), which, however, does not specify them. Traditionally they comprise the king, the minister, the capital, the realm, the treasury, the army and the ally.[1] Of these, the king, being the head of the state, was, naturally, the most important.[2]

The Chandella kingdom, like the rest of the Indian states in that age, was governed by a hereditary monarchy (*kula-rājya, Ib.*, v. 12). Succession to the throne was regulated by the law of primogeniture. A contemporary Paramāra inscription regards the accession of a younger brother to the exclusion of the elder as sinful as the marriage of the younger before that of the elder (*Ib.*, XXVI, p. 180 ; also *Manu*, III, 171-72). When, however, a ruler died without leaving a male issue, the succession devolved on his younger brother and failing that too, on his uncle. Jayaśakti and Devavarman were respectively succeeded by their younger brothers (*E.I.*, I, p. 221, l. 6 ; *Ib.*, XX, p. 125 & *I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, read in conjunction with *E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 7) and Jayavarman by the younger uterine brother of his father (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 12). A minor could also be installed on the throne, for we learn from the *Mahobā Khaṇḍa* that Paramardideva became ruler at the age of five (*Paramāla Rāso*, II. 102).[3] In such cases a Regency Council must have been set up for conducting the administration, several instances of which are recorded in the contemporary chronicles of Kashmir (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 228 ; VI. 115, 188, etc.). Fortunately, the annals of the Chandella dynasty are

1. Vide, *Manu Smṛti*, IX, 294, *Arthaśāstra*, VI, 1 ; *Śukranīti*, I, 61 ; *Kāmandakiyanītisāra*, IV, 1 ; *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* (G.O.S., p. 5, v. 23) ; *Mahābhārata, Sānti Prava*, 69. 65. In designating the constituent elements as *aṅgāh* the ancient Hindu writers anticipate the modern school of political thought which believes in the organic nature of the state. The *Sukranīti* elaborates it as follows:—

.....तवमुर्धानृप: स्मृत: ॥
दृगमात्य। सुहृच्छ्रीवंमुखं कोशो बलं मन:।
हस्तौपादौदुर्ग राष्टौ राज्याङ्गानिस्मृतानिहि ॥ (I.61-62)

2. but see *Manu*, IX, 296.
3. Cf. also *E.I.*, I, p. 327, v. 6, which describes him as *'Bālopinetā'*.

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not marred by disputed successions and fratricidal wars: at least we have no evidence of them in the available records. An inscription from Kālañjara contains an interesting allusion to a king (Jayavarman?) 'wearied of government' abdicating the throne and proceeding to 'the divine river' in order to 'wash away his sins' (*J.A.S.B.*, XVII, p. 319, l. 11).

The Chandella kings styled themselves *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara*, the usual inperialistic titles in that age. In addition, they also adopted the epithets of *Parama-māheśvara*, suggestive of their religious persuasion and *Śrī-Kālañjarādhipati*,[4] indicating their possession of the famous fort. These were their usual titles, found in almost all the copper plates and in a few of the lithic records. Some of the epigraphs, however, contain interesting variations. The Rewa Plate of Kumārapāla, for instance, styles Trailokyavarman as *"Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Parama-Māheśvara Śrīmad Vāmadeva pādānudhyāta Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Parama-māheśvara Trikaling-ādhipati nija-bhuj-opārjit-aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati . . ."* (*I.A.*, XVII, p. 224 ff). These are the well known titles of the Kalāchūris of Tripurī from whom Trailokyavarman had conquered the Rewa area. It is not an official Chandella record and we can easily presume that its writer had transferred the epithets of the Kalāchūri kings, with which he was familiar, to their conqueror, though the possibility of the latter having adopted the style and titles of the ruler whom he had locally supplanted cannot be ruled out. Likewise, the Dhureti Copper plate of K.S. 963 styles him *"Paramabhaṭṭāraka-ety-ādi-samasta-rājāvalī-virājamāna-parama-māheśvara-aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-vāchaspati śrī-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta Kānyakubjādhipati . . ."* (*E.I.*, XXV, p. 5).[5] It is a record of the Śaiva Āchāryas and was set up within a year of Trailokyavarman's conquest of the territory adjoining Rewa. Very likely, they were not acquainted with his official titles and prefixed to his name a curious jumble of the Kalāchūri and Gāhaḍavāla titles, with both of which they were familiar. Most interesting of all, however, is the title *Ṣāhi* given to Hammiravarman and his predecessors in his Charkhari plate of V.S. 1346' (*Ib. XX*, p. 135). It might have been in emulation of the contemporary Muslim sovereigns or alternatively, as suggested by Hiralal, it might indicate the growing Mahomedan influence at his court (*Ib.*, p. 134).

It also deserves to be noticed that while the copper plates mention the full titles of the rulers most of the stone inscriptions simply style them 'king', expressed by such synonymous terms as *avanibhuja* (*Ib.*, I, p. 198, v. 15), *avanīndra* (*Ib.*, p. 201, v. 40), *avanīpāla* (*Ib.*, XVI, p. 14, l. 32), *avanīśvara* (*Ib.*, I, p. 197, v. 4), *bhūbhṛta* (*Ib.*, p. 199, v. 21), *bhūbhuja* (*Ib.*, p. 141, v. 19), *bhūmibhṛta* (*Ib.*, p. 126, v. 18), *bhūmipāla* (Ib., p. 198, v. 14), *bhūmipati* (*Ib.*, p. 129, v. 49), *bhūpa* (*Ib.*, p. 126, v. 18), *bhūpāla* (*Ib.*,

4. This title could have been adopted only after the conquest of Kālañjara by Yaśovarman, the seventh king of the dynasty (*E.I.*, I, p. 127, v. 31).

5. This record also gives him the title of *'Tri-sati(?)-rājy-ādhipati'* which, as pointed out by Dr. Chakravarti, is not met with elsewhere (*Ib.*, XXV, p. 6).

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p. 142, v. 22), *bhūparivṛḍha* (*Ib.*, p. 210, v. 23), *dhāttrīdhara* (*Ib.*, p. 142, v. 27), *jagatīpati* (*Ib.*, p. 146, v. 56), *kṣitibhuja* (*Ib.*, p. 201, v. 37), *kṣitidhara* (*Ib.*, p. 129, v. 43), *kṣitipa* (*Ib.*, p. 327, v. 7), *kṣitipāla* (*Ib.*, p. 210, v. 20), *kṣmābhṛta* (*Ib.*, p. 327, v. 5), *kṣmābhuja* (*Ib.*, p. 147, v. 63), *kṣmāpati* (*J.A.S.B.*, XVII, p. 315), *kṣmātilaka* (*E.I.*, I, p. 141, v. 18), *kṣoṇīnātha* (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 12), *kṣoṇīpāla* (*Ib.*, p. 201, v. 42), *kṣoṇīśvara* (*Ib.*, p. 210, v. 22), *mahībhṛta* (*Ib.* p. 147, v. 63), *mahībhuja* (*Ib.*, p. 209, v. 4), *mahīmahendra* (*Ib.*, v. 5), *mahīmaheśa* (*Ib.*, p. 327, v. 8), *mahīpa* (*Ib.*, p. 129, v. 44), *mahīpati* (*Ib.*, p. 141, v. 14), *mahīśa* (*Ib.*, p. 334, v. 19), *mahīśvara* (*Ib.*, p. 209, v. 8), *naradeva* (*Ib.*, p. 144, v. 42), *narādhipati* (*Ib.*, p. 200, v. 26), *narapati* (*Ib.*, p. 147, v. 61), *narendra* (*Ib.*, p. 197, v. 3), *nareśa* (*J.A.S.B.*, XVII, p. 315), *nareśvara* (*E.I.*, I, p. 333, v. 6), *narottama* (*Ib.*, p. 145, v. 43), *nṛpa* (*Ib.*, p. 334, v. 15), *nṛpati* (*Ib.*, p. 142, v. 21), *pārthiva* (*Ib.*, p. 334, v. 19), *pṛthvībhuja* (*Ib.*, p. 145, v. 50), *pṛthvīnātha* (*Ib.*, p. 122, l. 5, text), *pṛthvīpati* (*Ib.*, p. 145, v. 47), *rājā* (*Ib.*, p. 327, v. 5), and *rājña* (*Ib.*, p. 328, v. 14).

The institution of kingship which had been elective and had so much of the democratic element in it during the Vedic period had, in subsequent ages, not only become hereditary but was also conceived as having been divinely created (*cf. Manu*, VII, 3-8 ; *Śukra*, I, 71). The records of the Chandellas do not explicitly refer to the divine origin of kingship or to the divinity of the king. Nevertheless allusions to the presence of divine elements within the body of a ruler[6] and his designation by such divine epithets as *deva* (*E.I.*, I, p. 145, v. 45), *īśa* (*Ib.*, p. 147, v. 64), *īśvara* (*Ib.*, p. 200, v. 30), *parameśvara* (*Ib.*, XX, p. 133, l. 5), *prabhu* (*Ib.*, I, p. 198, v. 9), and *viśveśvara* (*Ib.*, XX, p. 133, l. 1) undoubtedly lead to the same conclusion.

Most of our records refer to the excellent qualities possessed by these rulers. Their statements may not be true of every individual but they certainly give us an idea of what the people expected in their rulers. The qualities most stressed are the virtuous and pleasing conduct,[7] learning,[8] intelligence,[9]

6. Cf., *"Nūnaṁ Yudhiṣṭhira-Sadāśiva-Rāmachandrāḥ ete prasaṇṇa-guṇa-ratna-nidhau niviṣṭā yat-tad-guṇa-prakara-ratnamaye śarire"* (*I.A.*, XVIII, p. 238, v. 4). *Manu* (VII, 3-7), *Śukra* (I, 71), Kālidāsa (*Raghuvaṁśa*, II, 75) have expressed parallel ideas.

7. Cf. *śubha-charita-pavitraḥ* (*E.I.* I, p. 198, v. 6), *sadvṛttasya cha sadma* (*Ib.* v. 9), *chāru-charitrāḥ* (*Ib.* p. 209, v. 4), *agrāmya-charitaḥ* (*I.A.* XVI, p. 203, l. 11).

8. Cf. *Vidyāvadāta-hṛaaya* (*E.I.* I, p. 141, v. 17), *dhaureyaḥ śrutśālināṁ* (*E.I.* I, p. 198, v. 9) as also the numerous passages suggesting that a king combined both Śrī and Sarasvatī in his own person, e.g. *Sangataṁ Śrī-sarasvatyo-r-api yena pravartitaṁ* (*Ib.* p. 209, v. 11).

Some of the Chandella rulers were eminent poets and scholars: Paramardideva claims to have composed the beautiful eulogy to Purari engraved in a stone at Kālañjara (*J.A.S.B.* XVII, p. 316) while Muslim historians refer to the excellent poetical composition of his predecessor Bīdā (*Vidyādhara*)—*Firishta*, Briggs, I, p. 67, *Kitab-Zainul-Akhbar*, p. 80.

Unfortunately these records do not give us any information about the education of the princes, but one of the Chandella kings is described as well-versed in Kāvya, Alaṁkāra and Chandas (*E.I.*, XX, p. 126, l. 8). The knowledge of the scriptures was essential for a king as it aided him in the administration of justice.

9. Cf. *buddhimāna* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 5), *akuṇṭhadhī* (*E.I.*, I., p. 126, v. 21) and references to king's *prajñā* (*Ib.*, p. 129, v. 46), *dhi* (*Ib.*, IV, p. 157, l. 5). *paṭutā* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 4) and *avikala-viveka-nirmali-kṛta-mati* (*Ib.* p. 207, l. 5, etc.).

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proficiency in arts,[10] munificence,[11] truthfulness,[12] devotion to *Dharma*,[13] statesmanship and political insight ;[14] modesty,[15] discipline,[16] self-restraint,[17] toleration,[18] handsome personality[19] and above all effecient leadership and personal valour.[20] The king was also expected to avoid the company of the bad and the wicked.[21]

Sometimes to bring out these qualities more prominently comparisons have been instituted between individual kings and different deities and epic

10. Cf. *kalānām-nidhi* (*E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 9), *kalā-vilāsa* (*Ib.*, p. 129, v. 46).

11. Cf. *audārya* (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 11) *or tyāga* (*Ib.*, p. 129, v. 46). The copper-plates recording grants of land are a proof of their liberality. The epigraphs also refer to their gifts of gold, cows (*Ib.*, XX. p. 126, l. 7), foodgrains and dwelling houses (*Ib.*, I, p. 146, v. 53), to the water poured at their donations (*Ib.*, p. 204, v. 16) and to the bestowal of wealth on 'people of good family' (*Ib.*, 203. 10). The height of panegyrics is reached in the following verse:—

चिन्तामणिर्यदि शिला न किलाभविष्यन्मन्ये नचेत्पशुरसा वपि कामधेनुः ।
वची दलिष्यदुभयीरपि लज्जयाम्लिन्वाञ्छादिकं वितरति द्रविणंनरेभ्यः ॥

—(*J.A.S.B.*, XVII, p. 315).

12. Cf. *satyavādi* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 5), *satya . . . nivāsa-bhūmiḥ* (*E.I.*, I, p 198, v. 11), *adbhuta-satya-dhāmā* (*Ib.*, p. 327, v. 10), *pap-ālāpen-abhijño* (*Ib.*, p. 126, v. 20), *sūnyaḥ paiśunya-vāde=nṛta-vachanā-samucchāraṇō-jāti-mūkhḥ* (*Ib.*).

13. Cf. *dharma-vatsalaḥ* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, l. 11), *karma-varttinaḥ* (*Ib.*, p. 203, l. 14), *dhārmikaḥ* (*Ib.*, p. 205, l. 5), *dharma-paraḥ* (*Ib.*, XVIII, p. 238, v. 2), *dharm-ādhāraḥ* (*E.I.*, I, p. 143, v. 31). One ruler considered Dharma as his only friend—*suvichintya dharm=meko-hi-sakhā* (*Ib.*, XX, p. 127, I. 11).

14. Cf. references to *naya* (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 11), *nīti-krama* (*Ib.*, p. 126, v. 19) and *naya-nirmala-lochana* (*Ib.*, p. 141, v. 17).

15. Cf. *nija-guṇa-gaṇanā-prakrameṣv-apragalbhaḥ* (*Ib.*, p. 126, v. 20).

16. One inscription, for example, refers to a king's conquest of the six internal enemies (*jigye . . . ṣadabhirevāntaraṅgaiḥ—Ib.*, p. 198, v. 8). These are, according to the *Arthaśāstra* (VI. 1), lust, anger, greed, vanity, haughtiness and over-joy. Other political treatises also ordain that a king should not indulge too much in the traditional vices, cf. *Manu*, VII, pp. 44-53.

17. Cf. *jit-endriyaḥ* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 5). The *Arthaśāstra* also enjoins on the king to keep his senses under control (I., VI, and this is the constant refrain of *Śukra* (I, pp. 97-122, etc.).

18. The Chandella kings, though orthodox Śaivas, took up a very tolerant attitude in religious matters, as shown by numerous Jaina and Buddhist images and temples set up during their regime. Epigraphic evidence also shows Dhaṅga honouring a Jaina (*E.I.*, I, p. 136) and Paramardideva respecting an earlier endowment in favour of a Buddhist monastery or shrine (*Ib.*, XX, p. 130 text l. 14).

19. Cf. *aneka-guṇa-gaṇa-samālaṅkṛta śarīraḥ* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 295, l. 6), *saurūp-āṅgaḥ* (*E.I.*, I, p. 126, v. 21), *kandarpa-kalp-ākṛte* (*Ib.*, p. 125, v. 11) etc. The Epics show that physical deformity was a great disqualification for kingship, cf. (*Mahā-bhārata*, the case of *Devāpi ;* also *Śukra*, I, p. 342).

20. Cf. references to king's *pauruṣa* (*Ib.*, p. 128, v. 33), *śaurya* (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 11), *vikrama* (*Ib.*, v. 8), *vikrama-dhana* (*Ib.*, p. 141, v. 15), *akalaṅkita-vikrama* (*Ib.*, v. 17), *tribhuvana-viśruta-vikrama* (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 14), *nirmala-vīra-dharma* (*Ib.*, p. 327, v. 8), *apūrva-parākrama* (*Ib.*, p. 125, v. 10), and *asaṅkhya-saṅkhya-vikhyātaḥ-khaḍga-dhārā-parākrama* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, l. 4, text) as real as to such epithets as *śura* (*Ib.*, p. 205, l. 5), *gata-bhīrya* (*E.I.*, p. 126, v. 28), *ana sākṣād-iva-vīra-dharmā* (*Ib.*, p. 327, v. 10). Physical fitness, valour and dauntless courage were necessary in a king, as they enabled him to protect his people which was his primary duty, e.g. Kālidasa ; *ātma-karma-kṣamaṁ-dehaṁ-kṣatroaharma-iv-āśritaḥ* (*Raghu-vaṁśa*, I, 13).

Some of the other qualities referred to in our records are gratitude (*I.A.*, XVI p. 205, l. 5), depth (*gāmbhīrya, E.I.*, I, p. 125, v. 4) and fortitude (*Ib.*, p. 128, v. 39). Kautilya has also mentioned some of these qualities (VI, i).

21. Cf. *sadaiva-doṣākara-saṅga-bhaṅguraḥ* (*E.I.*, p. 142, v. 27), *vahikṛta-krūra-bhujaṅga-saṅgamaḥ* (*Ib.*) or *aśiṣṭeṣu-dveṣo* (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 12).

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or mythological heroes, such as Bṛhaspati,[22], Brahmā,[23] Dharma,[24] Indra,[25] Kāla,[26] Kāma,[27] Kuvera,[28] Śiva,[29] Viṣṇu[30], or Arjuna,[31] Bhīma,[32], Karṇa,[33] Śūdraka,[34] Śukra,[35] and Yudhiṣṭhira.[36] The *Kalpa-taru* was another favourite object of comparison.[37]

The king's office was not sinecure: it has never been so in India. He was burdened with heavy responsibilities and his duties were onerous. He was the fountain-head of all political authority, controlled the civil administration, formulated foreign policy, administered justice and directed the military campaigns. As the very etymology of his name shows the primary duty of the *Rājan* was *prajārañjana*. This fact has been very well stated by the late Dr. Jayaswal: "King is called *Rājā* because his duty is 'to please' (*rañj*) the people by maintaining good government. This philosophic interpretation has been accepted as an axiom throughout Sanskrit literature.[38] The kings also acquiesced in and accepted this constitutional interpretation of the term", (*Hindu Polity*, 2nd ed., p. 189). Expressions like *'jan-ānanda'* (*E.I.*, I, p. 129, v. 44), *'jan-ānanda-sundaraḥ'* (*Ib.*, p. 141, v. 15), and *'saj-jan-ānanda-jananaḥ'* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, ll. 5-6) in our records indicate the same thing.

The protection of the people against external or internal danger, naturally, was the first concern of the king—his foremost duty (*paramōdharmaḥ*) according to *Śukra* (I.. 14). That the Chandella monarchs were not unmindful

22. Cf. *Vākpati-tulya-vāchaḥ* (*Ib.*, p. 125, v. 12). *Dhiṣanedhiyañcha* (*Ib.*, IV, p. 157, l. 5) *paṭutayā-Vāchaspatiṁ* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 5).
23. *E.I.*, I, p. 125, v. 4.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 198, v. 7—*Dharma-iv-ātryo vatīrṇṇaḥ.*
25. Cf. *Vāsavo-jajñe* (*Ib.*, p. 197, v. 5), *Śakra-samaḥ* (*Ib.*, p. 128, v. 39), *aryedi-v-opy-aiśvaryaṃ* (*I.b.*, IV, p. 157, l. 5), *prabhutayā devaṁ-śachi-vallabhaṁ* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 4, text), etc.
26. *E.I.*, I, p. 126, v. 23: *Kālavan-Mālavānāṁ.*
27. Cf. *ruṗeṇ-āpi-Manobhavaṁ* (*I.A.*, p. 205, l. 4), *anaṅgamiva-rupā-saubhāgya. yuktaḥ* (*E.I.*, XX, p. 126, l. 7), *saundaryaṁ-Makaradhvaje* (*Ib.*, IV, p. 157, l. 4), *mediṇyāṁ-viṣameṣu* (*J.A.S.B.*, XVII, p. 315), etc.
28. *E.I.*, I, p. 127, v. 25.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 327, v. 9: *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 238, v. 4.
30. Cf. *Turuṣka-kuly-āmbudhi-magna-dhāttri-samudhṛtaṁ Viṣṇu-r-iva pratanvaṁ* (*E.I.*, I, p. 327, v. 7), *devaṁ Gadādharamiv-ācḥyuta-vāsam-ādyaṁ* (*Ib.*, p. 333, v. 7), *agadaṁ nūtanaṁ Viṣṇum-āvirbhūtaṁ* (*I.A.*, XVIII, p. 238, v. 3).
31. Cf. *śūraḥ Parthōpi* (*E.I.*, I, p. 126, v. 24), *dhunvatā dhanu-r-adhijyam-Arjunaṁ-smāritā* (*Ib.*, p. 141, v. 15).
32. *Ib.*, p. 198, v. 14: *bhuja-balam-avalokya yasya mene=dbhuta bala Bhīma-kathā janai-r-amithyā.*
33. Cf. *Ib.*, p. 126, v. 24: *dātā-Rādheyaḥ ; I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 4: *tyāgena-Champādhipam.*
34. *E.I.*, XX, p. 126, l. 5.
35. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 5.
36. Cf. *Satyena Yudhiṣṭhiraṁ vijayate* (*Ibid.*, l. 4).
'Suchivachāh Pāṇḍu-tanayaḥ (*E.I.*, I, p. 126, v. 24), *'kīrtyā sachcharitaiḥ śriyā cha jitavān-dharm-ātmajaṁ'* (*Ib.*, p. 200, v. 31) or *'Yudhiṣṭhira-iva satya-śauchagura-dvija-deva-suśruṣā-rato'* (*Ib.*, XX, p. 126, l. 7).
37. Cf. *Kalpa-vitapī-niḥśeṣa-puṣty-arthināṁ* (*Ib.*, I, p. 198, v. 9), *kalpa drumā-styāgavān* (*Ib.*, p. 125, v. 4), *Kalpataruḥ-pranayināṁ* (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 202, l. 1). The *names of Kakutstha* (*E.I.*, I, p. 141, v. 17), Śivi (*Ib.*, p. 143, v. 33), Agastya (*Ib.*, p. 327, v. 3), Bali (*Ib.*, XX, p. 127, l. 6), Sūrya (*Ib.*, I, p. 125, v. 4), Chandra (*Ib.*, p. 127, vs. 25, 29), and Śukra (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 5), have also been used in the same context.
38. Cf. Kālidāsa: *'Rājā prakṛti rañjanāt'* (*Raghuvaṁśa* IV, p. 12) or *'Rājā prajā-Rañjana-labdha-varṇaḥ'* (*Ib.*, VI. 21), also *Manu*, VII. 19.

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of this obligation is evidenced by phrases like *'parā-rakṣā-bhūteṣva'* (*E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 13), *'trasta-trāṇa-preguṇa-manasāṁ'* (*Ib.*, p. 125, v. 9), or *'trasta-trātari'* (*Ib.*, p. 127, v. 25), occurring in their epigraphs and by the glorious part they played in organising opposition to the Muslim invaders. In their inscriptions the State has been compared to a *kulavandhū* (*cf. Ib.*, XX, p. 130, l. 5)—worthy of being protected from all dangers.[39]

References to the kings directing the military campaigns are a legion. He was actually in the thick of the fight, encouraging his soldiers and braving all dangers (*Ib.*, I, p. 126, v. 17 ; p. 128, v. 36, etc). He used to select persons—after duly trying them (*sarvopadhā-parīkṣya chakre,*[40] (*Ib.*, p. 199, v. 21)—for appointment to various posts. Our inscriptions show him appointing, among others, Mukhyamantrī (*Ib.*), Mukhya Sachiva (*Ib.*, p. 211, v. 28), Pratihāra (*Ib.*, p. 20, v. 40), Kañchuki (*Ib.*, p. 333, v. 10) and Viśiṣa of a fort (*Ib.*, p. 334, v. 17).

The king and his government set themselves to the task of fostering (*pālane, Ib.*, I, p. 125, v. 9) the people, removing their distress[41] and exterminating the wicked and the seditious (*Kaṇṭaka-śodhanaṁ*).[42] He also stood forth as the guardian of the social order, encouraging and even forcing people of various castes and orders to remain true to their traditional duties.[43]

These multifarious functions involved the king in hard work as is evident from the schedule of daily duties fixed for him in the treatises on polity (*cf. Arthaśāstra* I. XIX ; Yājñavalkya I. 327-32, etc.). Unfortunately we do not find any allusion to it in the records of the Chandellas, but their copper plate charters issued from the different places of encampment (*Samāvāsa*) recall the royal tours of inspection and evince their keen interest in administration.[44] Likewise, the very large number of tanks and temples built by them in the different parts of their kingdom show their solicitude for the moral and material welfare of the people committed to their charge.

The kings' interest in the administration ensured peace and prosperity in the realm. In the words of the panegyrists it put an end to the Kali age and ushered in the *Kṛta yuga*[45] just an echo of the old adage *'Rājā Kālasya kāraṇam'* (*Śukra*, I. 22 ; *Vikramorvaśīyaṁ*, Act IV).

The epigraphs also refer to royal splendour. The king's majesty (*pratāpa, śrī, aiśvarya*) is referred to at several places (*E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 11 ; p. 200, v. 31 ; *Ib.*, IV, p. 157, l. 5). The outward signs of royalty included the

39. The king himself was supposed to be wedded to the State, Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, p. 314 (*niḥ-pratyūha-mahī-kara-graha-vidhiṁ chakre*) ; his epithets *bhūpari-vṛḍha, bhūpati* etc, and also *E.I.*, I, p. 327, v. 6.

40. Cf. also *Arthaśāstra*, I. ix.

41. Cf. *apāsya prajānāṁ-bhayaṁ* (*E.I.*, I, p. 201, v. 39), *hṛdi prajānām-ātaṅka śankuṁ* (Ib., p. 141, v. 17), *lok-aika-tāpachchhidaḥ* (*Ib.*, p. 210, v. 24), *niryāsita-taskar-ādi-bhayaṁ*, (*Ib*, XX, p. 127, ll. 8-9).

42. Cf. *Uchhinnaḥ kaṇṭak=augho* (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 8), *kṛtyā kaṇṭaka-śodhanaṁ janapade* (*Ib.*, p. 201, v. 39), *dūrādhaḥ-kṛta-kaṇṭakasya* (*Ib.*, p. 210, v. 24), *sphītaṁ rajyaṁ akaṇṭakaṁ* (*Ib.*, p. 334, v. 20), *kṣapita-nikhila-duṣṭaḥ* (*Ib.*, p. 198, v. 6), *duṣṭaprahantā* (*Ib.* p. 327, v. 9) etc.

43. Cf. *E.I.*, I, p. 203, v. 13. Cf. also *Arthaśāstra* (I, iii), *Śukra* (I. 60).

44. Cf. *Śukranīti* (I, pp. 369, 373).

45. Cf. *kṛta-kali-yuga-bhaṅgaḥ* (*E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 6), *kali-kalmaṣaṁ-vihantaṁ*, (*Ib.*, v. 7), *kṛta-kṛta-yug-āchāra* (*Ib.*, p. 125, v. 9).

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possession of a palace (*saudha, sadma*),[46] and a retinue, including the bards (*bandījana, Ib.*, p. 125, v. 11) who sang his panegyrics. The records also allude to the other emblems of royalty, viz. umbrella (*ātapatra, Ib.*, p. 201, v. 42), diadem (*mauli, Ib.*, p. 197, v. 5), lion-throne (*simhāsana, Ib.*, p. 122, l. 9) and foot-stool (*pādapīṭha, Ib.*, p. 209, v. 10), besides garments glittering with quantities of gold and jewels (*kanaka-maṇi-maya, Ib.*, p. 198, v. 10). An Ajayagadha inscription describing the kings as *Mūrdhābhiṣikta* (*E.I.*, I, p. 327, v. 11) evidently contains an allusion to the coronation ceremony.

Whatever the prescriptions in legal and political treatises, in actual practice there were no limitations on the powers and prerogatives of an Indian king in the early Middle Age. It does not, however, mean that he always acted arbitrarily: there is ample evidence to show that on crucial and important occasions he conferred with and sought the opinion of his ministers, commanders, courtiers, vassals and relations, but the fact remains that he was not bound to accept the advice tendered by them. Ultimate decision rested with him alone. Paramardideva, for instance, is known to have provoked the war with Pṛthvīrāja III, Chāhamāna against the opinion of his advisers. However, no king could have behaved like an autocratic tyrant, for that would have invited rebellian and insurrection as we find from the *Rājataraṅginī*. (*cf.* also *Śukra* II, 4.)

Another important limitation to his absolutism was the fact that the king was not the source of law. He could not promulgate arbitrary ordinances. He could only enforce the already existing laws. His disregard of the sacred law was likely to arouse popular disapprobation and even unheaval. If we can believe the statements of their *praśastikāras*, the Chandella kings were afraid of violating the law (*bhirur-dharm-āparādhe, E.I.*, I, p. 126, v. 20), and generally acted in accordance with the injunctions of the Smṛtis. They true to the highest ideals of Indian kingship,[48] had a paternal conception of government and sincerely strove for the prosperity and happiness of their people. Good government rendered the country prosperous and worthy of being inhabited by crowds of virtuous people (*Ib.*, p. 337, v. 20), ended mutual conflict (*cf. Ib.*, p. 209, v. 11—*paraspara virodha tasya rājye kathaiva kā*), and enabled the people to live in peace (*Sukham āsyatām—I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, l. 12). A *praśastikāra* sings the virtues of Dhaṅga's reign in the following vein:—

भङ्गोन्तःपुरिकालकेषु सुरवक्रीडासुकेशग्रहः
काठिन्यं कुचयोर्भुवोः कुटिलता चन्द्रे कलङ्कस्थितिः।
स्वाच्छन्द्यम्कविवाचि कैश्चवने मित्रोदयद्वेषिता
यस्मिन्नेकमहीपतौ कदलिकाकाण्डेषुनिःसारता॥

(*I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, ll. 5-6).

46. A record describes the palace-front as "*dvirada-mada-niḥsyada-paṅka-āṅkita*" (*Ib.*, p. 142, v. 28).

47. Cf. also, *Ib.*, p. 144, v. 37: no *dharmma-prabhavaṁ virodhitavatā prāpyāpi vaṁśa-kṣayaṁ*. Śukra, I., 15, states *anītireva sanchhidraṁ rājño nityaṁ bhayāvahaṁ*.

48. Cf. Aśoka: *Sava munisā me pajā* (*K.S.E.*, II), *Raghuvaṁśa*: *piteva pāsi*, (I., 48).

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Good government was also beneficial to the king. It not only won him the unflinching loyalty and devotion of the people, but also yielded to him the three objects of life, viz. *dharma, artha* and *kāma* (*cf. E.I.*, I, p. 199, v. 22—*trivargaphaladaḥ*). One of the inscriptions succinctly sums up the end of king's government in the following words:—

पाताद्भूमिपतिः पृथ्वीं त्रयीधर्म्मः प्रवर्द्धतां ।
नन्दन्तु गोद्विजन्मामः प्रजा प्राप्नोतु निर्वृतिम् ॥

(*E.I.*, I, p. 129, v. 49).

A PEEP INTO THE CAUSES OF THE POLITICAL AGGRANDISEMENT OF KĀŚMĪRA IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

DR. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

In the history of early India, Kāśmīra had been more or less a local power. She had been subject to the invasions of the Mauryas, the Indo-Greeks, the Kuṣānas and the Hūṇas and though at times independent, until the beginning of the seventh century, her activity had been mainly confined within her mountain boundaries. There is not a scrap of evidence to show that she had tried to exert her influence in North Indian politics or anywhere else.

Things however took a rapid turn from the seventh century onwards. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim who was present in the court of Kāśmīra between the years 631 and 633, found all adjacent territories on the west and south, down to the plains, subject to the sway of the king of Kāśmīra. He thus distinctly states that Takṣaśilā east of the Indus, Uraśā or Hazara, Siṁhapura or the Salt Range, with the smaller hill states of Rājapurī and Parṇotsa, had no independent rulers, but were tributary to Kāśmīra. Of Takṣaśilā, it is further stated, that the dependence was of recent date.[1] It is generally accepted that the Chinese traveller's contemporary on the throne of Kāśmīra was Durlabhavardhana, the founder of the Karkoṭaka dynasty.

The policy of aggrandisement started by Durlabha was taken up by his successors. Kalhaṇa credits his grandson Lalitāditya with the conquest of territories in Indian as well as in Himalayan region. The Indian conquests include Jālandhara and Lohara corresponding to present Kangra and Punch, Kanauj region in the Uttar Pradesh, Karṇāṭa and Koṅkaṇa in the Deccan, Dvārakā in the Gujrat peninsula, Avanti in the Madhyabharat and Prāgjyotiṣa

1. *Si-yu-ki*, tr. Beal, I, pp. 136, 143, 147, 163. That the power of the Kāśmīrean King actually extended to Takṣaśilā and the India is proved by the fact that he personally came to visit Hiuen-tsang when the latter on his return journey stopped with the king of Kapiśa or Kabul at Udabhāṇḍa on the Indus; see *Life* (Ed. Beal), p. 192.

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in Assam. The Himalayan tracts said to have been conquered are countries of the Śāhīs (probably the Gilgit region, *cf.* Stein, Archæological Notes from the Hindukush Region, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1944, pp. 5-14), Kambojas (the eastern part of Afghanistan), Mummuni (some adjoining region of Kāśmīra probably ruled by some local tribe), Bhauṭṭas (Ladakh area), and Darads (the region extending from Citral and Yasin, across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Cilas, and Bunji to the Kiṣangaṅgā valley in immediate north of Kāśmīra). Two other territories, Strīrājya and kingdom of the Uttara Kurus cannot be identified.[2]

The account of Lalitāditya's expedition is undoubtedly exaggerated, but that he was the creator of a Kāśmīrean empire, cannot be denied. His victory in the Kanauj region is attested by coins.[3] Conquest of Jālandhara and Lohora was probably necessary for obtaining a direct route to Kanauj. Traditions recorded by Alberuni are reminiscent of his triumph over the Turks.[4] Bhauṭṭa or Tibetan invasion of the Kāśmīrean king receives support from Chinese testimony.[5]

Lalitāditya's grandson, Jayāpīḍa probably repeated some of the performances of his grandfather. He is said to have carried his arms as far as Bengal and defeated five kings of Gauḍa. He is also credited with a victory over the king of Kanauj.[6]

What led to the spectacular rise of Kāśmīra in the 7th century? Our sources for the period under review do not speak of any social or economic revolution antedating this sudden rise. If there was no change in the existing socio-economic system, what else could have led Kāśmīra to undertake daring expeditions all over India? Wherefrom could she obtain the requisite money and other necessaries to man a huge army and to carry on prolonged wars? The answer is to be sought, not in Kāśmīra itself, but elsewhere. Kāśmīra could never conduct the expensive wars on her own scanty resources. It was China, who supplied the necessary men and money. It was she who dictated the foreign policy of Karkoṭaka Kāśmīra.

According to the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty, sometime between the years A.D. 627—649, *Tu-lo-pa,* a king of India, controlled the route from China to Kipin, i.e. the Kabul valley.[7] It is generally accepted that this Tu-lo-pa is Durlabhavardhana, king of Kāśmīra. Whether the Karkoṭaka king was guarding the route at his independent capacity or as a vassal of the Son of Heaven, is not clear from the context. But the latter possibility cannot

2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* IV, pp. 131-180.
3. Electrum coins of characteristic Karkoṭaka type with the legend Śrī Pratāpa have been recovered from the village of Bhitaura, Dt. Fyzabad, from Banda district, U.P., from Rajghat and Sarnath, in the confines of Banaras and from the Monghyr district, Bihar. See *Journal of the Royal As. Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1906, p. 843; *Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Num. Suppl.,* 1928, p. 6-9; *Journal of the Num. Soc. of India,* Vol. X, Part I, pp. 30-32. The Śrī Pratāpa type of coins are also found in abundance in Kāśmīra and are generally attributed to Lalitāditya.
4. *India* (tr. Sachau), II, p. 178.
5. A. Remusat's tr., *Nouv. Melanges Asiat,* I, pp. 196 sq.
6. *R.T.,* IV, 468, 471.
7. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India,* p. 38.

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be altogether ruled out, particularly when we learn that during the Tang period, it was the Chinese who controlled routes from China to Central Asia, through the Turkish and the Tufan countries.[8]

Durlabhavardhana was succeeded by Pratāpāditya II and Pratāpa was followed by his eldest son Candrāpīḍa. *Tehen-to-lo-pi-li*, king of Kāśmīra, mentioned in the Tang annals is undoubtedly the Chinese counterpart of his name.[9] According to the Chinese testimony, he appeared in A.D. 713 to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs. Then again, about A.D. 720, the emperor granted him the title of king.[10] This conferring of kingly dignity by the Chinese emperor conclusively proves the latter's subordinate position.

There was no change in Sino-Kāśmīrean relation after Candrāpīḍa's death. His brother Lalitāditya adopted the same policy of allegiance to the emperor. According to the Tang historians *Mu-to-pi*, king of Kāśmīra, evidently Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya, sent an embassy to China during the reign of Emperor Hiuen-tsung, A.D. 713-755, and after the first Chinese expedition against Po-liu (Baltistan) which took place between the years 736-747. The king requested an alliance against the Tibetans, and the despatch of Chinese auxiliary force, which was to encamp in the midst of his country on the shores of the Mahāpadmā lake (i.e. the Vular). He offered to find provisions for an army of 200,000 men and reported that in alliance with the king of Central India he had blocked the five routes of Tibet.[11]

We have seen that at least twice, once in Candrāpīḍa's reign and then again in Lalitāditya's time, China supplied military aid to Kāśmīra. What led her to help Kāśmīra? She could scarcely have any interest in Kāśmīra's policy of aggrandisement, if she could not benefit herself by it. But as it was, the expansion of Kāśmīra was not merely the expansion of an Indian kingdom, it was, in reality, the extension of the supremacy of China in the Himalayan regions. According to Chinese testimony, in hundred years, roughly extending from 650-750, a quadrangular fight was being fought between the Turks, the Tufans, the Arabs and the Chinese, for the possession of Central Asia.[12] It is apparent that Kāśmīra as a subordinate ally assisted China in her enterprises in that region. Candrāpīḍa fought with the Arabs, because Chinese interests demanded it. Since China came in conflict with Tibet, king of Kāśmīra had to block all the routes of the hill kingdom. Lalitāditya's expeditions against the Tukhāras and Darads probably had the same objective in view, namely to assist in the establishment of Tang supremacy in those regions.

It is true that Karkoṭa Kāśmīra also adopted a policy of aggrandisement southwards, i.e. in the North Indian plains. But that was a corrolary of her main policy, the conquest of the Himalayan powers. So long as the Tang dynasty was in power, Kāśmīra evinced great strength. But with the decline

8. Tsu-chi, *A Short History of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 146.
9. Klaproth, *Memories relatifs àl' Asia*, Vol. II, pp. 275 sq.
10. A Remusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat*, Vol. I, pp. 196 sq.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Tsu-chi, *A Short History of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 144.

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of the Tangs, came a change in the foreign policy of China. Domestic troubles compelled her to discontinue a policy of aggression. When the Chinese help ceased, Kāśmīra was no longer seen to carry on a policy of expansion. She retired from the all-India politics, never to come again.

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SECTION III

EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

1206—1526 A. D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very grateful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress Association for having conferred upon me this year the signal honour of presiding over this section which deals with the Early Medieval History of India. It is with great hesitation that I rise to address you today, for there are so many among you present here who are eminent historians and who have done greater service to the studies relating to this period. Besides, my subject is Arabic and Persian and not history proper. Perhaps you have taken a comprehensive view of history which, among other elements, includes study of contemporary literature in Arabic and Persian, a solid source for evaluating the social and cultural history of this period. Though fully conscious of my own limitations, I have accepted this position as it gives me an opportunity to discuss with fellow-scholars certain problems that have been, of late, engaging my attention. I hope that with your kindness and co-operation the work of this section would be carried on successfully.

The annals of Muslims in India barring the episode of Arab conquest of Sind make a round period of seven centuries from the invasions of the Ghaznawis and the Ghoris to the end of the reign of the great Mughal emperor Awrangzeb. At the Congress sessions every year the history of this long period is discussed under three sections divided as follows: 711—1206 A.D., 1206—1526 A.D., 1526—1707 A.D. Perhaps the date 711 A.D. is taken to mark the commencement of Muslim invasions and the date 1206 A.D. to indicate the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi. But the division of the period from 1206 to 1526, it seems to me, requires revision. It means that the whole of the Indian sub-continent came under the control of the Muslims from 1206 A.D.; this is not borne out by the facts of history. No doubt the Muslims had control of portions of Northern India from 1206 A.D., but the Muslim conquest of South India begins only with the Khalji invasion from 1310 A.D. Since then Muslim occupation of India became prominent and Muslim kingdoms which came into existence in the Deccan continued all through the period. In the same way Babur's invasion and the establishment of the Mughal dynasty in 1526 A.D. does not, by themselves, mean much. It was not an easy throne that Babur left to Humayun. Babur had not conquered Hindustan. He had reduced to partial submission an area little more than what was known as the United Provinces and North Western Provinces before 1947. He had not annexed Bengal in the east, nor Malwa and Guzerat in the south. Humayun was in the wilderness for fifteen years. In the meanwhile Sher Shah was all powerful in Hindustan. It was only after the death of Sher Shah when there was no fit successor to him that Humayun was able to organise and win back his kingdom at the battle of

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Sirhind. Thus the real establishment of the Mughal rule may be said to commence only from 1556 A.D. Hence I may be permitted to repeat a remark made by some of the previous learned Presidents of this section that the history of the Muslim period is not classified under well-defined periods. I may suggest that this section be taken to cover the period from 1290 to 1556 A.D.

The history of the Deccan and South India during this period has to be studied in detail with the help of inscriptions and literature in various regional languages. For such a study there is a lot of epigraphical materials available in Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad. Such information has been collected independently up till now. There is a great need to co-ordinate all the knowledge available in these inscriptions and edit them in a single series with indexes. A publication of this kind will provide ample facility for research scholars to understand and interpret correctly the history of that period.

Our study of the history of this period is characterised by:

(1) Overemphasis on the history of Northern India,

(2) Inadequate stress on the history of the Deccan, the historical movements in South India and their influence,

(3) Neglect of more potent and much deeper influences of literary and religious contact between different peoples of South India.

Many historians of the present and the last centuries have written on the subject of Muslim invasions of India, and the establishment and growth of the Muslim power in this country. Yet no one has, hitherto, attempted to trace the history and development of Islam in India without reference to the military successes and political achievements of the Muslims. The rapid and steady expansion of Islam over such a vast area in the world in the seventh century after Christ is the outcome of a variety of causes—social, political and religious. Though there is a shade of opinion that India is a typical instance of a country, wherein Islam has progressed by persecution and forced conversion, yet the utter fallacy of this opinion can best be judged from the simple fact that even in the very centres of Muslim power such as Delhi and Agra, the Muslims hardly exceeded one tenth and one fourth of the population under the British rule.

Of the series of Muslim invaders of India, a few were mere adventurers ; some came only to pillage and plunder, and returned laden with rich spoils and booty ; others remained to found kingdoms that had a permanent influence up to the present day. But these conquerors did not have that spiritual background which inspires the true missionary. The Ghaznawis, the Ghoris, the Khaljis, and the Tughlaqs and such others were generally too busy with the conquest of the country or engaged in civil war to evince any proselytising zeal or to devote attention to things spiritual. These conquerors were rough Turks ill-grounded in the Islamic faith and uninspired by the true Semitic enthusiasm. It is truly a great misfortune for India that the lateness of its contact with Islam delivered her into the hands of merciless and turbulent Turkish generals, whose sole aim was to establish themselves as

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independent rulers and obtain from the inexhaustible source of the country, the necessary sinews of war for their never-ending campaign of conquest.

It is well-known that after 1000 A.D. the ambitious, violent and illiberal Turks had for nearly two centuries, torn the body politic of Islam, devastating and destroying the Islamic empire by their misgovernment and interminable warfare, more effectively than any outside foe. After a series of convulsions, which impaired the unity of Islam in a political sense, the branch known as Ottoman Turks established themselves in Constantinople in 1453 A.D. holding sway over Syria, Egypt and Arabia ; the Safawis became independent in Persia. While these Turks were compelled to respect the cultural traditions and bureaucratic organisations of the old Islamic lands, the class of Turks who migrated southwards to India through the northwest, under the appellation of Ghaznawis, Ghoris, etc., gave free and unbridled rein to their savage impulses without the least regard or respect for the traditions of the Islamic teachings. If India had come under the sway of the Muslim empire and the noble Islamic traditions, which reached the zenith of its glory in the reigns of Harun and Mamun of Baghdad, it should have been impossible for a historian like Vincent Smith to remark that "the blood-stained annals of the Sultanate of Delhi are not pleasant reading."

Of the successors of Qutbud-Din (1206 A.D.) down to the establishment of the Mughal dynasty in 1526 A.D. there were some, who were tyrannical and cruel ; the same might be said with possible exceptions of the minor dynasties. When the Muslim power became consolidated under the Mughal rule, a new type of the religious influence became prominent and persistent.

It is no doubt true that in the centuries preceding the Mughal rule, force and official pressure had gained converts from among the natives of the country, though, even in these cases, the majority of them embraced Islam out of their free will and faith. The history of the proselytising movements and the force of social influences have not received due notice at the hands of historians, both English and Indian, who have merely recorded the chronicles of war and campaigns of conquest in tracing the progress of Muslim rule in India and depicted, in strong colours, the fanaticism or bigotry of Muslim rulers. No serious attempt has been made to study systematically the biographies of Muslim saints and the influence of local traditions with a view to construct a history of the period, quite independently of the political life of the country. It may not be correct to state that a study of the religious side of the people is neither possible nor profitable, without a survey of the political aspect of Muslim rule in India, because Islam has gained adherents in the Deccan and in South India at a time when political power was the weakest.

The first appearance of Islam in South India dates as far back as the seventh century during the life time of the Prophet. It is well known that the Arabs had trade relations with the East long before the Prophet. In the 2nd century B.C. the trade with Ceylon was largely in the hands of the Arabs. In the sixth century A.D. there was considerable trade between Arabia, China and Ceylon by way of Ceylon as borne out by the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.). In the seventh century commerce between China,

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Arabia and Persia was further extended. Siraf on the Persian Gulf was the chief emporium for the Chinese traders. It was largely through Arabian merchants that Syria and the Levantine countries received the supply of the eastern produce, like spices, ivory, gems, etc. These circumstances have contributed for a continual stream of Arabian and Persian influence flowing upon the west coast of India, Ceylon and the East Indies, as far as China, long before the appearance of Islam in Arabia.

The extensive commerce with the East, carried on by the Arabs from the earliest times through the sea routes, makes it easy to suppose that the Arab trader might have been the exponent and teacher of the new Faith in South India. We find from the accounts of Arab Geographers with reference to South India that Kollam, Sandan, Saymur, and Subara on the west coast, Kanji and Madura on the eastern side of the Indian peninsula, seem to be the main centres from the earliest times and there were Muslims in those cities. But such references to the Arabs and the new religion have not yet been ascertained from the records in the South Indian languages.

A fresh impulse was given to Arab migration under the Muslim dynasties of the Deccan from the middle of the fourteenth century. During this period, the trader, the soldier of fortune and the missionaries all sought to make spiritual conquests in the cause of Islam and win over the Hindu population of the country by their precepts and example. The Muslim kings of the early Deccan dynasties did not resort to forcible conversion. On the other hand their rule was characterised by a strikingly noble toleration, compared with the Muslim sovereigns of Hindustan. The reasons for this attitude were manifold and these have to be studied in detail.

The entire period of the spread of Islam in Southern India may be divided into two parts. First the early adherents gained by Arab merchants, who devoted their leisure hours to the preaching of Islam in the streets and bazars of South Indian cities ; next come the conversions due to the political influences of the court and armies of the various Muslim dynasties in the Deccan. Side by side with these influences, was another of an entirely different character, namely the preachings of the Muslim saints from the earliest times. The endeavour and earnest effort to realise in actual life the ideals of the religion, served as a veritable tonic to the life and thought of the Hindus and quickened many minds into a fresh life in the path of Islam. The spiritual energy of the saints has helped to bring to the front the finer spiritual qualities which are the truest incentive to the missionary work. South India had the full benefit of the teaching of the Muslim saints or Sufis from the earliest times of the Islamic dispensation and it still continues to draw inspiration from that source. The happy and cordial relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims in South India is, in a very large measure, due to the liberal teachings of the Muslim saints, who, with the great example of the Prophet before them, exhausted themselves with noble fervour in the cause of Islam. The whole of the Deccan and Southern India have innumerable tombs in memory of these pure and divine souls ; little is recorded of them save their names and the sphere of their mortal labours. There is a great and vital need to

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collect more information about them which would enable scholars to give a true account of the history of Islam and Muslim expansion in South India.

Although Islam commended itself to the Indian intellect as a more congenial faith than any other foreign religion, and though the Muslims succeeded in establishing themselves as rulers for nearly seven centuries, after a series of conflicts, the Muslims could not succeed in transforming the Hindu society and their culture beyond recognition as they did in Iran and elsewhere. The impact of these two great religions and cultures and the co-extensive existence and influence of both have created modern Indian culture in various fields of life.

For the first time from 1206 A.D. India was ruled by a Muslim monarch who had his capital in Delhi. The kings who ruled at Delhi from Qutbud-Din to Babur were thirty-two in number and they cover a period of a little over three centuries. While the Muslim rule was thus consolidated in Hindustan it was partially extended also in the Deccan.

In tracing the history of these three centuries of predominant Turkish rule, it is the current fashion with historians to record facts to show that "the king is the state, its ministers are his instruments, its people are his slaves". The king's excesses, and his savage cruelties are given greater prominence, while little emphasis is given to the fact that the country at large was being prepared for great changes. The valiant Rajputs who did not yield to the Delhi sultans were recognised as belligerent powers ; the rest were under the pale of the empire becoming feudatory princes. The people at large became submissive subjects. A considerable population of native Muslims had also arisen besides immigrants as well as their offsprings. They filled higher stations of civil and military life. The sultans and Muslim lieutenants were beginning to hold the position of the barons and earls of England in the almost parallel time of Plantagenets. Consequent on this partial fusion a vernacular language was being forged in Hindustan to allow communication among the various classes of people that came into daily contact with each other. This tongue, appropriately known as *Hindistani,* using by preference the Persian form of the Arabic script and absorbing words from Prakrit, Persian, Turkish and any other vocabulary that crossed its path, began to develop as the *lingua franca* of oral communication.

The Sultans of Delhi, though they showed no mercy to the actively hostile, were conciliatory towards the princes and peoples who did not attempt or show opposition as may be inferred from the maintenance of many Hindu symbols. The ill-treatment was due less to the result of religious persecution than of stern political repression. Chafing under the yoke of foreign conquest, the Hindus persisted in rebellion and the Turks put them down in the manner then generally adopted.

Though all Hindustan was said roughly to be under the Delhi Sultans, isolated Hindu States were left in the enjoyment of autonomy. Even in the regions which lost their native rulers the Hindus maintained their own religion and legal systems which were also codified.

The Delhi Sultanate was beset with two dangers. On the one hand they

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were sore put to it to keep off the fresh hordes of invaders into India. On the other they were on their guard always to put down the rebellious Hindus who could not get over the feeling of their being subject races. The sultans had to be always alert to meet these two dangers whenever they confront them ; such of the sultans who succeeded well in these tasks naturally were put down as tyrants. When the fear of foreign invasion or the dread of rebellion was absent, some of the sultans like Firuz-Shah devoted themselves to concert measures for the welfare of the people. Some were gifted with unusual administrative as well as military talents. The fiscal and other land reforms were highly original and they formed the genesis for many of the famous measures that were passed in the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar.

A critical analysis of the relationship between the Hindu subjects and Delhi sultanate reveals that the basis of the policy of the Turks, who established the Muslim rule in India, was the desire for conquest and arbitrary power. But in due course the Muslims learnt that their rule in India could not stand on that basis and that conciliation was necessary. Hence they secured the services of the Hindus in the government machinery. They were also convinced that while the Muslim could be a good soldier, the Hindu subject alone was capable of running the administration. This was especially so in the revenue department, for the accounts were at the outset maintained in the Hindi language. Thus the general features and peculiar characteristics of any government are largely the creations of the particular environment of the period—the conditions of the age, the character of the rulers and their advisers and the nature and habits of the subject population.

Alongside the attempts of Muslim sovereigns to establish their kingdom and suzerainty in India, the Muslim population was steadily increasing and vital changes were manifesting in the Indian society. The atmosphere of hostility and the state of belligerency were gradually giving place to friendly relationship and even cordial union. The Muslim and the Hindu felt the need to respect each other's ideal and religion, and the Bhakti movements that spread to the North from the South served as the bridge to narrow down the differences between the two great communities. Signs of social and cultural rapproachement were becoming visible in art and architecture, in religion and literature. Sultan Qutbud-Din made his capital where his predecessor did, and close to the great mosque are a college and mausoleum, destined to preserve the founder's name. He also made vast additions to the enclosing cloisters which were made to take in the Qutb-minar and that column likewise received an addition in height.

The great mosque of Qutbud-Din bears witness to the grand designs of the Muslim ruler as much as the skill of the Hindu artificers whose work he adopted. The style of the column is what is technically known as Jain, but the arrangement is purely that of a Muslim cloister. In front of the chancel was an arcade, of whose arches only three are now standing. These, however, are not truly arched, but produced by brackets of spandril form jutting out from the pillars of the abutments, and meeting in the centre without key stones. This peculiarity shows the employment of Hindu workmen,

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who had to comply with the desire of the Muslim employer for the form of the arch, yet did not know the principle of its construction. The architecture of Malwa was largely influenced by the Delhi model. The architecture under Firuz Bahmani reveals Hindu and Persian influences.

During this period the people of the southern states enjoyed a good deal of freedom in every part of the peninsula. There was greater intercourse between the Hindu and Muslim states in the south. The constant intermarriage of the races and the habit of employing Hindu ministers more and more prevailed. The Dakhni dialect of the *Hindistani* language became a medium of intercourse. Consequently Hindus rose to positions of trust and power and the two communities were often on good terms. Both the Hindus and Muslims were keeping up a high standard in Arts and Letters. Among the remains of temples and palaces, a wealth of sculpture gives proof of the skill of the people in the construction and decoration of their edifices.

The Hindu philosophy and religion in the south had attempted to discover the common elements and analogies in the philosophical ideas, dogma and ritual of Islam. The Hindu and Muslim saints of South India have left behind them poetical compositions in the Tamil language. No one has yet attempted to study this literature and give a constructive idea on the religious trends in South India during this period.

The sculptures of the early Muslim architecture of Delhi and Ajmir show the skill of the Hindu artificer ; the coins of the early kings tell the same tale in the character of their inscriptions and in the bulls and mounted horses which had been common under the Hindu Rajas but which no Muslim engraver would ever design. In the same way the literature of the South Indian Muslims show the influence of Hindu thought. Ayesha the 'Mother of the Faithful' is likened to lotus-seated Lakshmi. Thus the Hindus in the North under the Delhi Sultanate, and in the South under the various Muslim dynasties followed their own laws and customs and were able to influence, to some extent, the Muslim conquerors to adopt some of their thoughts and ideas, though the distinction between the Hindus and Muslims as conquered and conquerors was maintained. But it is not yet ascertained at what stage the distinction gave place to the idea that these two are hostile classes in the same community. How did the results of such accentuation affect the style of architecture, coins, and designs for various wares of household use, are not yet clearly ascertained.

In conclusion it is my humble desire to invite your kind attention to some of these facts mentioned here, which are generally missed or not dealt with in detail or proper emphasis. They are worthy of special consideration with a view to rewrite the history of this period. No doubt the task is not without its difficulties. Still an attempt should be made to study these aspects of history for which materials lie in works published and unpublished.

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THE FALL OF DEVAGIRI

DR. P. SRINIVASACHAR

The downfall of the Seuṇa kingdom of Devagiri was the inevitable result of the relations of this kingdom with its neighbouring ones as well as the unfortunate political policy of Rāmacandra and his son.

RELATIONS WITH THE KAKATIYAS

Rāmacandra's relations with the Kākatīyas followed the traditional enmity of a neighbouring kingdom. The Kākatīya kingdom was the eastern neighbour and the policy governing inter-state relations in those days never permitted anything but a continuous policy of aggressive expansion at the expense of the neighbours even in the presence of a common danger. The enmity between the two dynasties had started about the end of the twelfth century when Jaitugi, the son of Bhillama attacked the Kākatīya kingdom and killed Rudra, the Kākatīya king about A.D. 1195.[1] Gaṇapati[2] probably spent his early life as a prisoner in the Yādava court as a consequence of this war, and Mahādēva, the actual successor of Rudra, died after a brief rule of three years possibly in a war with the Yādavas as stated in tradition. Singhaṇa, probably the greatest Yādava king, claims to have defeated the Āndhras, although no details are available of his activities in this direction. The Yādava kingdom during his reign seems to have extended almost over the whole of Western Telugu country as seen from his numerous inscriptions in Raichur, Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur and Cuddappa districts. Possibly his power extended even into the Nalgonda district of the Hyderabad State, where at Panugal in Nalgonda district, a branch of the Yādavas ruled in later times as subordinates of Rudrāmbā and Pratāparudra. Since there is no trace of Yādava rule in Cuddappa and Kurnool districts after the reign of Singhaṇa, and since inscriptions testify to the rule of the Kākatīyas in this region at this time, it follows that after the death of Singhaṇa in 647 A.D. Gaṇapati subjugated a large part of the south-western Āndhra country.

The reign of Rudrāmbā witnessed incessant conflict between the two kingdoms. Victory is claimed by both. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, however, a determined attempt was made to eject the Yādavas from the Telugu country. Viṭṭhalanātha, a General of Gona Ganna Reḍḍi, a feudatory of Pratāparudra, led an expedition into Kuntala and captured the forts of Ādavāni, Tumbulam, Manuva and Haluva from the Yādava king Rāmacandra and finally proceeded against Raichur which he captured in A.D. 1295. The construction of a stone fort "for the protection of all the kingdom and the people" shows that this was not a mere military expedition but a permanent reconquest by the Kākatīya kingdom. Rāmacandra was not able to recover any of this portion thus lost to the Kākatīyas.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* ; Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 184.
2. Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 373.

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Relations with the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra

The relations of the Yādavas with the Hoysalas, their southern neighbours, were not more amicable. Here again there had been intermittent war between the two kingdoms ever since Ballāla II invaded Kuntala and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yādava king Bhillama at Soratūr. The Yādavas had avenged this defeat when Singhaṇa, the grandson of Bhillama, attacked Ballāla II, expelled him from the whole of Kuntala and turned the tables on the Hoysala kingdom by subjugating a considerable portion of that kingdom. In A.D. 1236 under Somēśvara the Hoysalas led an expedition into the heart of the Yādava kingdom as far as Pandharpur in the Sholapur district of the Bombay State. But this brought no substantial advantage to the Hoysalas ; and on the contrary after the death of Somēśvara the Seuṇa kings attacked the Hoysalas frequently. Kṛṣṇa Kandhara, the successor of Singhaṇa, is stated to have fought with Somēśvara himself although this is not confirmed by any inscriptional evidence. Sāḷuva Tikkama, however, the great General of the Seuṇa kingdom, led campaigns into the heart of the Hoysala territory as far as Dvārasamudra in the reigns of Mahādeva and Rāmacandra. Rāmanātha, the Hoysala ruler, seems to have retaliated by invading the Seuṇa dominions in A.D. 1275-6 ; but the Hoysalas could not check the Seuṇa aggression till the reign of Ballāla III. In A.D. 1299 Ballāla attacked Santalige Thousand ; again in A.D. 1300 he invaded the province of Banavāsi. Rāmacandra tried to stem the tide of Hoysala aggression but the disorder caused in his kingdom by the invasion of Alaudin Khalji in A.D. 1295 made it impossible to obtain a decided advantage over them. He was saved from further trouble from this quarter by the rise of the kingdom of Kampali and the invasion of Malik Kafur. Since Malik Kafur was well disposed towards Rāmacandra Rāmacandra actually issued special instructions to his dalavay Paraśurāmadeva to lead Malik Kafur and his armies to Dvārasamudra.

Relations with the Muslims

Rāmacandra's relations with the invading Muslim conquerors were governed by the force of circumstances. The causes that led to the first invasion of the Devagiri kingdom by the Muslims need not be discussed here. It was in the nature of a private enterprise planned secretly and executed stealthily by Garshasp for his personal advantage. But Garshasp was a clever man and made preparations for carrying out this enterprise with great caution. He gathered together three or four thousand horse and two thousand foot ; assigned to each soldier his place ; and provided them carefully with the necessary equipment. He despatched spies to the kingdom of Devagiri to ascertain the proper time when he could take its ruler at a disadvantage during the absence of his army from the capital.[3] Having completed his preparations he set out from Kara on Saturday 19th Rabiul-Akhar 695 A.H. (February 26, A.D. 1296),[4] and marched rapidly towards Devagiri. At the

3. Wassaf, *E.D.*, Vol. III, p. 40.
4. Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh, J.I.H.*, Vol. VIII, p. 238.

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end of every march he selected a wood or deserted place to pitch his camp and thus unhindered and unnoticed he reached Lacura in a very short time. The identification of this place is uncertain ; but from the course of events it is certain that it was the northernmost district of the kingdom of Devagiri.

The Governor of Lacura was a certain Kanha who seems to have been a loyal and energetic servant of the king of Devagiri. As soon as he got the news of these invaders he repaired forthwith to Devagiri in order to acquaint his master with the news and bring adequate forces to defend the kingdom. The Yādava army was at that time busy with some expedition "at a distant part of his kingdom" and Rāmacandra could not appreciate the magnitude of the danger.[5] However he collected some forces and sent them under the command of one of his *rāṇas* to follow Kanha to the frontier and obstruct the passage of the enemy at the ghat of Lacura.[6] Additional reinforcements reached Kanha from another quarter as well. Two women, whose indentification is not possible, are stated to have marched with their forces to help Kanha oppose the invader. In the battle that was fought at Lacura the invaders found very stiff opposition particularly from the two Hindu women who fought like tigresses and elicited the admiration of even the invaders. But the invaders carried the day, captured Kanha and the two women and put to death all the vanquished.[7]

Garshasp Malik then marched on Devagiri and sacked the suburb (or the extension of this citadel) by name Kataka. The Yādava army had not yet returned to the capital and so Rāmacandra withdrew into the citadel and prepared to stand a siege. Unfortunately the Muslim invasion, the strategy, tactics and every thing about it, was something so very different to what they were used to and confusion, if not actually panic, seems to have overtaken the defenders. Naturally the preparations were most unsatisfactory and there were not sufficient provisions to stand a siege for any length of time. Rāmacandra realised after one week that resistance was hopeless ; and moved by the havoc wrought on his capital city outside the citadel by the plundering enemy, sued for peace.

The terms of the treaty were most generous and tempting to Garshasp, who obtained immense wealth, elephants and horses. One of the daughters of Rāmacandra was married to Garshasp.[8] After the conclusion of this lucky treaty Garshasp was only too eager to retire in haste ; but the arrival of Rāmacandra's son Sangama with the Yādava army of five lakhs of infantry, ten thousand horse and 8 elephants created a complication. But Garshasp held the trump card as he still held Rāmacandra under his control. He, therefore, argued that the treaty so recently and finally concluded by Rāmacandra should not be violated by his son Sangama ; and threatened Rāmacandra with death if Sangama proved troublesome. With his father in the hands of the enemy Sangama had no alternative but to submit to Garshasp in accordance with the

5. Isamy, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 223-4.
6. Barani, *E.D.*, Vol. III, pp. 149-50.
7. Isamy, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 224-5.
8. Isamy, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 228.

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sagacious counsel of his father. Garshasp was pleased with Rāmacandra and honoured him by giving back his royal umbrella and two fine elephants. Rāmacandra and Garshasp swore that they would be like father and son, after which Garshasp returned back to Kara.[9]

Malik Garshasp acquired the throne of Delhi and began a notable reign of conquest and achievement under the title of Ala-ud-din Khalji. But the career of conquest he planned out did not include the Deccan and the South. He knew that conquest was only half the task and that the enforcement of his authority in the distant south was an ideal beyond the range of practical politics. He coveted the wealth of the South and so plunder and annual tribute were his main objective. This is borne out by his instructions to Malik Kafur.

"First I am to place before them the two negatives of the oath of affirmation . . . . But if Destiny has drawn a curtain before their eyes, and they failed to see the light and to offer them the alternative of having the yoke of *tribute* (zimma) put on their necks[10] . . . ."

"If the Rai consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants and horses, and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, Malik Naib Kafur was to accept these terms and not press the Rai too hard."[11]

With such a policy on the part of Ala-ud-din Khalji and with unwavering adherence to obligations of treaty on the part of Rāmacandra of Devagiri there need have been no occasion for resumption of hostilities between these two rulers. But the refractory attitude of Sangama and "a fortuitous combination of circumstances" were responsible for the second war on Devagiri. Sangama was perhaps never happy in his quiet acquiescence in his father's treaty with the Muslim invaders ; and the disastrous failure of the Sultan's expedition against the Kākatiya kingdom must have encouraged him to throw off the yoke of subordination. The wise old Rāmacandra, however, thought differently about it all. He had witnessed the horrors of Muslim invasion and the marked strength of the Muslim invading army. Nor was he misled by the disastrous Telingana campaign of the Sultan, because the real strength of the Sultan was revealed by the defeat of the Rājā of Mālvā and the conquest of his country in A.D. 1305. He would rather keep his word as an honest man and carry out the conditions of the treaty than withhold the payment of annual tribute as his son Sangama desired.

But Sangama brought in another complication by his desire to marry Deval Devi, daughter of Rai Karan of Gujarat who had been defeated by Ulugh Khan and lost his wife, Kamalā Devi to the Sultan's harem. Rai Karan and his unhappy daughter Deval Devi were refugees under the protection of

9. Isamy, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 228-31. The usual account of these events taken from Mulhiqat as mentioned by Ferishta states that Shanker Deva (?), son of Rāmacandra returned to Devagiri with the army, attacked the invaders and was utterly defeated. A second treaty was then concluded. This account, however, does not seem to be so probable as the account given by Isamy.

10. Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh, J.I.H.*, Vol. IX, pp. 60-61.

11. Barani, *E.D.*, Vol. III, pp. 201. Hodivala's objections do not affect the main argument.

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Sangama and her father's consent had already been given to the marriage although mother Kamalā Devi was pining away for her in the Imperial harem of the Sultan of Delhi who was making special efforts to secure her. An expedition under Malik Ahmed Jhitam had been specially ordered by the Sultan for this purpose ; and since Rai Karan had already fled to Maharashtra with his daughter and was arranging to send his daughter to Sangama's palace along with his brother Bhillama, Malik Jhitam was expected any day to descend upon the Yādava kingdom.

Under these circumstances the sagacious Rāmacandra decided to reaffirm his loyalty to the Sultan of Delhi and dissociate himself from his son's foolish actions. He sent a secret messenger to Delhi informing the Sulltan that his son, Sangama, had rebelled and that he was powerless to do anything since he was confined to the palace as a prisoner.[12]

The Sultan was not anxious to acquire any territory in the Deccan or the South ; but could not possibly help sending an expedition under the circumstances described above. Malik Kafur led this expedition with thirty thousand cavalry.[13] He marched through the ghat of Saguna and proceeded on Devagiri spreading misery and destruction all along the route. Sangama did not wish to divide his resources by sending an army to arrest the enemy's progress. He quietly waited at his capital and when Malik Naib marched quite near, took out his army on to the top of a hill and faced the attack on Wednesday 19th Ramzan 706 A.H. (24th March 1307 A.D.). Billama, his brother, and Rāghava and Rāmadeva ably supported him ; but the superiority of Muslim military strategy and tactics carried the day and the Yādava army was utterly defeated. Sangama fled for life accompanied by many survivors. A large number of Yādava soldiers died on the battle-field and many were put to sword immediately after. The capital was thoroughly sacked by the victors and an enormous amount of plunder was acquired by Malik Naib. He took into custody Rāmacandra and his family, and, after formally taking position of the entire Yādava kingdom, distributed it among his officers.[14]

Ala-ud-din was much pleased with the able work of Malik Kafur and was in a generous mood towards Rāmacandra, who had displayed his unswering loyalty and obedience. So when Rāmacandra reached Delhi as a prisoner of Malik Kafur, Ala-ud-din treated him with honour, and though he kept him at Delhi for six months reinstated him as ruler of Devagiri and perhaps even rewarded him with additional territory.[15] A cash present of two lakhs of golden *tankas* was also made to Rāmacandra to meet the expenses

12. Isamy, p. 274. The traditional account of this rebellion is given by Barani (*I.E.*, III, p. 200), and repeated by others, that "Ramadeva had rebelled and for several years had not sent his tribute". Isamy's account seems to be more reliable and it explains more logically than the other the actual course of later events, especially, the very generous treatment meted out to Rāmacandra after the utter defeat of the Yādavas.

13. Khusrau, *J.I.H.*, Vol. VIII, p. 373. Ferishta relying on later sources mixes up the account of this expedition with the Deval Rani episode.

14. Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 369.

15. Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 369. Ferishta says that the district of Nausari in Gujarat was added to the dominions of Rāmacandra. But this is not confirmed by any other evidence.

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of the return journey ; and the title of Ray-i-Rayan was conferred on him as a mark of the Sultan's appreciation of his loyalty.

Rāmacandra continued as the most loyal feudatory of the Delhi Sultan and rendered valuable help to him for subduing the other Hindu kingdoms of the South, particularly the Kākatīya kingdom of Warangal. In 1309 A.D. when Malik Naib arrived at Devagiri on the orders of Ala-ud-din "to wipe out the disgrace of defeat as well as to increase his resources and the glory of Islam," Rāmacandra went right out of the city to receive and welcome Malik Naib to Devagiri, showered presents on him, was quite officious in attending to the needs of the invading army, personally visiting the army headquarters every day to see that nothing went wrong.[16]

Again in A.D. 1311 (13th Ramzan corresponding to 3rd February) when Malik Naib arrived at Devagiri for his campaign against the kingdoms of Dvārasamudra and Mabar, Rāmacandra proved most helpful by placing the entire "resources of his kingdom at the disposal of Malik Naib so that he might provide the army with the material of war." "He ordered all things needed by the army to be placed in the market . . . the material provided for the army—hard and soft goods of wool, leather, brass and iron—was beyond all computation."[17] Further one of his officers, Paraśurāma Dalavay, was deputed to guide the imperial army in its march on Dvārasamudra having been particularly selected for his special knowledge of this region, since his estates lay on the frontiers of the kingdom of Dvārasamudra.

This was probably the last occasion when Rāmacandra had to face the commands of the Sultan ; for it appears that before long he died and was succeeded by Sangama who was not so loyal to the Sultan of Delhi and precipitated a crisis in the political fortunes of Devagiri.

AN ODḌA INVASION OF SOUTH INDIA

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

The closing years of the reign of the Chōḷa king Kulōttunga III and the early years of the reign of his son and successor Rājarāja III constituted a stirring and trying period in the history of the Chōḷa country marked by internal troubles and external aggressions. The political condition of the region during the period 1216 to 1225 was as follows. On the death of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya in 1216 his son Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya succeeded to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and inaugurated a period of revival and expansion for his kingdom. In the Chōḷa country Kulōttunga III who had become worn out with age and a long period of active life began to associate his son, the ill-starred Rājāraja III with the administration from 1216 ; and the latter ruled over the Chōḷa empire in his individual capacity

16. Barani, *E.D.*, Vol. III, p. 201.
17. Khusrau, *J.I.H.*, Vol. IX, p. 53-4.

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after the death of his father in 1218. In the Hoysala kingdom Narasimha II who had been associated with the administration of his father Ballāḷa II succeeded to the throne in 1218 after the death of the latter. To the North of the Chōḷa empire lay the Kākatiya kingdom with Gaṇapati as its king. Farther north was the Ganga kingdom in the Kalinga country with Ananga Bhīma (1206-1238) as its king. Within the Chōḷa empire itself there were a number of overgrown feudatory families which were trying to increase their power at the expense of the Central Government. Among them were those of the Kāḍavarāyas in the present South Arcot District and the Bāṇas ruling in the Magadaimaṇḍalam covered by parts of the South Arcot, Salem and North Arcot Districts. According to a few Pāṇḍyan inscriptions, Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, immediately after his accession, conquered the Chōḷa country apparently as a measure of vengeance on Kulōttunga III for the many excesses he had committed in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom during the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, set fire to the Chōḷa capitals of Uraiyūr and Tanjore, razed to the ground a number of buildings in them, performed his *vīrābhiṣhekam* in the Chōḷa *abhishekamaṇḍapa* at Ayirattaḷi and after worshipping Lord Ponnambalanāthan at Tillai (Chidambaram) was staying at Pon Avarāvati. At that time he invited the Chōḷa king to his court and returned back the Chōḷa kingdom to him and his son with a *tirumugam* and the title of *Chōḷa pati*.[1] Though the above account gives the impression that the Chōḷa kingdom was returned to Kulōttunga III by the Pāṇḍyan king as a matter of grace, the evidence of a few Hoysala inscriptions bears out that it was done as a result of intervention of Hoysala Narasimha II. An inscription in the Nāgamangala Taluk in Mysore dated 1218 refers to Ballāḷa II as *Chōḷarājya pratishṭhapanācārya* (establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom), *Pāṇḍya-gaja kesari* (the lion to the elephant Pāṇḍya) and to Narasimha II as *Chōḷa kulaikaraksha* (the sole protector of the Chōḷa family).[2] Another inscription of the same year while recording the achievements of Narasimha II mentions him as *Kāñcīkāñchana, Kāḍavar Kulāntaka, Magararājya nirmūlana, Chōḷarājya Pratishṭhacārya, Pāṇḍyarājya Kōlāhala, Kāḍavarāya diśapaṭṭa* etc. From these inscriptions it is clear that in 1216 or 1217 the Hoysalas interfered in the politics of the Tamil country, defeated the Pāṇḍyan king and restored the Chōḷa kingdom to Kulōttunga III, probably at his request. There is nothing improbable in it for one of the queens of Ballāḷa II was a Chōḷa princess,

1. The above details are contained in an inscription of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (49 to 1890 ; 140 of 1894 ; 362 of 1926 ; Rep. para 32 ; 322 of 1928 ; Rep. para 18). In a recent publication of the Annamalai University in Tamil on the history of the Chōḷas Mr. Sadasiva Pandarathar doubts very much if Kulōttunga III would have sustained any defeat at the hands of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. He gives two reasons for it. (1) Kulōttunga was too great and experienced a king to have been defeated by the young Pāṇḍyan king. (2) the Pāṇḍya does not mention his restoration of the Chola kingdom to Kulōttunga III in any of his inscriptions except in one of the 15th year of his reign (9 of 1926). But the defeat of the old Chōḷa king at the hands of the Pāndyas is borne out not only by the above inscription which says that he gave back to Kulōttunga III his crown and Mudikoṇḍaśōlapuram but also by the details contained in the inscription mentioned earlier. It is obvious that the Chōḷa king and his son Rājarāja III were both defeated by Sundara Pāṇḍya immediately after his accession.

2. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 29.

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and there was existing good political relationship between the Hoysalas and the Chōḷas.

But Kulōttunga III did not live long to rule over his restored empire. The early years of the rule of his son and successor Rājarāja were marked by great internal troubles. The fifth year was particularly so. Three inscriptions in the Tanjore district bear evidence to that. As a result of the troubles, a temple had to be temporarily deserted, the images and movable property in it had to be carried elsewhere for safety, the records and title deeds of two villages were permanently destroyed and fresh records had to be supplied to them after due enquiry. An inscription of the seventeenth year of the king at Tiruvilakkudi records the reconsecration of a few images in the local temple by a Śvetavanapperumānār *alias* Toṇḍaimānār who instituted a search for them and found out that they had been carried away and deposited in the temple of Tiruchcharṟimuṟṟam by the followers of the chief Vānakōvaraiyar in troublous times in the fifth year of the king. He redeemed the images by payment of money, and after consecration made provision for their offerings and worship.[3] An inscription at Talaichchangāḍu in the nineteenth year of the same king registers the renewal of the title deeds (*anubhogapaṟṟoḷugu*) through the village assembly to all the residents who had been in the enjoyment of lands in several hamlets of the villages up to the eighteenth year of the king by two persons, who were apparently officers of the king as the old registers (*pottagam*) and document (*kōśam*) had been lost in the disturbed state in the country (*duritangaḷ*) in the fifth, eleventh and seventeenth years of the king.[4] An inscription of the fifth year again of the same king says that as certain documents of the temple were lost on account of some mishap fresh ones were made.[5]

The circumstances under which the disturbances took place in the fifth year of Chōḷa Rājāraja III have not so far received proper appreciation. On the other hand it has been said of them: "These disturbances might have been purely local; at any rate there is no clear evidence of their being due to war or foreign invasion."[6] But really the disturbances appear to have taken place on account of the unsettled conditions created in the area closely following foreign invasions of the region; for these disturbances possibly synchronised with the invasion of the Tamil country as far as Śrīrangam by the Oḍḍas (the Eastern Gangas) of the period ruling in the Kalinga country followed by the invasion of the same region by Hoysala Narasimha II, probably to save the region from the northern invaders. These events appear to be suggested by a few inscriptions of the period. One of them found in the Śrīrangam temple belongs to Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and is dated in his ninth regnal year (i.e.) 1225. It says:

"By order of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya 'who was pleased to present the Chōḷa country', in his ninth regnal year, we, Jiyar Nārāyaṇa Dāsar, Alagiya śōḷa Brahmārāyar in charge of the temple and its surrounding region,

3. 141 of 1926.
4. 213 of 1925.
5. 309 of 1927.
6. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Choḷas*, II, pp. 176-7.

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Periya Tiruppati Śrīvaishṇavas, the temple servants, *Bhāgavata Nambis*, members of the *sabhā* of Tiruvarangam, the *Viṇṇappam śeyvār, Śrīpādam tāngum Nambimār*, the various *nimattakāras*, the *Āryas*, the *Bhaṭṭas*, the devotees of Emberumānār or Rāmānuja and the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the eighteen *maṇḍalas* who had come to witness the great festival met together in the *Rāja mahēndraṇ* enclosure and came to the folowing settlement:

'The ten persons (the heads of the ten groups of temple servants) who were governing the temple from ancient times joined with Oḍḍas and collected *Oḍḍakāśu* from the temple and the *nimantakāras*. They also gave the Oḍḍas paddy from the temple lands and in various other ways destroyed the property of the temple. Consequently temple worship suffered for about 300 days in the last two years. The ten persons took to themselves the temple lands and shared the yield and income from them with the Oḍḍas. Consequently there were loud complaints and protests. Now the regime of the Oḍḍas has come to an end and our *sāmantanār* have taken possession of the temple as belonging to the rightful government. The landed properties were all restored and all services in the temple were regularly conducted. The persons responsible for the above wrongs were dismissed from the temple. Now the temple servants belonging to different groups (*Tiruppati koṭṭu*) are to be chosen by lot. At the close of each year they are to be replaced by election.''[7]

The above inscription makes one think that some two years before its date the Śrīrangam area was probably in the hands of the Oḍḍas. This is further supported by two Hoysala inscriptions one from the Chik magalur and the other from the Chennarayapatnam taluks dated respectively in A.D. 1222 and 1223. The former of the two says that Hoysala Narasimha II marched in 1222 to Śrīrangam.[8] The view has been expressed that this march had nothing to do with the disturbances in the Tanjore district mentioned above ''which might have been the result of a Pāṇḍyan invasion'' and that ''if that was so it is somewhat strange that we hear nothing more of this invasion from either the Chōḷa or the Pāṇḍyan side.''[9] But really the Hoysala march to Śrīrangam appears to have had something to do with the possible Oḍḍa invasion of the Tamil country as is borne out by the inscription from the Chennarayapatnam taluk mentioned above. Referring to Hoysala Narasimha II it says: ''His forcible capture of Adiyama, Chera, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kāḍavas, why should I describe? Describe how he lifted up Chōḷa, brought under his order the land as far as Setu, and *pursuing after the Trikalinga king* their trend of elephants displaying unequalled valour.''[10] The inscription is of particular significance on account of its mention of the pursuit of the Trikalinga King by the Hoysala King. In view of the mention of this pursuit and the statement that he brought under

7. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 500 ; 53 of 1892.
8. *E.C.*, VI, Cm. 56. Once it was thought that the inscription could be assigned to 1217 (*J.I.H.*, VI, p. 205). But as Hultzsch has pointed out it is really dated in 1222 (*E.I.*, VII., p. 162).
9. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 177, fn. 15.
10. *E.C.*, V, Cn. 203.

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his order all the land as far as Setu (though the latter may be too tall a claim for him) it may be presumed that when the Kalinga King invaded the Tamil country in 1222 Hoysala Narasimha opposed him on the way. It is certain that he did not undertake an invasion of the Kalinga country for in that case the inscription may be expected to say so. It only mentions Narasimha's pursuit of the Kalinga army in the south. It is, however, difficult to find out the real reason for the Eastern Kalinga king's invasion of the distant Tamil country which provoked opposition from Narasimha. Is it likely that he might have wanted to take advantage of the political confusion in the Chōḷa country and make the best out of it?

It is interesting to find that this invasion of the Tamil country by the Oḍḍas and their occupation of Śrīrangam are mentioned in the *Kōil olugu,* a work dealing with the history of the Temple of Śrīrangam, though the chronology contained in it is not beyond doubt. According to it the Oḍḍas invaded the country during the period of Uyyakoṇḍār and Maṇakkāl Nambi (10th century?) and that the God was taken for safety to *Tirumālirunjōlai* Aḷagarkōil near Madurai) and kept there for a year. During the period *Vaikhānasa* priests had taken over worship in the temple and non-Vaishṇavas began to live in large numbers at Śrīrangam. Later Āḷavandār expelled the non-Vaishṇavas and restored the proper administration of the temple.

Though the Oḍḍas were probably driven away from the south Tamil country about 1225 by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya we find them in the north Tamil country about 1227-36, this time near Kāñchī as may be seen from two Eastern Ganga inscriptions at the place. The Conjeevaram area was then a cockpit of the contemporary powers of South India and the Deccan and we find the inscriptions of many dynasties there during that period. The political events of South India during the period were as follows: About 1230 Rājarāja withheld payment of tribute to Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and so he was defeated in battle and driven out of his kingdom. When the fugitive king proceeded to seek the support of Hoysala Narasimha II he was defeated by his overgrown Kadava feudatory Kōpperuñjinga at the battle of Teḷḷāru and imprisoned at Śēndamangalam, his own capital. When Narasimha II came to know of the incidents, he marched to Śrīrangam and defeated Sundara Pāṇḍya at Mahendramangalam on the banks of the Kāvērī. Another army sent by him marched to Śēndamangalam devastating the country on the way and laid siege to the fortress. Kōpperuñjinga submitted and liberated Rājarāja III and Sundara Pāṇḍya restored to him his kingdom. As a result of this the influence of Narasimha II in the Chōḷa country increased as may be seen from the provenance of Hoysala inscriptions in Kāñchī. According to an inscription he is said to have stationed at the place a body of Bherundas (probably a regiment of soldiers).[11] Besides, there are a few inscriptions at Kāñchī which record gifts made by certain important *mahā-pradhānas* and *sāmantas* of the contemporary Hoysala Narasimha II and dated in the regnal years of Chōḷa Rājarāja III.[12]

11. *E.C.*, V. (n. 221 a ; also XII, pp. 9-10).
12. See 408, 611, 612, 615 and 617 of 1919 and 39 of 1920,

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As said above there are also two Eastern Gaṇga inscriptions at Kāñchī dated respectively in the nineteenth year of Ananga Bhimā IV and the twentieth year of Rājarāja III. The former of the two mentions Śrīmat Anantavarma Rāhuttadvēva of the Gaṇga family as camping at Abhinava-vāraṇāsi (Kāñchī) and records the grant of a village by Somaladevi Mahā-devi, apparently his wife, for offerings and worship to the God in the temple.[13] The latter records the gift of 128 cows and 4 bulls by Kalingeśvara Aniyanga Bhīmadeva Rāhutta for four perpetual lamps in the temple.[14] It is interesting to note that the second inscription mentions that the gift was made in the twentieth year of Chōḷa Rājarāja III.

MAṆḌALIKA-NṚPA-CARITA: A HISTORICAL POEM

H. D. Velankar

Maṇḍalikanṛpacarita is a historical poem composed in Sanskrit by one Gangādhara. The poem consists of 10 cantos and contains about 600 stanzas in different metres. It describes the life of a king called Maṇḍalika of the Yādava dynasty, ruling at Junagad in Saurashtra. Unfortunately the only manuscript of the poem at the BBRAS., Bombay is defective both at the beginning and at the end. It begins in v. 36 of canto I and ends in v. 41 of canto X. So that a detailed account of the poet or the date of the composition of the poem is not available. But from the manner of the description of the poet, it would appear that Gangādhara whose name is mentioned in the colophons at the end of each canto, was a contemporary of the king and very probably a poet at his court. The poem begins with the description of Jīrṇadurga or Junagad, the capital of the king and gives brief information about five of his ancestors in the direct line in the first canto. In the remaining cantos, his childhood and early marriage, his installation as the crown prince, his first battle with King Sangana of the Śankhadvīpa, his invasion against his own brother-in-law King Duda of the Gohilas, his accession to his father's throne after the latter's retirement, his second marriage with the daughter of Bhīma, the king of the Jhallas, the advent of the spring and the king's amorous sports and lastly his invasion against king Sangana who is defeated a second time, are serially described by the poet.

The poem is historically important as it mentions several events and personages that figure in the history of Saurashtra before it fell to the conquering Sultans of Gujrat. I shall, therefore, give below a detailed account of such events and personages as can be culled out from the poem and then at the end compare the same with what is known about them from other sources.

13. 444 of 1919.
14. 445 of 1919.

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CANTO I: There is a city called Jīrṇadurga in front of the mountain called Girināgāyaṇa (Girnar or Raivataka). There are many lakes around it which look as if they were its garments of wear (37-40). A rampart runs around it with an attached ditch which is constantly filled with water (44-45). The people in it were very happy and rich. In that city there ruled a king called Khangara of the dynasty of Yadu (66). He had subdued 84 chiefs beginning with Gohila and ending with Jhalla, ruling on the borders of his kingdom (68). He had effected the repairs of the old Somanath Temple at Prabhāsa Paṭṭan after killing many Yavana chiefs (69). While he was seated on the sovereign throne of Surashtra, kings of other countries had to sit on tiger-skins, i.e., they had to lead a life of a recluse after abandoning their kingdoms (75). He had a son called Jayasinha (Lion of Victory), by whom herds of elephants in the form of Yavana chiefs were put to rout in a battle (77). While this Jayasinha roared on the mountain Girināgāyaṇa, the deer in the form of his enemies ran helter-skelter (79). From him arose Mokala-sinha, at the mere mention of whose name, the elephant of poverty quickly vanished (80). His son was Meliga ; he was very brave and the kings of the four quarters stood always in terror of him (85-86). On one occasion, he rid the earth of the Yavanas while giving protection to a Jahlla chieftain called Kṛishṇa, who had sought shelter under him from the Yavana king. (87). On another occasion he defeated and wholly looted Sultan Mohamad, who had insisted on capturing his fort (88). His son was Mahipāla, who often fed the pilgrims proceeding to Dvarka, when they passed through his capital (93). He had no male issue for a long time ; so he propitiated the deity Rādhā-Dāmodara on the Mt. Girnar (Girināgāyaṇa) and got a son by his favour (96-99). This son was called Maṇḍalika since he had been obtained by the favour of the deity after visiting his *Maṇḍali* on the mountain (99).

CANTO II: This prince of the Lunar race was very liberal even in his childhood (II. 8, 9). He was possessed of sharp intellect and had quickly mastered all arts and crafts (10-11). He bore all auspicious marks on his body, such a single line rising up on his sole from the heel up to the toe (29) and was very beautiful (32-34). On his attaining youth his father got him married to Kuntā, daughter of Arjuna, who was the son of Bhīma, the king of the Gohilas ; this Arjuna had fallen in battle while bravely killing large armies of the king of the Turuskas and was succeeded by his younger brother Duda, who offered his niece Kuntā to Maṇḍalika (51-54).

CANTO III: Mahīpāla, the lord of Jīrṇadurga, installed Maṇḍalika as a Crown Prince, when all the border-chiefs approved of this and brought him their tributes (1-10). But King Sangana, the lord of the western ocean, disregarded the letter of communication about this sent to him by the minister (11). On hearing this young Maṇḍalika requested his father to send him to chastise Sangana ; he was accordingly sent. Sangana advanced to meet him near the border of his kingdom, but fled away from the battle-field being defeated in a duel with swords by the prince. Without advancing to Sangana's capital, Maṇḍalika returned to his father's capital and offered him the loot brought by him (16-23). One day, a Yavana envoy sent to king Mahīpāla

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by the Yavana king, complained about the harassment caused to the Yavana territory by King Duda who was a relative of Maṇḍalika and enjoyed the protection of King Mahīpāla himself (26-29). The envoy was sent back with a promise of help to his master against King Duda (32). The situation was very difficult and the king took counsel with his minister about the line of action. It was not easy to neglect Duda and incur the displeasure of the Yavanas, as their king had dispossessed many a king of his kingdom ; the Yadu kings, of course, were not made the target of their ambitious inroads by the Yavanas, since Mahīpāla's ancestors had often weakened their armies on the battle field (34, 35). On the other hand, Duda was a near kinsman and no enemy (37). The minister advised the king to chastise Duda and keep up the very valuable friendship of the Yavana king who was extremely powerful (38). Besides, he said, chiefs like Duda had no real claim to their lands bordering on his kingdom, as they constantly lived under his protection and could not have any independence of action in such matters (40). The king on hearing this decided to punish Duda and the young prince undertook to do the job (42-46). Accordingly, Maṇḍalika marched with a large army against Duda's territory, setting fire to his property, and killed him in a hand-to-hand fight with a sword (68). Maṇḍalika returned to his capital without usurping Duda's kingdom and was placed on his throne by King Mahīpāla, who retired for meditation to achieve liberation (69-72).

CANTO IV: Once upon a time King Maṇḍalika asked his minister to find out a suitable princess for him to marry (3, 4). The minister, thereupon, described several princesses, pointing their merits and particularly their defects. In this connection, he mentions about 15 kings, whose names, however, are not mentioned. Very likely, the description of the princesses is imaginary ; but I give it briefly as it is interesting. He said: The princess of Sinhala Dvīpa is beautiful, but her family was low (8) ; that of Karṇāṭak was possessed of lovely eyes, and auspicious bodily marks, but was dark in complexion (9) ; that of Trilinga was beautiful, but not clever and witty (10) ; that of Kalinga, though very intelligent, was yet a stammerer owing to her fast delivery (11) ; that of Kanyākubja was lovely but did not deserve to be married owing to her dwarfish stature (12) ; that of Kāmarūpa was bewitchingly beautiful, but one was afraid of her owing to her proficiency in the *Mantraśhāstra* (13) ; that of Jvalamukhi-sevaka-śaila was to be avoided owing to her brown hair (14) ; that of Madhyamadeśa, though proficient in painting and other arts, had defective thighs (15) ; that of Gopālaka, though otherwise beautiful, had an abnormally long neck (16) ; that of Medapata was possessed of long eyes and golden complexion, but was rather fat (17) ; that of Lāṭa was very charming, but was too bold like an actress (18) ; that of Marāshtra was skilled in personal dress and decoration, but was much too clever and witty (19) ; that a Gurjara is simple and charming, but had to be avoided owing to her long ears (20) ; that of Bagullas was attractive, but was very talkative (21) ; that of the king of the region near the sea-shore was possessed of auspicious bodily marks, but was very dull (22). The daughter of Bhīma, King of the Jhallas, however, was suitable in every way ; this

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Bhīma had his capital at Patali, but was living at Sithapura for the time being. His daughter was obtained by the favour of Goddess Pārvatī and therefore called Uma. The king should marry her (25-35).

CANTO V: Just about that time King Bhīma sent an envoy to King Maṇḍalika with a request that his daughter be accepted as his wife by him (1-4). The minister accepted the offer on behalf of his king and King Bhīma made appropriate preparations for the marriage after taking the consent of his daughter (5-13). On the other hand, King Maṇḍalika left his capital with a large retinue on a well decorated horse, an umbrella being held over his head by the king of the Sindus (24). King Bhīma, lord of Patali, went to meet him and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp, countless gifts being given to the bridegroom's relatives and servants (50-68).

CANTO VI: King Maṇḍalika also married daughters of Apara, Gurjara and Jhalla kings (14). He was waited upon by kings of (?) Ravi-vadhud-bhava Gohila and Jhalla countries, who held the fan, the *chowri* and the golden pot in their hands (23). The remaining portion of the canto describes the advance of the spring and the king's love-affair with a queen called Yāmunā, who, however, is not mentioned earlier in the poem (56).

CANTO VII: Description of the spring and of the moon-rise at night occupies the greater part of the canto. Names of some of the queens like Manikyadevī, Umā, Kuntā and Yamunā occur even here (46-47).

CANTO VIII: On one occasion the king consulted his chief minister about his royal policy and about the existence of a powerful enemy who must be put down (1-22). The minister replied: The king of the Yavanas, strong in his army of horses and elephants, stands away respectfully on hearing about the prowess of your arms, like a feudatory (24); Gohila and others have sought your protection and hence must not be attacked (25). But the lord of the western ocean Sangana, is still defiant, even though he has been defeated by you on the battle-field before (26-29). He relies on the strength of his island fort, where the deity Śankheśvara is situated (31). On hearing this the king started with an army ostensibly on a hunting expedition (32-33). He kept his army concealed under tents (62) on the sea shore and passed his day in hunting and the night in enjoyment (62).

CANTO IX: Next morning, the king caused a number of boats to be brought to him; he stationed himself and his army in these and prepared to assault and capture Sangana's island fort, viz., Śankhadvīpa, after bowing to the deity Śankheśvara (1-7). On seeing this, Sangana too, prepared his fort which excelled even Lanka, and started fighting with the armies of Saurāshtra, after stationing himself in a safe box-like part of the fort (8).

In the battle that ensued, burning arrows were discharged by either side; but those discharged against the invaders were easily quenched in the waters of the ocean, while those against the besieged worked havoc among the houses on the island fort (11). Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the fire, hundreds of soldiers of King Maṇḍalika got on to the island from their boats with the intention of capturing Sangana alive; but Sangana in the meanwhile had already left the island together with his wife and sons to an

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unknown destination (12). Sangana's warriors thereafter submitted and Maṇḍalika entered Sangana's fort as a conqueror. He acquired there a valuable and auspicious conch with its opening to the right side in Sangana's treasury (18). The king planted a Jayastambha on the island and after worshipping the deity Śankha Narāyaṇa, started back towards his own capital (20). After crossing the ocean, however, he was opposed by Sangana on the way (20). This time Sangana had brought with him for his help the Parasika chief, the lord of the Sindus, with his warriors on horse-back and on camels (21). The camel riders of the Parasika chief, however, were easily put to rout by Maṇḍalika. Maṇḍalika's horsemen and the Parasika chief himself was killed in the battle (22-25). On seeing this Sangana fled away and took shelter in a stack of hay nearby (24). In this battle, Maṇḍalika got a good deal of loot in gold, silver, horses and camels (26). He, however, once more spared the life of Sangana and returned to his capital victoriously (27). Before entering his fort, the king worshipped Goddess Durgā at the foot of the Hill and composed a hymn (28-41). The goddess, being pleased with him, manifested before him in the form a mass of lustre and dropped a flower for him as her *Prasāda* (42). The king then entered the fort and distributed presents among his warriors and gave valuable gifts to the Brahmins (43-47).

CANTO X: This canto contains a high eulogistic description of the king's virtues and greatness. He is described as if he were Kalki appearing at the end of the Kali age, when he started killing the mlecchas after riding on his horse (4). The *ms.* abruptly ends in v. 41 in the middle of hymn to the deity Rādhā Dāmodara on the Mountain Raivataka or Giri Narāyaṇa ; this hymn is put in the mouth of the king by the poet and begins with v. 28.

The account of our hero given above mostly agrees with what is known about him from other sources and put together at the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, Kathiawar, pp. 286-288 and 497-499. Here we get a dated account of most of the persons and events. Our poem, however, is an important document which was composed during the life-time of its hero by a poet who lived at his court. At the above-mentioned place we find the following account:

Rādhā Dāmodara's temple is situated on the Girnar mountain near the Dāmodar Kund (p. 487: cf. *Kāvya* I, 97). The ditch around the fort is entirely cut out of the rock and forms a strong defence (p. 488: cf. *Kāvay* I, 45). Ra Khengar succeeded his father in A.D. 1325. In his reign Sultan Muhammad Tughluk invaded Gujrat and Junagad. But the *Kāvya* does not refer to this ; on the other hand, it says that he effected the repairs of the ancient Temple of Somanath after killing many Yavana chiefs. Ra Jayasinga succeeded his father Khengar in 1351. He, too, is described in the *Kāvya* as having put to rout the Yavana chiefs in a battle (I, 77). His son Mokalasinha reigned for 24 years and had succeeded his brother Mahīpāla who is, however, ignored by the *Kāvya*. Mokalasinha was succeeded by his son Maṇḍalika in 1397 ; this Maṇḍalika died in A.D. 1400 and is again neglected by our *Kāvya*. He was succeeded by his brother Melaka. In

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1413-14 Sultan Ahamad marched against Junagad. Muslim sources say that Melaka was defeated on this occasion ; but the *Kāvya* avers that Ra Melaka plundered Sultan Muhammad when he insisted on capturing his fort. This seems to mean that the Sultan defeated Melaka outside the fort, from where he fled to his fort and then the Sultan could not capture the fort but had to withdraw from it and suffer some loss during the withdrawal. Our *Kāvya* also says that Melaka gave shelter to a Jhalla chief named Kṛishṇa when he had fled from the Yavana king, probably the same Sultan. Our *Kāvya* again gives the Sultan's name as Muhammad and not as Ahmad. What is meant seems to be that the Jhalla chief was saved from the fury of the Sultan's anger by the intervention of Melakadev. Ra Jayasinha succeeded his father in 1415 and after a reign of 25 years was succeeded by his brother Mahīpāla in 1440. This Jayasinha, too, is dropped by our *Kāvya*. Mahīpāla ruled for 11 years and was followed by his son Maṇḍalika, the hero of our poem. When Maṇḍalika was installed as a Crown Prince by his father during his life-time, all friends and allies brought him tribute ; but Sangama Vadhel of Okhamandal or Bet (called Śaṅkhadvīpa in our poem) neglected him. So Maṇḍalika with the consent of his father marched against him and defeated him in a duel. On another occasion Sultan Muhammad Begda who had ascended the throne of Gujrat in 1459, complained to Ra Maṇḍalika (according to our *Kāvya* it was Mahīpāla to whom the complaint was made) about Duda Gohila who was harassing him. Maṇḍalika marched against Duda who was his wife's uncle and killed him in a duel with swords. Ra Maṇḍalika finally turned his attention to Sangana Vadhel and humbled him. Our *Kāvya* probably ended with this last glorious event of its hero. But as we know from other sources, Ra Maṇḍalika was finally crushed by Muhammad Begda in 1472 and his dominions annexed to the Gujrat kingdom. It seems Ra Maṇḍalika withstood the Sultan's attacks for a time, but ultimately he had to yield before the numerous resources of the powerful Sultan and become a convert to Islam to save his life. Sultan Muhammad then conquered even Bhīma Vadhel, son of the same Sangana who was defeated twice by Maṇḍalika on earlier occasions. This Bhīma was cruelly butchered in the Sultan's capital, Ahmedabad, at his orders in 1480.

The author of this section of the *Bombay Gazetteer* mentions the *Maṇḍalika Kāvya* for supplementing his information ; but unfortunately he does not give the source of his information about this *Kāvya*. In two or three places my *ms.* of the Kāvya does not agree with what he says is given in the *Kāvya ;* but these differences are of a minor nature and may have been due to oversight. I am trying to get some more *mss.* of this valuable poem and intend to publish it soon.

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THE STORY OF FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ'S ACCESSION

SRI RAM SHARMA

In spite of Haig's opinion to the contrary,[1] Firuz Shah Tughluq has usually been described as a genial soul 'utterly devoid of ambition' who was compelled to assume royal authority on account of 'pressure put upon him' by the Tughluq nobles in Sind. Afif[2] and Barani[3] started the fashion and modern writers have not been slow to take up the hints dropped by these two theologians.[4] Unfortunately for the text-book writers, the facts do not support the story that they have popularized. So far as Afif and Barani are concerned if we look closely we shall find that their conclusions are not justified by the evidence that they bring forth.

According to the story by Afif and Barani Muhammad Tughluq died in Sind on March, 29, 1351. For three days there was an interregnum. On March 23, Firuz Shah was proclaimed king. Barani would have us believe that Firuz was chosen by 'Shaikhs, Khans, Maliks and Scholars' present in Sind at that time. From Afif's account it appears that this was done on March, 23, 1351. His 'election' was, however, disputed by the claim put forward on behalf of Dawar Malik,[5] son of Muhammad Tughluq's sister.[6] In far off Delhi, Khwaja-i-Jahan, Muhammad Tughluq's Deputy left at Delhi, proclaimed Muhammad Tughluq's son as his successor and placed him on the throne.[7] Mubarak, a brother of Muhammad Tughluq, was still alive and could have had a fling at claiming royal authority.

Firuz Tughluk's claim after his 'election' seems to have been buttressed by the allegation that Muhammad Tughluq had by his last will appointed Firuz Tughluq as a successor.[8] Some even go still further and declare that Muhammad Tughluq had intended Firuz to be his successor and had obviously proclaimed his intentions.[9] Whatever statements might have been made by Firuz Shah's partizans to support his claim when he had once ascended the throne, they do not explain the events that took place in Sind between March 20 and March 23. If Firuz Shah was Muhammad Tughluq's successor by his last will, it should have been a matter of common knowledge and it should have led to Firuz Shah's succeeding to Muhammad Tughluq's throne immediately. If Muhammad Tughluq had trained Firuz Shah Tughluq to

1. *J.R.A.S.*, July and September, 1922.
2. Afif, (Urdu), 36.
3. *Barani*, 532.
4. *Medieval India*, Ishwari Prasad ; *Delhi Sultanate*, A. L. Srivastava ; *Crescent in India*, S. R. Sharma ; *Medieval India*, S. Lanepole ; *History of India*, Elphinstone.
5. *Barani*, 532, 547. Afif (Urdu), 39, does not mention any 'election'. *Tabaqat* is also silent (240, 241) ; Tripathi (64) improves on Barani and Afif and talks of a 'Council of 'Electors' which rather strangely excluded the late king's deputy at Delhi and many eminent theologians not in the Tughluq camp at the movement. A partizan gathering, if ever, there was none.
6. Afif, (Urdu), 37.
7. *Firishta*, 145 ; Afif, (Urdu), 42, 43 ; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.. I, 242.
8. *Firishta*, 144 ; *Tabaqat*, 240 ; *Barani*, 547.
9. Afif (Urdu), 36.

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be his successor, one fails to see why Firuz Shah Tughluq allowed the affairs in Sind to drift dangerously before he 'was pursuaded to accept unwillingly' the throne of Delhi. If Firuz Shah needed to be pursuaded to accept the throne, he could neither have been trained as an heir-apparent nor named as his successor in a will, if any, of Muhammad Tughluq. Afif does not support the contention that Muhammad Tughluq had nominated Firuz as his successor. The critical situation in Sind demanded that the Tughluq should produce a leader at their head immediately Muhammad Tughluq died. That this did not happen refutes beyond any doubt the statement of Barani and his supporters as to any acknowledged claims of Firuz Shah Tughluq.

These considerations are again supported by Firuz Shah's action as also the actions of his supporters when his right to throne was challenged. When the claim of Dawar Malik was pressed neither nomination in his life-time nor in a last will was used to support Firuz Shah Tughluq's right. His mother was told that Firuz Shah would assume royalty in order to safeguard Tughluq government at a critical juncture in a foreign land.[10] When news of Muhammad Tughluq's son being raised to the throne of Delhi reached Firuz's camp, Khwaja-i-Jahan who had raised the son to the throne was not branded as a traitor because he had, if Muhammad Tughluq had nominated Firuz as his successor, gone against the proclaimed intentions of Muhammad Tughluq. Firuz Shah contented himself by getting his nobles to declare that Muhammad Tughluq had left no son. But as if this was not enough, he submitted the question of his 'right' to the throne to theologians, scholars and pious men of his own choice and attached to his entourage. Unfortunately for Barani and those who rely on him, these authorities could only come to the comfortable conclusion that Firuz Tughluq was a 'lawful sovereign'.[11] They advanced no reason for the 'decree' they issued—at least none has been handed down to us by the historians who mention this. It is childish to suggest that as 'jurists' they were only concerned with the 'justice' of his election to the throne.[12] Doubts had been raised about his claim to the throne because a son of Muhammad Tughluq was alleged to be alive and on the throne. Their silence as to this fact clearly suggests that they felt themselves in an awkward corner and byepassed this question. Neither Firishta nor Nizamud-Din mentions that Khwaja-i-Jahan was told by any one that Firuz Tughluq had been nominated as Muhammad Tughluq's successor by the late king. Such a statement would have been extremely foolish when made to Muhammad Tughluq's Deputy at Delhi. If there was nomination he should have known about it. Nobody could accuse him of ignorance about Muhammad Tughluq's intentions in the matter seeing how close he had been to the king.

Thus the story of Firuz Shah Tughluq's having been designated Muhammad Tughluq's successor falls to the ground. This brings us to the question of Firuz Shah Tughluq's ascending the throne because Muhammad Tughluq had left no son. Barani was disbelieved in this matter by Firishta. Afif is

10. Afif, (Urdu), 37.
11. *Tabaqat*, Vol. I, 242 ; Afif, (Urdu), 44 ; *Firishta*, 145.
12. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, Tripathi, 67.

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in two minds about the matter. When he is narrating the events, he talks of a son of Muhammad Tughluq being raised to the throne at Delhi. But later on when Firuz is about to formulate a reply, he talks of the occupant of the throne of Delhi as 'a son of some one else proclaimed to be Muhammad Tughluq's son'.[13] Yahya,[14] however, supports Khwaja-i-Japan. The fact that in answer to the deputation from Delhi on behalf of the boy-king the nobles declared that Muhammad Tughluq had left no son fails to be of much use when we find that the theologians at Firuz Shah Tughluq's court did not use this fact to refute the claim of the child.[15] They recognized Firuz as the king but said nothing about this depending on the fact that Muhammad Tughluq had left no son. It is legitimate to assume with Yahya, Firishta, Badaoni and Afif that Muhammad Tughluq left a minor son whom Khwaja-i-Jahan proclaimed Muhammad Tughluq's successor.

While we are discussing our authorities, Badaoni's account[16] also needs be taken into consideration. He tells us that Firuz was left at Delhi by Muhammad Tughluq. There he tried to conspire to become emperor and secured the support of Ghias-ud-Din and Nizam-u-Din. The conspiracy seems to have been discovered and the three conspirators were summoned to Sind by the king. Firuz's supporters were ordered to be executed while Firuz was taken into custody. Soon after, one day when Muhammad Tughluq was drunk and his son away on a hunting expedition, the guards set Firuz at liberty. He murdered the son and on Muhammad Tughluq's death Firuz became king. This account may not entirely be reliable but it seems to suggest that there was a living tradition present in the 16th century which asserted that Firuz Shah Tughluq was not as devoid of ambitions as Barani and Afif have painted him to be.

Taking all the evidence into consideration it seems that when Muhammad Tughluq died there was no one on the spot who could immediately claim the right to succeed him. It is probable that Firuz Shah allowed Tughluq's position in Sind to be endangered so that the Delhi army and its leaders could be persuaded that they could not allow the existing state of affair to continue much longer. The interregnum would have certainly continued much longer if some body—Muhammad Tughluq's son for example—not present with the army in Sind had to be proclaimed king. This may have exactly been what some of the nobles in the army may have contemplated. Firuz forced their hands. Even though he was the seniormost member of the royal family in the army, he had made no move to settle the succession during these three days. On the contrary, he failed to act as a conscientious and loyal servant of the late king. He sat still while the enemy pressed the Delhi army hard. This probably convinced the other nobles that he harboured designs on the throne. All talk of Firuz Shah's reluctance to succeed Muhammad Tughluq seems to have been the result of a publicity manager's—for Barani was no better nor worse—imagination.

13. *Barani*, 532, 547 ; Afif (Urdu), 42, 43.
14. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*
15. *'Tabaqat*, Vol. I, 242 ; Afif, (Urdu), 44.
16. Badaoni

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This version of events receives support from the account of the events given in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. We are told that after Muhammad Tughluq's death, Firuz Shah persuaded the Mughal contingent of the Delhi army to leave camp and to retire to their own proper territories. They left the camp as instructed by Firuz Shah Tughluq carrying a good deal of property with them. They seem to have encamped only at a little distance from the Tughluq army and soon after plundered it to their heart's content. When they attacked the Tughluq camp, Firuz Shah did not stir at all even though he was responsible for the agreement under which they had withdrawn and which they were now breaking. It was after this plundering of the Tughluq camp that the theologians, scholars and chiefs woke up to realize the gravity of the situation and sought a way out by approaching Firuz requesting him to ascend the throne. If this version is correct the whole thing seems to be stage-managed.

But Firuz was no usurper. His claim to the throne depended upon the fact that he seated himself thereon at a time of crisis. All talks of his having been 'elected by' those competent to elect a king is, however, without substantial support. That he received the support—and probably contrived to get it—of those who were then in the army can be easily explained when one remembers the circumstances under which kings had been succeeding one another during the Sultanate. There was no law of succession and there could be none in a State where rulers often claimed to rule as the deputies of a far off Khalifa. Even murder never served to deny claimant's right if he had sufficient force to support him. If Ala-ud-Din's nephew declaring that he had murdered his uncle could be promised unanimous support and if he but produced the head of the murdered(?) Ala-ud-Din, one need not set much store by stories of a king being 'elected'. Where there was no electoral register, where qualifications of the electors were most vague, when the electors almost invariably display a suspicious unanimity for the claimant in whose favour they vote, one needs only say that election was a farce which not all the kings found it necessary to play. That Firuz Shah found loyal supporters among nobles and theologians the moment they discovered that he was inclined to claim the throne is manifestly clear. The account of the reign by Barani and Afif proves him to be, if a theologian's delight, a noble's puppet as well. But it is wrong to argue that he was a usurper because he did not allow a son of Muhammad Tughluq to succeed.

TAZKIRA-I-MURSHIDI, A RARE MALFUZ OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY SUFI SAINT OF GULBARGA

SYED HASAN ASKARI

Mystic literature and hagiological works of early medieval Sufis containing their recorded traditions, reminiscences, anecdotes and utterances, discourses and correspondence, even after many useful deductions of what appears to a

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modern to be miraculous, fantastic and legendary, and shorn of minute details of ritual acts of worship given therein, possess much material of historical value and authority not to be met with elsewhere. They not only tell us about the ways of mystic living, the daily time table and the ideals of self-discipline imposed by the saints on themselves and their followers, but give us a picture, however, imperfect, of the social conditions and religious life of a considerable body of people. We know from them how, in an average middle class family to which the Sufi saints mostly belonged, a sound system of education in Arabic and Persian was deemed necessary even for spiritual aspirants, and get an idea of what books were studied and under whom. The saints in addition to the duties involved in strict adherence to divine rule of faith and practice, according to the Quran and the Sunna, self-discipline, abnegation of will and wishes, and ascetic practices, laid stress upon strict moral life, righteous conduct, and fulfilment of social obligations. Their dwelling places and hospices resounded with songs sung by spiritual singers called Goindagan and Quawwal, generally in Persian and not unoften in Hindi which kindled intense love of God, warned men of the emphemeral nature of the world and the transitoriness of life, and moved the audiences into a state of rapture, ecstacy and mystic dances and trances. Besides references to 'Zikr', 'Urs', 'Sama', we get valuable information about matters of dress and diet, feasts and festivals, strange customs of wandering friers and inspired madcaps, and about the Indian and liberal tendencies of the Sufis. Despite their detachment from purely mundane affairs, especially those relating to politics and government, the influence of the mystic saints, because of the tremendous hold they had over rich and poor and owing to their piety and austerity as much as to the special gifts they were supposed to possess of curing the ills[1] both of mind and body of the superstitious supplicants and devotees, was a factor to reckon with by the temporal powers. In short, the social, biographical and ethical contents of the hegiological works cannot but attract the attention of a student of history.

There is an immense amount of such information about the life, time, and teachings of one of the most popular Sufi Masters, the patron saint of the Deccan, Mir Muhammad Husaini, surnamed Banda Nawaz and Gisudaraz[2] of Gulbarga (1321-1422) who, unlike[3] many of the saints of the Chisti Order, appears to have been himself a prolific writer on mystical[4] subjects and whose

1. We get references to medicinal formulas ascribed to the saints, the use of amulets and talisman augury, divination not so much in the present Ms as in other Mulfuzats.

2. So called from his long and flowing side-locks the author of *A. A.* (*Akhbar-ul-Akhbar*) tells us how he acquired this title from his 'Pir' Nasiruddin. For another explanation see *M.A.* (*Mirat-ul-Asrar*).

3. See the statement of his own Pir the 11th Majlis of his Malfuz, K.M. (Khair-ul-Mujalis).

4. Several of his works are available in A.S. library, Calcutta. But Bahrul Maāni has been wrongly ascribed to him in the catalogue. A copy of this containing some information of historical value has been discovered by this writer among the collections of Shah-Fide Hussain of Patna city. It is a Malfuz of Syed Muhammad b. Jafar-ul-Rakki, also a disciple of Nasirruddin Chirug-i-Delhi. This saint's faith was a 'Muqti' of Khambayit (Cambay) at the head of 1300 horse, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. Among other things we find interesting observation of the

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sons and disciples also wrote and left behind a number of their works on theology, mysticism and grammer. He was held in great esteem by a large mass of people including kings, princes and nobles and his shrine is still an object of great veneration all over the Deccan. No wonder that even standard historians[5] who were mainly concerned with deeds of kings and nobles have made mention of him. Of his several Malfuzats. two, *Jawame-ul-kelam* and *Siyar-i-Muhammadi,*[6] are known to those acquainted with Persian, while other appears to have been lost. Fortunately the writer has discovered at Phulwari Sherif, Patna an old, slightly damaged, but complete copy of a rare Malfuz, named *Tarik-i-Habibi* or *Tazkira-i-Murshidi*. It was compiled in 849 or 1445 during the time of Alauddin Ahmad[7] Shah II, son of Ahmad Shah Wali-al Bahmani (1436-58) "at the instance of a great and powerful noble—Nizam-ul-Mulk Malik Raja[8] Rustam", a devoted disciple of Khawaja Azizullah Md. Asghar, 2nd son and successor of the celebrated saint of Gulbarga, by a fellow disciple, Abdul Aziz. b. Sher Malik.[9] b. Md. Waizi. It is divided into 10 chapters and contains 86 pages with 29 lines to a page. It is worthwhile to throw some light on the life, teachings and time of the great saint of the Deccan on the basis of the manuscript before us.

Gisudaraz, a lineal descendant of Ali through his 'martyred' grandson, Zaid, is quoted to have said that he was born at Delhi on 4th Rajab "perhaps"[10] 723, and that one of his ancestors, 12th in ascent, Syed Abul Hasan 'Jundi' (a soldier or general) came several times[11] from Khorasam to fight for Delhi which was destined to fall to the Turks, and was at last killed by the Hindus and was buried there in the Anar mosque which still existed. His father, Yusuf Husaini, a disciple of the renowned Saint, Nizamuddin 'Auliya' was compelled, along with others, by Sultan Md. Tughlaq, to shift his family from Delhi on 20th Ramzan, 728, and it took him 4 months[12] to reach Daulatabad, on Thursday, 17th of Moharram, 729. Though a child at the time he was in a position to give accounts of the events and incidents that happened at different stages on the way to, and again on the back journey[13] from,

justification and requisite condition of 'Sama' and the fondness of the Chisti saints, particularly his own 'Pir' for it. He tells us how couplets in Arabic, Persian and Hindi were sung on such occasion. In letter 29 which is devoted to 'ways' on ecstacy he says that the Indian 'Raag' is softer and more attractive than the musical tone or note called "yaman" and that the best part of (the foreign) music has been softened and much more pleasant in imitation of "these Raags which in the land of Hind are already gentle and soft".

5. See Ferishta *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* etc.

6. Compiled by Shah Md. Ali, a disciple of the saint, and printed in Allahabad. It has been referred to in Bazm-i-Sufia by M. Sabahuddin of Darul.

7. Wrongly mentioned in the text as Muhammad who was the younger brother of Alauddin Ahmad, 1436-58.

8. Son of Imad-ul-mulk Ghori and once the Wakil-i-Saltanat of Ahmad II Nizamuddin in T.A. Ferishta and the author of Nurhan have mentioned him.

9. See catalogue of A.S.L., Calcutta for another copy.

10. The word is significant for the correct date appears to have been 721 as we find in other Malfuzal and also in Tazkiras like A.A. and M.A.

11. The cryptic information here and elsewhere is rather tantelizing to a student of history.

12. The biassed historians say that the march to Daulatabad was carried out in 40 days with unspeakable sufferings.

13. 8 years after the experiment those who wished were allowed to return to Delhi and Deogiri or Daulatabad was given up as imperial capital after 17 years.

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Daulatabad. He and his elder brother, Syed Hasan alias 'Chandan',[14] were taken by their father for blessings to a revered local saint, Shaikh 'Babu' to whom Muhammad Tughlaq had become so greatly attached after seeing the beneficial effects of his prayer in his severe illness that he had granted some villages in the vicinity of Daulatabad for the upkeep of his Khanqah. His father died when he was 11 years old and at 15 his mother, and he, owing to certain family troubles, had to return to Delhi. He had already finished Quduri and Misbah[15] but he continued his studies in Delhi first under Imam Taj Bahadur and later under the renowned savant Qazi Abdul Muqtadir[16] and other learned men, who gave him lessons in Kafia, commentary, Buzudi, Keshshaf and other subjects of both traditional and rationalistic knowledge.

When he had completed the course of externalist subjects he returned to things mystical and spiritual. In this he received great encouragement and inspiration from the celebrated Chisti Saint, Khawāja Nasiruddin Chirag-i-Delhi whom he had met soon after return to the city. While engaged in his 'Shaghl',[17] in the 'Khatira' or shrine of Sher Khan in Jahan Numa of Delhi-i-nau (new) the Khawaja's sister's son, M. Zainuddin, as directed, sent him his meal from the kitchen of which he was in charge. He felt greatly relieved when this was discontinued. By the time he was 24 he had made sufficient progress in the mystic faith. He lived absteneously and meditatively, loving solitude, and very often returning to jungles. Till the age of 30 he knew nothing about the associations of men and women. But he contracted an illness[18] from the affection of the bladder and the physician suggested cohabitation as a cure. Maulana Alauddin, in consultation with his mother, purchased a slave girl for him but she bore no issue. His marriage at the age of 40 with the daughter of M. Jamaluddin[19] Maghribi, a disguised Hasani Syed, was blessed with 3 sons and 2 daughters. He used to say that if he had mixed with women and had children he could have made no progress in spiritual and mystical pursuits.

Khawaja Nasiruddīn was so much impressed by his austerities and devotion that he voluntarily offered to initiate him in his order. He was given the symbolical 'cap' and also the 'authority' to initiate others. He was, however, enjoined upon to observe 3 things:—(1) never to neglect the prayer formulae and other instructions given to him ; (2) to treat all the creatures of God with kindness and leniency ; and (3) to do favour to the followers of his 'Pir'. He had already served and received guidance and inspiration from the Khawaja for 19 years when shortly before his 'Pir's' death at the age of 82, on Thursday,

14. The Indian names nd Hindu words and expressions have got their own significance.

15. The catalogues of manuscripts may be consulted for these standard works.

16. Died in 788 or 791. See A.A. and M.A. He was the teacher of Malik-ul-Ulma Shehabuddin Umar Daulatabadi of the court of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur.

17. Religion study and occupation.

18. Some such thing happened in the case of the most renowned Saint of Bihar, H. Sharfuddin Maneri while at Sonergaon (Manaqiba-ul-Asfia).

19. Described as an old widely travelled and experienced man of 80 while Gisidaraz was only 20 when they met each other (M.A.).

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18 Ramzan, 757, the question of his succession was raised and his sister's son, M. Zainuddin, presented two lists, every time omitting the name of Syed Muhammad. But the Khawaja fixed his choice with his own pen on his favourite disciple, the Syed and the latter formally sat on the vacant 'Sajjada' or the mystic rug on the 3rd day of his 'Pir's' death. There were 4 types of the Khawaja's special followers: 1. 'Authorised' Sufi disciples like his successor ; 2. Potters ; 3. Carpenters or box makers ; 4. Women. They pursued their avocation but had attained sanctity and holiness and were capable of mystic Union.

Following in the footsteps of his Pir, he always pursued the path of orthodoxy and righteous conduct, of austerities and religious exercises and practices such as Zikr, Sama etc. ; gave lessons, while sitting in the mosque or the cell on subjects, theological, mystical or otherwise ; issued instructions to seekers of knowledge and spiritual advancement ; received and was kind to all ; shunned worldly dignity and prosperity ; discouraged idle, playful, and blasphemous talks ('Shatta') and enjoined upon the nobles and the wealthy who came to him "to forget the faults of their inferiors, to take care of, and be kind to the poor and the indigent and to be fair and just to those placed under them ; and in short, to be as generous and magnanimous towards all as they could". He always wore the garments of the 'Ulema' and like his 'Pir' constantly used 'Pairahan' (loose vest or shirt), 'Kanbal' (blanket), 'Bārāni' (cloak), five-fold 'Dastār'. But on I'd days and in Friday prayer he had a single piece of 'Chadri'?[20] Dastār or turban. He would not come out of his cell without his Bārāni and he never used 'Dhoot'[21] and 'Saloo'.[22] He hated coloured, fine, soft and tight-fitted garments and cut out his clothes, if wide and broad. On account of great heat in his body he preferred thin clothes. One who sought 'direction' when 'authorized', was given, besides a prayer carpet, a staff, a rosary, a salt cellar,[23] a napkin, a leather bag[24] for holding food, also a 'labacha',[25] a Nihalche[26] and a double garment (jama).

The personality, piety, and learning of the saint attracted a large number of people of all classes including non-Muslims. He held a special assemblies (Majlis) for giving lessons to students in the various branches of commentaries, traditions, principles of law, jurisprudence, scholasticism, rhetories and mysticism. Even the old and the most learned of the age called upon and became devoted to him. A great and aged savant at Delhi, Maulana Nasir-uddin, who would not be spared by his large body of students even while he was on a visit to the saint was asked as to why with such great learning

20. The sash or Muslin cloth wrapped round the turban. The words used here are Dastaar-i-Panj Karral. As regards 'yagan Parkala-i-Chadri Dastar' it might mean one piece of thin perforated cloth bound round the cap.
21. i.e. *Dhoti*, the cloth worn round the waist passing between the legs and fastened behind.
22. Another Hindi word meaning a kind of red cloth worn round the waist and passing between the legs.
23. 'Namakdan'.
24. 'Kanduri' or 'Sufra'.
25. A mantle or an outer garment.
26. A quilt, wrapped or coverlet.

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and age he had chosen to become a disciple of Syed and he said that he had been made by him a 'Muslim'. We get references to the liberal outlook of the saint. Once he said that the secrets of 'Shariats' were known only to the high minded, and those of Haqiqat or reality were not unknown to Mulahān, Haidariyān,[28] Qalandrān,[29] Mulahidān,[30] Zindiqān,[31] Yogiān,[32] Brahmanān, Bharavān,[33] or Karvāns and that even the so-called Divanagān,[34] Walāzadagān,[35] and 'Latta,[36] 'poshan' might be inspired people. The ways of these latter two groups who appeared to be devoid of consistency in words and deeds, remained naked or covered their privities by torn or refused rags or leaves of trees, threw out what they ate, kept incessant fasts, and said and did strange things, should not necessarily be taken as Satanic.

No wonder that the saint was misunderstood and he excited the hostility of the jealous 'Ulema' and ill-conditioned Sufis. They transmitted a Mahzar[37] through the Kotwal of the city to Sultan Firuz who despatched a wise and learned official, Syed-ul-Hajib, to make a personal enquiry on the spot about the charge that some 3 to 4 hundred persons daily flocked to the saint's hospice and laid their heads on the ground before him. The Sultan was so much satisfied with the report of his official that he signified his eargerness to call upon the saint. He was, however, dissuaded from doing so for the saint did not care for any body. Feruz Shah then issued orders that no such complaint should reach him in future. Even then the jealous ones would not spare the saintly Syed. They misquoted him and even accused him of heterodoxy. The author of the manuscript has taken pains to prove that he always professed himself to be an orthodox[38] Sunni Muslim believing in all the first 4 Caliphs in order of their succession and refuting the contention of the Shiahs about 'Imamat' and 'Wilayat'.

Of his period of religious life and sainthood comprizing 68 years 1 month 25 days, the first 44 years were spent in Delhi. When the Mughals (really Turks led by Timur)[39] entered the city by one gate the saint escaped through the other and went to Gujrat. While at Pātan, he heard of the birth at

27. Mulah or Muwallah meant sad and distracted with love or fear.
28. We read in histories in connection with the affair of Sidi Maula, that he was stabbed at the words of Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji by one, Bahri Haidari and the leader of the Haidariyan, Abu Bakkar was present on the occasion.
29. A type of wandering Muslim friers with shaven head and beard who abandon every thing for the sake of God and are rude in manners and behaviour.
30. Impious heratic and unbelievers.
31. Fire worshippers and disbelievers in God and a future state.
32. A well known type of Hindu ascetics.
33. Those were perhaps aboriginal races. Do they mean ancient Bharatas and the Kurus? It is difficult to identify these groups.
34. Mad or inspired.
35. Afflicted, distracted or mad with love.
36. Dressed in rags.
37. A document attested by witnesses.
38. That the people in the time of Firuz at Delhi were very touchy and sensitive about least deviation from the straight path as proved by the execution of the Bihari saint Ahmad and Sh. Aaz of Kako in the Futwa of the Ulema (M.-A., S.F.S.) and also by what we read in *Bahrul Maani* by Md. b. Jafar Makki, also a disciple of Chirag-i-Delhi. He wrote to Malik Mahmud Shaikhan "O beloved one, whoever mentions the name of Ali-i-Murtaza more than once will be at once dubbed as a Rafzi, i.e. a Shiah.
39. Timur entered Delhi on 8.5.801/18.12.1398.

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Cambay, in 803, of his favourite grandson and future successor, Miyan Yadullah and hastened to that place. Thence he moved on to Thalner where a large number of people including Maliks and nobles became his devotees. In Jamadi II, 804,[40] during the reign of Bahmani Sultan, Firoz, he went to Ahsanabad Gulbarga where he finally settled down. Of his 26 works mentioned in the manuscripts 8 or 9 had been written in Delhi and the rest either at Ahsanabad or (Cambay) in Sultanpur near Nazurbar in Gujrat. Besides his first commentary on the Quran, *Tafzir-i-Multaqat,* he had begun another and a more detailed one keeping in view rules of grammer, rhetoric, and theory of literary style, stories and their authority etc. But he had come up to 5 out of 30 'Separahs' when the Mughal(?) invasion drove him to the south. Many of his works were commentaries or translations of the great philosophic and mystic Masters including a Bihari Saint-scholar, Muzaffar Balkhi (Aqida-i-Hāfizia). He used to give lessons from one of his own works, *Asmār-ul-Asrar,* to some of his favourites of official and aristocratic ranks (name mentioned). He is quoted to have said that he wrote or dictated the texts of his works only to fulfil the needs of the students and spiritual aspirants, for like his 'Pir' and other great Masters he could hardly spare his time to writing books.

The saint was very particular about the education of his children, relatives, and devotees and he had devised a procedure of his own for testing persons before their investiture. But his sons had acquired proficiency in various branches of knowledge and imparted lessons to others in Hedāya, Kashshaf, Buzudi etc., on the lives of certified Masters of the past. His eldest son, Md. Akbar alias 'Miyan Bara', the author of 10 works[41] on various subjects, wrote two Malfuzat before his death in 812, one in Delhi, and another at Ahsanabad. The saint's nephew, Ibn-ur-Rasul alias 'Miyan Manjhla' began another Malfuz[42] at Delhi and completed it at Ahsanabad. When his grandson whom the saint lovingly called "Babu Yadu" reached the age of 4 years 4 months and 4 days he was placed in the Maktab of Qazi Bahāuddin who offered sweets when his pupil had memorized the whole of the Quran. He was made to learn penmanship from a noted calligraphist,

40. Ferishta would have us believe that in 815 Firuz learning that the saint had arrived near Gulbarga from Delhi, he went from Firuzobad to visit him. He was at first received with much honour and attention but finding him deficient in scientific learning, the accomplished and cultured Sultan neglected him. But the more reliable author of *Burhani-i-Maasih* (quoted in *Bazm-i-Sufi*) gives us a different version which is very close to that in the manuscript in hand. That he left Delhi in 801 and passing through Gujrat and arrived for the first time at Gulbarga in 804 seems to be established from the evidences in the present MS.

Differences with Sultan Firuz made him leave Delhi and reach Sultanpur, a town near Naundorbar in Khandesh, 97 miles N.E. from Surat. We do not know how long he stayed there and when he was asked by Sultan Feruz to return to Gulbarga. He must have spent some years in various parts in Gujrat (Patān, Cambay, etc.) when he wrote some of his works.

41. The list given includes two works on grammer, syntex and etymology.

42. We are told about 3 other Malfuzats compiled by Qazi Ilmuddin .b. Sharaf Ajodhani, a relation of Qazi Shaad, by Shaikh Islam Chattri, a young quiver weaver turned a mystic, and called Shaikh Islam, and by Malik Zaada Maqbul of the great family of Malik Usman Jafar. The last was a versified Malfuz. There is no trace of these Mutafiz.

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Qāzi Tājuddin. He pursued his further studies under Qāzi Sirājuddin and his saintly grandfather.

After the completion of his education in externalist subjects he was made, like others, to undergo the test for initiation and 'authorization'. He had to bring fuel timber on his head for the kitchen. Indeed, the Saint of Gulbarga had made it obligatory on all who sought initiation or investiture at his hands to perform the humblest of domestic duties such as carrying on their body fuel wood, salt, curds, 'Khichari'[43] etc. He would put them to severe test to ascertain their capacity for obedience and spirit of humility: when the Khādim, Qāzi Sirājuddin, reported compliance he was directed to write out the rules of religious visitations (Ziaret), prayer formula etc. Then the neophyte was presented before the saint who cut out a few hairs of his head with a scissor and placed on it a "Chahar Tarki Cap".[44]

'Urs' or annual death anniversaries of the Prophet and his descendants and other holy personage and near relation such as 'Bibi Rani' his mother and sister, was celebrated with regularity and enthusiasm. A list of such occasions when prayer was offered to the departed soul, food was served, and 'Sama' was held, has been given. Even in a state of utter penury 'Kanduri'[45] feast and 'Urs' were not neglected. 'Sama' or the hearing of songs or vocal music which caused ecstacy and mystic movement of the body formed an important part of the religious performance both in Delhi and at Gulbarga. Rich and recreation-loving people were dismissed after taking their meals and only the selected followers were admitted in the audition-hall. Instrumental music was strictly forbidden. Once the minstrels (Khunyagaran) pestered the saint with the request for this which was disallowed and it was said that like his 'Pir' he could only permit verbal songs and clapping of the palm ('Qauli' and 'Daśtaki'). The recital of Arabic, Persian and Hindi[46] songs caused the vibration of the soul for the love of God and it led to the whirling movement of hand and body and the beating of the ground with the feet in a rhythmic order, the saint fell so distracted and enraptured that with difficulty he was restored to normal conditions. Despite the disavowal of 'Sama' by many theologians, the saint was very fond of it, cited the examples of the holiest of the holy, and said that his own father enjoyed it greatly. Once his father was moved so much at Delhi at the sight of a body of Mulahān dancing on the burning fire with impunity that he imitated their example without "rubbing[47] medicines on the sole of the legs" as they used to do.

43. The well-known dish made of pulse and rice boiled together and generally taken by poor people.

44. The four sided cap symbolized the abondonment of the world and its ameneties and passions, desires etc.

45. A ceremony observed in honour of holy personages at which prayers are offered upon their behalf and food distributed.

46. He used to say that Hindi songs are fine and flexible as they touch the tender cords of the heart, and Raags (modern tunes) are soft and gentle and incline one's heart towards immorality and submissiveness (S.M. Encl. in B.S.).

47. This is an interesting information. But the interesting thing is the account of Qalandars and the saint's attention towards there. He felt horrified at children joining their company lest they should stray away from the right path. Once Mansur Qalandar and his company came with their banners, spears, sticks with suspended iron or steel balls (changani), global drums, and these made great noise at the door

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Usually in the feasts of 'Urs' and 'Sama' bread kneaded in water and cooked in oven, goat's meat and mutton placed in an earthen plate, broth on gruel in a brass cup, supplemented, at times with sweets like 'Halwa' fruits like melons or mangoes or any thing that was available, formed the menue which was laid before each individual. Certain rules of decorum had to be observed. Pigeon's flesh was disallowed for their ownership was doubtful, but there was no objection to the use of fowl meat. The saint would himself take very little, seldom one whole 'Nan' or 'Papri' (cake of bread) which was ¼ of a seer and broth (Ash). He would not take his meals in the house of a 'Hindu' and was not accustomed to attending the 'Urs' or the feasts in the house of others except a few. He once did attend the function in the house of Maulana Zahiruddin, the tutor of the children of Sultan Firuz. He did not use more than 4 'biras' of betel leaves a day and gave it up altogether in the Ramzān. He had his own decent manner of taking betel leaves and arica nut. In Ramzān 'Khichari' was served in 'Sahari' (dawn meal) and on I'd days 'Shir-i-Khurma' (sweets prepared of dates) was taken before prayer. Though aloe-wood was profusely used, being burnt in all the riches of the audition hall and also in clay pots elsewhere, the saint did not like perfumes other than rose, the Arabian 'Ghāliat' and the Indian 'Choh' or Chowa and 'Gandharaj'. He hated waste and related disapprovingly the story of the grandson of H. Farid[48] of Pak Patan about his extensive use of rose water and extravagant waste of money.

Personal expenses and those of the kitchen of the hospice of 'Urs', alms, weekly allowances ('Jumagi') of the Fakirs and of dress and combcase were met from "Futuh-Ghaib"[49] (uncertain income received gratuitously) and of this the younger son of the saint called "Miyan Luhra" was in charge. When the saint came first to Ahsanabad (Gulbarga) in 804, Sultan Firuz Bahmani sent him a "Farman" granting two villages in the vicinity—Manehi[50] and Abnaoo, and also offered alms, gardens, Inam lands and pensions ('Idrarat') for his sons, relations and special devotees and the servants of the Khanqah, but all these were returned and refused with the reply that his 'Pir' would not accept such things and he did the same. He wished his sons and friends also not to accept such grants and offers.

There are 3 or 4 very brief references to Firuz and his brother Ahmad Shah Wali. Once Sultan Firuz came to the saint and "made a request for 'Zikr' and 'Muraqiba' but wished for some time to be given to him, so that with the blessings of the saint's devotion he might develop the signs and temper peculiar to the Sufis." Similar requests by "Khan, Maliks and

of the Khanqah. The saint admitted one of them, talked with him, and dismissed them by causing some thing to be given to them.

48. See the story in K.M. also.

49. When this failed, loans were resorted to and Hindu grocers proved very helpful in this respect. *Managib-ul-Arfia* and *Maadan-ul-Asrar* (of Qurim Shutteri) tell us that the renowned saint of Bihar of the 14th century (Shafuddin Ahmed) was supplied grain to the value of 1000 taukas by a Hindu grocer.

50. Ferishta credits Ahmad Shah with making gifts of lands and villages to the decendants which they were in possession of. The historian would have us believe that immediately on his accession and 3 weeks after the death of the saint on 16.11.825 or 26.10.1422 the Sultan gave a number of villages to the saint himself.

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merchants'' used to be annoying. He replied that birth and lineage, rank, professions or even the difference of sex constituted no bar to spiritual adavancement and even a slave girl[51] would become a saintess. But though endowed with resolution to have Divine Grace and guidance one might or might not attain it. Sincerity and austerity in self-purification and persistent attention Godward would lead to progress. Elsewhere we read "Hazrat" Qutbi. On account of his disgust or aversion[52] ('tanaffur') towards Sultan Firuz gave up the congregational mosque within the fortified town and left for Delhi but from Sultanpur (Gujrat) he was brought back after the entreaties by that Sultan. He, however, chose the mosque outside the "Hisar" (fort) for his Friday prayers. As regard Ahmad Shah Wali, "the most excellent Sultan," we get nothing about his devotion, the support received for his successor to the throne, and the gifts he made to the saint himself. Some time after the death of the saint, on 16 Ziqad, 825, at the age of 102 years 14 months and 12 days, Ahmad Shah who had ascended the throne only a few months before, made 'Miyan' Safirullah (son of Miyan 'Bara') in charge of the Rauza while he put the younger son, Kh. Azizullah Miyan 'Lahra' in charge of the Khanquah and the dwelling place. The latter, before his death, on Thursday, 21 Moharram, 828, his period of sainthood being 2 years, 2 months and 4 days, received 3 respectful visits of, and was greatly honoured by, the "best of the kings". Though he did not care for any thing except God, just as his great father used to receive Sultan Firuz, he also advanced up to the courtyard of the Khanqah both at the time of coming and on the departure of Sultan Ahmad Shah, and during the course of conversations he addressed the Sultan as Rayat-i-Aalo, Khalifat-ullah, Hazrat Khilafat.

We may leave out such things as the time table observed every day and night and on special occasions, customary practices and religious exercises, prayers, fasts, Zikr, admonition and instructions given to the neophytes and the references to the two types of disciples, authorised[53] and non-

51. There were many such female mystics even in India. Gisudaraz insisted on the neophytes to visit the shrine of Bibi Fatma Sam "bringing on their heads 'Khichari', oil, coagulated milk, fuel, and salt separately for offerings to be made to her soul."

52. That the saint was inclined more to Prince Ahmad than to his royal brother, is quite clear for the former was unremitting in his devotion ever since his advent in Deccan. "But for the support of the group which gathered round the saint which had become a kind of leaders of opposition to Firuz Shah Ahmad would not have ousted his brother and his nephew from the throne". (Sir W. Haig.) We are told by Feristha that the *Khan-i-Khana* (Prince Ahmed—late Ahmad Shah) spent several hours of his time in attending the lectures of the saint and he was never absent from the 'ways' of estacies at which time he distributed large sums. As regards Sultan Feruz his zeal for the saint had cooled by degrees which made the saint transfer his religious patronage to his brothers. When Feruź nominated his worthless son, Hasan in 818 he invited the saint to give his blessings and the saint replied to the king that for one to be chosen by a king the prayer of a poor beggar could be of no avail. Feruz was disgusted with the reply, repeated his request on which the saint observed that the crown was destined to descend to his brother by the will of Providence. The Sultan was alarmed and requested the saint to retire out of the capital town. When he wanted to blind his brother, the latter fled to the Khanqah where he received the blessings and prediction of sovereignty.

53. These included some very important personages noticed in the various Tarkira, such as Sh. Alauddin Gawaliori, Sh. Abul Falh Alai Duraishin, Syed Abdul Awwal etc. (M.A., M.A. etc.).

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authorized, the high principles of morality inculcated on the followers and the stories and anecdotes based on oral traditions and personal experiences of the saint. But in view of the fact that the Saint of Gulbarga is considered as the author of the earliest prose written in Hindustani, *Miraj-ul-Ashiqure*,[54] the Hindi words and expressions and a Hindi 'Dohra' catch the eyes. "Hazrat" Qutbi said that once at least in his last 'Sama' the revered Khawaja (his Pir) also heard music in Hindi ('Bar Sarod-i-Hindvi'). It is this:— "Pīchchalli Ratt Bhāgi Kānsi Thakai Tari (Nari) Char-Dhool Barana Ranoo-karah Oh Kar Challi Nār". Indeed, we get numerous instances of linguistic assimilation and the use of Hindi 'Dohas' in 'Sama' by the Chisti Saint. Complete sentences[55] in what may be called 'Khari-boli' are available in any number in the Malfuzat of the saints of the 14th and 15th centuries. These may be taken among the earliest specimen of prose.

LIGHT THROWN BY A XIII CENTURY HOYSALA INSCRIPTION ON A TAX LEVIED BY THE DELHI SULTANS, AND ON THE LINGUISTIC DIVISIONS OF INDIA

G. S. Dixit

An English summary of this copper-plate inscription of Narasimha III was first published in the Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore for 1909 (p. 22). Its full text was published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XV (B.L. 298) in 1943. It contains two parts—one in Sanskrit and the other in Kannada.

The Sanskrit part mentions the fact that Narasimha III gave the revenues of the village Hebbāle Agrahāra, situated in his kingdom, (*i*) to the pilgrims from Karnātak and other parts, residing in Banares, to enable them to pay a tax and also (*ii*) for the maintenance of a Choultry in Banares and (*iii*) for the worship of God Visveswara of Banares.

The Kannada part contains further details. The tax which the pilgrims resident in Banares had to pay was to the Turushkas. And the pilgrims who were to pay it were the following:—

(1) Karnātakas, (2) Gujars, (3) Telugus, (4) Tigulas or Tamilians, (5) Tulu-Maleyālas—people of South Canara and Malabar, (6) Lātas—people of South Gujarath, (7) Ariyas or Maharashtriyans, (8) Tirabuttis—people of

54. Edited by Dr. Abdul Haque and published from Aurangabad 1343 A.D. It does not, however, find a place in the list of books ascribed to the saint in the present *m.s.* A scrap book,(*Bayaz*) in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta no: 936 contains about 9 couplets and its first line runs: "Jab Toom Sahe Hai haskari Nafs Ghora Sār Toom".

55. "Are Manlana yeh Budda Hose"—"Jo Munda Sa Bandhe—so Paen Na Pare" (Khairul-Majalis), "Bat Bhal pur Sānkri-Des Bhala pur Door" (Maaden-ul-Maani), ' Khanda Hai Par Phanda Kahan" (Maadan-ul-Asar etc.).

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North Bihar and (9) Gaudiyas or Bengalees. The amount of the tax which each one of the groups had to pay is as follows:—

Karnātakas	...	...	30 Gadyānas.
Gujars	...	...	6 Gadyānas.
Telugus	...	...	32 Gadyānas 5 ponnus.
Tulu-Maleyālas		...	32 Gadyānas 5 ponnus.
Ariyas	...	...	8 Gadyānas.
Tirabuttis	...	...	15 Gadyānas.
Gaudiyas	...	...	15 Gadyānas.

As regards the tax which the pilgrims had to pay, it appears that it was to be paid every year. Hence it could not be the pilgrim tax. "The jiziya was a regular annual tax, whereas the pilgrimage tax was an occasional one."[1] If it was the jiziya tax, we find it here levied on the Brahmins, because the village that is granted to them is called an agrahara and an agrahara village means a village granted to Brahmins.[2] If this tax which was paid by the Brahmins in 1279 A.D. is the jiziya, then the prevalent opinion that the jiziya was first levied on the Brahmins by Firuz Shah in the 14th century, needs to be modified.[3] It may be that the Brahmins were paying the jiziya in the time of Balban and sometime later they may have been exempted till the time of Firuz Shah.

Some comment on the different linguistic or regional groups of India mentioned in the inscription is necessary. Tulu-Maleyālas are coupled here, whereas at the present time the Tulu speaking people go with the Kannada speaking people. It is very likely that the present association of the Tulus with the Kannada speaking people began with the Vijayanagara rule in their country. Then the name in the inscription for the people of Maharashtra is Ariya. This term is still in use in this sense, and the Marathi language is known in Karnataka as the language of the Aryas. In South Gujarat we find the Lātas and in North Gujarat and probably Rajasthan Gujaras.

It is also worthy of note that the king of one province makes a grant not only to men of his own province residing in Banares, but also to men of the neighbouring as well as distant provinces. This throws welcome light on the feeling of unity in the country. There appears to have been a colony of all the pilgrims in Banares, the Karnātaka members of which persuaded their king to help all the members. We must remember that the successors of Narasimha III distinguished themselves by waging a relentless war against the Muslims when they invaded South India and their example inspired the founders of the Vijayanagara empire. Thus the inscription throws additional light on the patriotism of the Hoysala monarchs.

1. Sri Ram Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Moghuls*, p. 2.
2. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-Sastra*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 869. "The word *agrahara* has been applied to the grant of lands or villages to Brahmanas from very ancient times."
3. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 94. "The Sultans of Delhi assessed this tax (*jiziya*) in their own money . . . . The Brahmins, as monks and priests were exempted . . . . Firuz Shah after consulting the Ulema levied the tax from them as well."

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Incidentally we also get the real implication of a grant of village made by ancient Indian kings. In one place in this inscription it says that the revenues from the village are granted and in another place it states that the king granted the village. The meaning is, that at the time of the date of the inscription, the grant of a village was only equivalent to the grant of the revenues of the village only, and nothing else.

SIṄGHAṆA II THE YĀDAVA KING OF DĒVAGIRI

(1210 TO 1247 A.D.)

K. RAGHAVACHARI

Of the mediaeval Hindu Dynasties of the Deccan the Yādavas of Dēvagiri were one of the most illustrious. During the reign of Siṅghaṇa, the son and successor of Jaitugi of the Dynasty, the Yādava kingdom extended over the whole of western Deccan, Mahārāstra, Northern Kōnkaṅ, Bījāpūr, Dhārwar, Belgāum, Bellāry and some territories in the south-western Telugu country.[1] From his various warlike activities one may say that he was the ablest king that ever ruled over the Yādava territory. As many as one hundred and forty inscriptions of Siṅghaṇa have been secured so far. From the available information, Siṅghaṇa seems to have waged wars with several rulers and annexed some of their territories. From the evidence of Sōrab[2] and Tēlowlee[3] inscriptions, Siṅghaṇa seems to have waged wars with several kings. They describe Siṅghaṇa "as a moon to the Lotus Bhōja, an axe to the forest of Arjuna, a furious storm blast to the feeble crowd of the Gūrjaras, a thunderbolt on the mountain, Magadha, a Rāma to that Pulaśtya, the Cōla, a Śiva to the poison, the Gauḍa, a bestower of new widowhood on the dames of the Lord of the horses, a . . . rivers raging flood in dashing upon the massive bank, Ballāla, the conqueror of Vihānsa Rāja". He is also said to have reduced the kings of Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Nēpāla, Chēra, Lāṭā, Pallava, Vēngi and Siṇḍhu.

A record of Siṅghaṇa from Kumathi,[4] Bijāpūr district gives Śaka 1121 as his 2nd regnal year and so according to it, he came to the throne in Śaka 1120 or 1198 A.D. Another set of epigraphical records state that Siṅghaṇa came to the throne in Śaka 1131 or 1209-1210 A.D. and ruled till 1246 A.D. The inscriptions of his successor, Kṛiṣṇa state that the latter

1. *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1927-28, App. E, No. 264 ; *E.C.*, Vol. V ; *A.K.*, 137 ; *E.C.*, 7 ; *S.K.*, 95 ; *I.A.*, Vol. 2, p. 297 ; *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1928-29, Nos. 50, 51, 53, 55, 63, 1929-30 Appendix E, No. 62 ; *E.C.*, Vol. 8 ; *S.B.*, 135, 439, 478 ; *H.I.S.I.* p. 133 ; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. 15, pp. 387 and 389, Graham's *Kōlhāpur*, 397, (i.e.) the Yādava Kingdom extended on the Eastern side to the Kākātīya territory, on the south to the Hōysāla (bound up to the Tuṇgabadra), on the west by the Arabian Sea and on the North by the Mālava and Gujarāt.

2. *E.C.*, Vol. 8 ; *S.B.*, 135(3).

3. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. 9, p. 326 (Ins. No. 33).

4. *S.I.E.*, 1933-34, *B.K.*, No. 131.

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ascended the throne in the year Parābhava Mārgasira Sudha Dasami, Sunday corresponding to Monday, 19th November 1246 A.D. There is the evidence of Sōmēśwara's *Kīrtikaumadi*[5] from which we learn that Siṅghaṇa had already unsuccessfully assailed Vīradhavala in 1246-1247 A.D. From the Kadakōl[6] inscription, it is clear that the last date of Siṅghaṇa cannot be later than 1247 A.D. But from Sōrab we have another inscription which bears Śaka 1172 or A.D. 1149 ; if we base our calculations on the Śaka years, the reign of Siṅghaṇa will have to be extended to 1250 A.D. (i.e.) also to the reign of his grandson. Further, Siṅghaṇa II had a son called Jaitugi II. The death of Jaitugi must have taken place somewhere in 1246 A.D. Siṅghaṇa must have placed his grandson on the throne in 19th November 1246 A.D. and lived till 1249-50 A.D. There are a dozen inscriptions ranging between 1207 to 1239 A.D. that indicate Siṅghaṇa's accession must have taken place sometime between 26th April 1199 A.D. and 26th February 1200 A.D. The inscription from Sarur[7] belongs to the above group. It gives the date, 27th Monday, June 1211 A.D., 11th year. One inscription from Mallur[8] gives a date between 1206-1207 A.D. Dr. Fleet gives a date between 1208 and 1209 A.D. There are five inscriptions to support his view. Dr. Bhandarkar assigns a date to Siṅghaṇa's accession in the 8th month between 11th July 1210 A.D. and 4th March 1211 A.D. which is more probable than the date suggested by Dr. Fleet.

It is a clear fact that we find two different methods of reckoning regnal years of Siṅghaṇa. Throughout his period these two methods have been followed. It will appeal to the readers' mind as to why there are given two dates for a king's accession. Firstly, there must be some rivalry between the ruling king and the crown prince. Secondly, the ruling king (i.e.) *Jaitugi* must have grown old and transferred the administration into the hands of his son, who had been a Yuvarāja and thirdly there must be a strong party who must be opposing the old king. Further, there are only a few inscriptions of Jaitugi from which no definite conclusion can be drawn and one cannot say whether Jaitugi was alive in the 13th century. From the contemporary accounts, we have got a minute date regarding the existence of Jaitugi. According to Hēmādri[10] "Jaitrapāla performed a human sacrifice by.....a victim in the shape of Rudra, Lord of the Telugus". The Paithān grant[11] of Rāmachandra states that Jaitugi out of compassion released Ganapati from prison and made him Lord of the country. This brings us to the conclusion that Ganapati was kept in prison by the Yādavas between 1198 to 1209 A.D. He was later liberated and restored to his kingdom after that date. One of the Tripurāntakam inscriptions[12] of Ganapati dated Śaka 1182

5. *Kīrthikaumadi*, Swarga, No. 4.
6. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 12, p. 100, No. 1 (Ins.).
7. *S.I.E.*, 1933-34, B.K. No. 181.
8. *Kīrtikaumadi*, Swarga 4.
9. *I.A.*, Vol. 12, page 100, No. 1 (Inscription).
10. App. C1, Stanza 41, Bhandārkar, Vol. 3, *Govt. O. Series, Class C*, No. 6, page 149, Footnote 3.
11. Paithān plates of Rāmachandra, 1193 Saka, *I.A.*, Vol. 14, p. 316.
12. Tripurāntakam Ins. of Ganapati, *S.I.E.*, 1905, No. 196.

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belongs to the 62 year of his reign. This shows that Ganapati came to the throne in 1198-99 A.D. No doubt Siṅghaṇa must have acted as Yuvarāja in the life time of his father from 1197-98 to 1209-10 A.D. and from 1209-10 A.D. onwards the real reign of Siṅghaṇa must have begun. More over on the part of Jaitugi there was the absence of activity in the 13th century and in the light of such an evidence, even if Jaitrapāla was alive, he did not take part in the administration of the kingdom, but left it into the hands of his son, Siṅghaṇa. It is indeed probable that Jaitugi made such a kind of arrangement till the close of the first decade of the 13th century and Siṅghaṇa must have acted as a Yuvarāja with equal powers with his father. And after the death of Jaitugi, Siṅghaṇa assumed full regal powers and became the unquestioned monarch. There was thus the practice of joint kingship in those days and during the days of his successor, Kṛṣṇa, his brother, Mahādēva was practically a joint ruler and was called heir-apparent or Yuvarāja. From this, it is all probable that Siṅghaṇa was associated with administration as a joint ruler till the first decade of the 13th century and became the virtual ruler after 1209-10 A.D. We have also to account for the absence of activity on the part of Siṅghaṇa after 1246-47. Most probably owing to the death of his son, Jaitugi II, Siṅghaṇa must have invested his grandson with regal powers after 1246 A.D.

SINGHANA'S MILITARY ACTIVITIES

An inscription at Tiluvalle,[13] Dhārwar district states that he defeated one Jajjalladēva, conquered Ballāla, the Hoysāla King, subdued Bhōja of Panhāla and humbled the sovereign of Mālava. The Bhōja of Pānhala spoken of above was a prince of Sīlahāra Dynasty and after his defeat, the Kōlhapur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yādavas to their dominions. The Bhōja referred to above can only be Bhōja II since the other Sīlahāra prince of that name was nearly a century earlier than him. An inscription from Sōrab[14] mentions his titles and the kings he defeated. He is compared to a wrestler with the Mālavās, an elephant goad to the Gūrjarās, a plucker of the lotus, the head of the Teluṇga king and also an establisher, a melter of the hill fort of Pannali. The Gādāg[15] inscription and the Paithān grant[16] which speak of him as overthrowing Ballāla, make it clear that Siṅghaṇa succeeded in recovering from him all territories that lay south of the Málprabha and the Kṛṣṇa. His efforts were crowned with still more success in the next two years.

From a close study of the inscriptions of the family we learn that the predecessors and the successors of Siṅghaṇa waged traditional wars with the Mālavās and the Gūrjarās. The last war that was waged by his father was

13. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. 12, page 326
14. *E.C.*, Vol. 18, *S.B.* 135.
15. *I.A.*, Vol. 2, page 296.
16. *I.A.*, Vol. 14, p. 314.

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in 1200 A.D. as may be seen from the inscription at Mongōli.[17] Jaitugi I defeated a leader of the forces of the Mālavās. The Bāhāl inscription[18] of Siṅghaṇa and the Paithān grant[19] of his remote ancestor, Rāmachandra record Siṇghaṇa's victory over one Arjuna who was no other than king Arjunavaraman of Mālavā. The *Hammīramadamardana*[20] relates that one Sṇḍhurāja was killed by Siṅghaṇa. It seems that Siṅghaṇa made another incursive expedition into the latter country to crush the power of the late dynasty during Saṃkha's time. Further it records another additional fact that Siṅghaṇa defeated and killed the Mālavā king's feudatory Chāhamāna Siṇḍhurāja of Lāṭā.

The *Vasanta Vilāsa,*[21] a Sanskrit Mahākāvya of the 13th century contains another historical point that Siṇḍhurāja's son, Saṃkha was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yādava army and subsequently released by Siṅghaṇa. On a later occasion, Saṃkha requested Siṅghaṇa for help and with his army marched against Vīradhavala of Gujarāt,[22] who had forcibly occupied Cāmbay in Lāṭā.[23] Simultaneously with this, the Mālavā King Dēvapāla also invaded Gujarāt apparently to assist his feaudatory chief of Lāṭā in wresting back the lost Cāmbay. As stated in the *Hammīramadamardana,* the Gujarāt king managed to break coalition through the strategic skill of his minister, Vastupāla and turned the events of the war in his favour.[24] This incident is testified to by the Dabhōi inscription which records that Vīradhāvala routed a combined attack of the Lord of Dhāra, the king of the Deccan, who was no other than Siṅghaṇa. The Ambem[25] inscription of Siṅghaṇa, 1240 A.D. state that Khōlēśwara seemed to have defeated the Gūrjars and the Mālavās and the King Abhira. Another Brahmana general by name Rāmadeva seems to have led an expedition against the Gūrjarās and crossed the river, Nârmadā. Rāmdēva was slain in a fight with the Gūrjars. This expedition took place in the year 1262 A.D. It was stated in the inscription, that Rāma was slain in the battle and his sister Lakshmī is recorded to have built a temple called Rāmanārāyana in order to perpetuate Rāmadēva's memory in the Brahmapuri.

It seems that in all probability on this expedition by the Brahmana general Rāmadēva, Visāla, the son of Vīradhāvala, the sovereign of Gujarāt boasted of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of the army of Siṅghaṇa."[26] Visāladēva must have resisted another invasion after sometime. From Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikáumadī,*[27] we learn that Yādava Siṅghaṇa had already unsuccessfully assailed Vīradhāvala in 1247 A.D.—48.[28] From

17. *E.I.,* Vol. 5, page 31.
18. *E.I.,* Vol. 3, pp. 110-114.
19. *I.A.,* Vol. 14, page 316, line 27.
20. *Gaikwad's O.S.,* Vol. 10.
21. *Gaikwad's O.S.,* Vol. 7, Swarga 5, Verses 42.
22. Introduction to *Hamīramadamardana,* page 6 ; *Gaikwad's Series,* Vol. 10.
23. *Vasaṇta vilāsa* introduction, page 9, *Gaikwad's Series,* Vol. 7, page 9.
24. *Hamīrmadamardana,* Introduction, pp. 8-9, *Gaikwad's Series.* No. 10.
25. *A.S.W.I.,* Vol. 3, page 87.
26. *I.A.,* Vol. 6, pages 191 and 212.
27. *Kīrthikaumadi,* Swarga 4.
28. *J.B.B.R.A.S.,* Vol. 12, page 6.

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the above account Vīsāladēva succeeded his father ; he actually obtained possession of the throne in Vikrama 1302 or A.D. 1246. It is also interesting to note that the Sanskrit works like *Hammīramadamardana,* and *Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya,* give us some information about the Yādava invasion of Gujarāt by Siṅghaṇa and how the Gūrjara capital trembled with fear, when the advance of Siṅghaṇa's army was reported. Later Lāvanaprasāda concluded a treaty of alliance with Siṅghaṇa Yadava.[29]

Yadava Kadamba Relations

The Yādava overthrow of Ballāla is evidenced by the Gadāg and Paithān grants and succeeded in recovering from Vīra Ballāla all the territory that lay south of the Mālprabha and the Kṛṣṇā. A record of Siṅghaṇa 1215 A.D. at Belgrāma shows that he conquered all the territories occupied by Ballāla in that neighbourhood of that city.[30] We are also told that this year, he appointed *Mahāpradhāna, Sarvādhikāri, Mahāparamavisvāsin* Māyidēva Paṇḍita as the Governor of Banavāsi and under him a certain Hemmāyanāyaka as *Suṇkhādhikārin* of the Banavāsi province.[31] Another record of 1217 A.D. states that one Dasavaṇṭanāyaka was ruling Banavāsi twelve thousand provinces in peace and a third record[32] of 1222 A.D. states that Mahāpradhānam, Sarvādhikarin, Anēkadēsādhipati, administrator of seventy-two offices, master of whole treasury Vankuvarāvuta was ruling Banavāsi, twelve thousand, Huligēri, three hundred and Balvāla, three hundred. Though the Yādavas had appointed their own Governors for collecting imperial dues from the Kadāmbās, the Kadāmbā inscriptions do not refer to any of their overlords. A Vīragāl[33] of the time of Siṅghaṇa 1231 A.D. stated some kind of war with the Kadāmbās. One Bommisetti, we are told that he has been holding the post of Superintendent over Banavāsis deśa in 1232 A.D.[34] In an inscription in a temple at Yārgal, Bījapūr district, where Siṅghaṇa is being called Kadāmbāri, i.e. the enemy of the Kadāmbās. Evidently a Vīragāl of 1239 A.D. seems to allude to Yādava Kadāmbā war when it records that "Siṁhaṇadēva's nāyakās came with 30000 horse and captured the hill quarters of Gūtty, burnt the nad and marched along with their booty openly displayed."[35] Since it was not possible for the Kadāmbās to resist for a long time the powerful Yādavās, they submitted to them in 1239 A.D. and ever since the Kadāmbā Mallidēva described himself as Mahāmaṇḍalēśwara.[36] From that date onwards, the Kadāmbā kings assumed the feudatory titles.

29. *Lēkah Panchasikha*: R. G. Bhandārkar, *Govt. Series (Oriental) Class C,* No. 6, p. 153.
30. *E.C.* 7 ; *S.K.* 95.
31. *E.C.* 7 ; *S.K.* 95, 1215-A.D.
32. *E.I.*, Vol. 19, page 194.
33. *E.C.* 7, H.L. 93.
34. *S.I.E.* 1937, *B.K.* 85.
35. *E.C.* 8 ; *S.B.* 319.
36. *E.C.* 8 ; *S.B.* 319.

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Literature

Śārṅgadhara wrote *Saṅgītaratnākara*. There is a commentary on this work to a king of the name of Siṅgha, who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Āndhra circle. This Siṅgha appears to have likelihood to be Siṅghaṇa.

Chāṇgadēva, the grandson of Bhāskarāchārya and the son of Lakshmīdhara was chief astrologer of Siṅghaṇa. Chāngadēva founded a maṭha or college for the study of his grandfather's *Siddhānta Śirōmani* and other works at Pāṭṇa in the Chālisgaon division of the Kāndēśh district and Anantadēva, another grandson of Bhāskarāchārya's brother, Śrīpathi built temple at a village in the same division and dedicated it to Goddess "Bhavānī" on the 1st of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1144 expired.[37]

37. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. 1, N. Series, page 415, App. B.

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SECTION IV

LATER MEDIEVAL PERIOD

1526—1764 A. D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My grateful thanks are due to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me by asking me to preside over the Mughal History Section of the Congress which is holding its session at Gwalior. The royal palaces of this historic city had in 1526 moved Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India and a great connoisseur of the art, to whose fine critical taste the architecture of the Sultans of Delhi had failed to make any appeal. Gwalior's medieval architecture furnished Akbar, according to the modern art critic Percy Brown, with a concrete model, when that great emperor was about to lay the foundation of the fort at Agra. It was from this city as his capital that the renowned Maratha soldier and statesman, Mahadji Sindhia, exercised sway over most of the parts of northern India including Delhi for several years in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In the present set up too Gwalior has played no mean part. The Maharaja Sindhia, now Raj-Pramukh of Madhya-Bharat, was one of the first Indian princes to welcome the idea of the integration of the country and to help the consummation of that ideal. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that this historic city should have been chosen to be the venue of the fifteenth session of the Indian History Congress.

Ladies and gentlemen, my learned predecessors have in their masterly addresses reviewed our achievements in the field of the history of the Mughal period and indicated the gaps that remain to be filled, leaving hardly any thing new for me to say. I am further embarrassed by the arbitrary division of our medieval history into two sections—the period of the Sultanate of Delhi and the Mughal period. The country was faced with the self-same problems during both these periods, and a broad survey of the Mughal age cannot on that account ignore its earlier counter-part except at the risk of portraying an incomplete picture. However, for the purpose of this address I will confine my attention to the history of the Mughal period (1526-1765). No period of Indian history has attracted greater attention of our scholars and publicists than that of the great Mughals, and the reasons are clear. Besides the presence in our midst of splendid architectural monuments that serve to keep the memory of the grandeur of the Mughals alive, it is nearer to us in point of time than the ancient Hindu age, and honest research until recently was impossible in the modern or British period of our history. Moreover, all communities in our population are equally interested in the fortunes of the Mughals whose luxurious harem life and spectacular activities even now arouse our curiosity ; and barring the modern age none can challenge it in the copiousness of material for its study, written and unwritten, published and unpublished.

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We have during the last fifty years an impressive record of published research work which can well compare with that of any advanced country in the world. And what is more ; we are proud to have amongst us a devoted votary of this period in Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen of Indian historians, and one of the top-most researchers in the world. He will be a bold man in this learned audience who would aspire to rival Sir Jadunath's scholarly achievements in quality or quantity, or to claim to inspire as many research workers in all parts of the vast sub-continent as he has done by his life and work for about half a century. We have these and many other things to our credit. But it is an insult to Indian scholarship that there should be no work on Babur and Akbar, two outstanding rulers of the Mughal dynasty, from the pen of an historian of the soil, that William Irwine's work on the army of the Mughals, though out-of-date for many years on account of the recent discovery of several documents of value, should even now remain the standard book of the subject, and that no Indian researcher should have added anything substantial to Moreland's *Agrarian System in Moslem India ; India at the death of Akbar,* and *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb.* It is not disparaging the scholarship of these British historians to say that at times they could not rise above the prejudices of their race and position. Who else but an interested foreigner would stigmatize the alliance between Rana Sunga and Hasan Mawati against the invader Babur on the eve of the famous battle of Khanua in 1527 "as an unholy alliance", as Rushbrook-Williams has perversely done, insinuating significantly that a natural alliance should have been between an Indian Muslim and a Muslim foreign invader, because both professed the same religion. The sympathy of this ex-professor of an Indian University for the invader Babur is manifest throughout his book, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century,* as against those who valiantly defended their homes and hearths against the former's unprovoked aggression. Babur says in his autobiography that he defeated Ibrahim Lodi with 12,000 men ; but the learned British professor says, "No, that could not be ; he must have had only 8,000 troops on the field of Panipat." Enamoured of his hero, Rushbrook-Williams fails to see that Babur was not a heaven-born military leader like Changiz Khan or Timur and had "gradually become a first rate general through a career of military defeats, adventurous wanderings and contact with diverse warlike races". Indebted though we are to the late Vincent A. Smith for his scholarly contributions to our history, his *Akbar the Great Mogul* is by no means a comprehensive or final study of the various phases of the life and work of that great Indian monarch. He has not done justice to the idealism that inspired Akbar's endeavour for a cultural and religious synthesis of the principal communities in the country's population and dubbed *'Din-i-Illahi,'* as a monument of his folly and Fatehpur Sikri as a freak of his irresponsible despotism and vanity. Smith has been uncritical in charging Akbar with persecuting Islam. The burden of Moreland's thesis is that the Indian peasantry and working class people were better off under the British rule than they had been under the Mughals.

Since we attained freedom a little over five years ago interest in medieval

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Indian History has ben waning and zeal for research is receiving a set-back. It is not unnatural for a people claiming to belong to one of the most ancient and highly developed civilisations in the world to turn to their past for a correct understanding of their ancestors' achievement in various spheres of activity and to derive inspiration and strength from it. But we must not forget that the Medieval Indian History, embracing the Sultanate and the Mughal periods, is also our own history though it may be that of our adversity, and it has an equally useful lesson for us. Most of our socio-economic and communal problems that have baffled solution till today had their origin in that period, and for their correct and honourable solution we must turn to the authentic records of that age. Another mistake, which is equally fatal to historical research in medieval period is the callous neglect of the study of Persian, the teaching of which has been stopped in most of our schools and colleges. Its position is precarious in the universities, and the day is not far off when these too shall have to close down Persian classes as their feeders, the higher secondary schools, have already done. The programme of the publication of Persian manuscripts in the original form in the famous Bibliotheca Indica Series of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was slowed down many years ago, and it is now practically abandoned. Teachers and scholars well-equipped with a good knowledge of Persian are becoming rare even in our universities, and the number and standard of the papers contributed to our section of the Indian History Congress is diminished from year to year. For want of adequate linguistic equipment teachers and research scholars are producing research that falls short of the highest standard and does not compare favourably with the research production of the universities in the West. Neither our universities nor even our research directors or guides insist on a knowledge of Persian in their pupils before admitting them to a course of research on the Mughal period of our history. In many cases the universities have awarded their highest degrees on thesises based merely on English translations of just a few Persian chronicles. Hardly do we seem to realise that translations, however faithful, can never be equal to the original. The unfortunate results of the ignorance of Persian in an editor of Persian documents are exemplified in a recent publication of the Bombay Government, entitled *News Letters of the Mughal Court* (*1751-1752*). Curiously enough, scholars with a knowledge of Persian have scorned to learn Marathi and make use of valuable contemporary material embodied in over three hundred works published in that language. It is sometimes assumed that a student of Mughal history is well equipped, if he knows Persian. The fact, however, is that for honest research in the 17th century a good knowledge of Marathi is equally necessary and for that in the 18th century it is more important than that of Persian, for whereas the latter provides us with chronicles of a general nature, Marathi has copious and precise material in letters, despatches, diaries and other papers recorded from day to day by a host of Marathi envoys, agents, diplomats and other revealing to us the hopes and fears, plans and programmes, moves and counter-moves, of the actual participators in the happenings of that period. Not many years ago a scholar

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at a great seat of learning was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on a thesis on Najib-ud-daulah without having made use of the storehouse of material in Marathi. And Najib-ud-daulah had to reckon with the Marathas all through his political career. Another promising scholar of the same university who is working on Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748), seemed disinclined to accept my advice to learn Marathi and Rajasthani so as to be able to tap all available original sources in these languages. I am afraid thesises like these would probably never be put in print, and if published, would fail to win the approbation of scholars. In free India we should not give up the traditions we have built up of tapping all sources of information in Persian, Marathi, Rajasthani, and other Modern Indian languages, besides English, French, Portuguese and Dutch in our research in the Mughal Period of Indian History.

I would invite the attention of the members of the Congress to the necessity of co-ordinating research in our universities and other seats of learning so as to avoid unnecessary duplication and overlapping. Evidently little notice is taken of the periodical reports that the Inter-Universities Board has been bringing out for some time past on the subjects on which research is being pursued in the universities, for otherwise two students in two different universities—Sri Lakshmi Behari Lal Varma of Allahabad and Malik Zahir-ud-din of Aligarh—would not have been working on the same subject, namely, Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) and for the same degree. A research scholar of the Agra University—Sri S. A. A. Rizvi—was in 1949 admitted to the Ph.D. degree for his thesis entitled *Abul Fazl and his times,* and yet another youngman (Krishna Behari Saxena) at Allahabad is now worikng on practically the same topic—*Abul Fazl as an historian.* My late teacher Dr. S. K. Banerji of Lucknow University published two volumes on Humayun Padshah, and when his first volume was in the press, the University of Allahabad allowed one of its students (the late Dr. R. S. Avasthi) to write a thesis on the same subject. I have picked up these cases at random. There may be many other instances of duplication, which could have been avoided by wise planning and co-ordination. Let it not be presumed that I seek to establish that there is no room for more than one work on a given topic and that a subject should not be thrashed out from different angles of vision. In fact, the contrary should be true in many cases, and we must have more than one standard book on every reign or epoch. But first things must come first. The immediate need is to have a series of monographs on the entire range of our history, and then only should we think of duplicates or triplicates from various points of view. Our universities can divide the work among themselves.

The most serious problem, however, with which we are faced today is the historian's recent tendency to play the role of the politician, and his desire to prefer expediency to truth. During British domination Rana Pratap was to us a fighter in the cause of India's liberty against Mughal imperialism ; today he is represented to have been an impediment in the political and cultural unity that Akbar was endeavouring to attain for the whole of India.

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We were often told by serious scholars that there were no communal riots during the Muslim period, and an historian of note propounded a few years ago a theory that throughout Indian history a number of culture-groups contended for supremacy and sought to attain an all India position, and that the advent of Musalmans only added one more culture-group, but otherwise made no material difference in the situation. Even if this ingenious interpretation of our history may be taken as correct, it will be contrary to a vast mass of contemporary evidence to think that the advent of this new foreign group which sought to impose a foreign culture and way of life on other groups which were indigenous and opposed to foreign domination, political and cultural, amounted to less than a revolution, political, social and cultural. It is often argued that the religious persecution of the Hindus need not be taken seriously for that was an age of persecution in Europe also. It is conveniently forgotten that as far as India was concerned, religious persecution of the medieval brand was a new and abnormal phenomenon. Before the advent of Islam there had never been in this country religious wars, desecration and destruction of religious shrines or imposing of any kind of serious disability on a community or group on account of their religious beliefs and practices. Since the late Shafaat Ahmed Khan expressed the view in 1922 that "the Mughal Government was a national government solely because it summed up the hopes, the beliefs and the ideals of our race" (Foreword to Dr. Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, page ix), it has been the fashion to describe the Mughal period as an age of Indian nationalism and renaissance. Aurangzeb is said to have laboured all his life in the interest of the political unification of India, because he spent twenty-five years in his war with the Marathas and the Muslim States in the Dakhin. A correct appreciation of these and many other controversies can be had only on the basis of a dispassionate study of the contemporary sources in different languages and only if they are not divorced from the basic fact, namely, that the Mughals were originally foreign invaders whose ambition was not only to conquer the country but also to convert its inhabitants to their religion, for besides it being a duty as enjoined by their scripture and the example left behind by the early Muslim rulers in India and abroad, it was for them a political necessity. Indian Muslims were naturally more sympathetic to and co-operative with them than the Hindus and therefore the larger the number of Indian Muslims, the greater the popular support to the Mughal government. That the conversionists were, generally speaking, not willing is clear from recorded evidence as well as from the attachment of the Hindus to their religion which they would not abandon except when it was impossible to avoid it. If in 1947 cent per cent of them would sacrifice their homes, hearths and all their wordly possessions in the two wings of Pakistan rather than embrace Islam, one could easily imagine their reluctance in the more conservative medieval age. It was to convert the Hindu opposition caused by this policy into co-operation that Akbar wisely proclaimed religious toleration which, however, was stoutly opposed by the Muslim ulema, omarah and the masses. One has only to turn to the pages of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi's letters published in three volumes under the

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title of *Maktubat-i-Imam-i-Rabbani* (N. K. Press, Kanpur, 1906) to form an idea of the intensity of Muslim feelings against Akbar's policy of religious toleration. Although in course of time the Mughals became Indianised in their blood and appearance, they could not shed their foreign characteristics and ways of life, and the more the Hindu blood in their veins the more orthodox Muslims did they become. Instead of priding themselves on being one-half and three-fourths Rajputs, Jahangir and Shah Jahan looked back to Timur and Babur for inspiration. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangir,* English Translation by Rogers & Beveridge, Vol. I). The result was that the conflict between the Indianisation of the Mughals and the reactionary attempt at the restoration of the old Islamic supremacy ended in favour of the latter. I am firmly of the opinion that no useful purpose can be served by falsifying our history. An historian should not owe allegiance to any other deity except that of Truth.

Ladies and gentlemen, in recent years plenty of fresh material of which many volumes of Persian *Akhbarat* deserve special mention, has been made available to scholars by the scholarly interest and vigilance of Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau who has purchased and collected all the copies of this valuable series that have so far been known to exist. These constitute a mine of priceless information about society and economic condition of the people in the eighteenth century. These were not available to the late W. H. Moreland nor to Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerji, and hence their works on the economic life of our people in the Mughal age have to be supplemented and their conclusions to be re-stated in the light of the fresh material embodied in the *Akhbarat.* A systematic study of the Persian *Akhbarat* is likely to take nearly five years, but the trouble is worth taking. Similarly a vast mass of Marathi letters, despatches, diaries and papers of various other denominations, specially those in the *Peshwa Dafter* (45 vols.) and *Sarata Rajas' Diaries* (15 vols), Hingne brothers' despatches from Delhi and many other collections brought to light in recent years, though studied for political history, have not yet been made to yield material for a social and economic history of the 17th and 18th centuries. From the time of Ala-ud-din Khalji's first invasion in 1294 the Dakhin was time and again drained off its hoarded wealth. In the 18th century the tables were turned against the North when 'the river of gold' from here flowed to Poona. The social, economic and cultural effects of this on the two parts of our country have yet to be assessed. For religious and cultural history of the 18th century we have another class of literature in Persian, namely the works of Sufi scholars and thinkers—liberal Hindu and Muslim men of letters—who were driven to literary composition on account of the decline of the Mughal empire and economic decay that followed in the 18th century. Their works have not been studied with the care they deserve. A research scholar of the History Department of Allahabad University is writing a thesis on Sufism. It will be well for him to cover the entire range of Sufi literature which is likely to yield copious material about the social, cultural and religious life of our people. Hindi and Urdu poetry of the period should likewise be tapped for this purpose.

In the present set-up of our academic life when university teachers with

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a knowledge of Persian are fast dying out and Hindi is taking the place of English as the medium of instruction in many of our universities, it has become necessary to provide standard translations of Persian chronicles and other works of historical value in the national language. This is a work of tremendous magnitude which cannot be successfully undertaken by individuals, but has to be entrusted to a syndicate of top-ranking scholars who possess not only a profound knowledge of Persian and Hindi, but also of history and English, and have a reputation for highest integrity and shall not gloss over disagreeable facts or exaggerate the agreeable ones. Let it be clearly realised that this work cannot wait, and the sooner it is taken up in an organised manner, the better it is. Some of our universities have permitted Post-Graduate studies to be conducted through the medium of Hindi, and students have to be provided Hindi translations of the principal Persian authorities recommended in the courses of studies for the M.A. Examination.

A few works of outstanding merit on our period published during the last two or three years deserve notice. Of these Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. IV published in 1950 needs special mention. It is the last volume of the series of the above name and gives a masterly picture of the central regions of Hindustan before the fall of Delhi and Agra into the hands of the British and the passing of the old order and the advent of a new age. The publication in January of this year of the 4th edition of his Mughal Administration, embodying two new chapters on the army and city administration, completes a first rate work on the administration of the Mughal emperors. In October 1951 Professor Shri Ram Sharma brought out a valuable work on the *Mughal Government and Administration,* covering almost every governmental activity. Mr. Sukumar Ray's monograph on *Humayun in Persia* and Mr. P. Spear's *Twilight of the Mughals* are publications of value. The second edition of the Second volume of the English translation of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* was ably edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar who omitted many of Jarrett's obsolete notes and elucidations and modernised the rest. This was published in 1948, and was followed by the second edition of the III volume in 1949 on the same lines. Professor Muhammad Habib of Aligarh University has undertaken a tremendous work, namely that of re-editing Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians,* and has already published the second volume of that series. The political letters of Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi (1706-1763), published in the original Persian with their Urdu translation by Mr. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami of Aligarh, constitute a valuable addition to the original Persian literature of our period and throw fresh light on the history of the first half of the 18th century. Shaikh Abdur Rashid deserves credit for publishing a long extract from *Tarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi,* a first rate contemporary Persian chronicle of Sher Shah's reign by Hasan Ali Khan, of which only two chapters are known to exist. This extract has been translated by Professor N. B. Roy of Shanti-Niketan under the title of New light on 'Sher Shah's early career' in the proceedings of the *Journal of Bengal Royal Asiatic Society* (Letters), Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1952. The passage reveals that Sher Shah's character

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in his youth was frivolous and far from satisfactory, and that his alleged piety, goodness and administrative achievements have been unduly exaggerated. Shaikh Abdur Rashid's scholarly translation into English of Nur-ud-din's *Sur-guzashti-Najib-ud-daulah,* published about a month back adds a useful book of its kind to the literature of our period. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's equally good translation of this work was published several years ago in a Historical Journal: the value of Shaikh Abdur Rashid's work lies in its being published as a separate book.

Notable among the unpublished thesises on our period are: *'Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, 1526-1707'* and *'Some Aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal Age,* by two of my research pupils, Dr. Gopi Nath Sharma and Dr. Pran Nath Chopra, respectively, *'Abul Fazl and His Times'* by Dr. S. A. A. Rizxi, *'Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court in the first Decade of the 18th century'* by Dr. Satish Chandra and *'Court-Life of the Mughals, 1525-1775'* by Dr. Muhammad Azhar Ansari.

The prospect of historical research in our period does not seem in the present circumstances to be bright, unless we pool all our strength and resources, and secure the necessary support and patronage of the Government, the universities and other learned bodies. The task is by no means easy; but let us hope we shall succeed.

AKBAR AND THE COUP D'ETAT OF MARCH, 1560

SUKUMAR RAY

Modern historians have under-estimated the part played by Akbar in the dismissal of Bairam Khan. The current belief that in this matter Maham Anaga was the evil genius of the king does not appear to be true—at least her influence has been unduly exaggerated. While it cannot be denied that Maham Anaga and her followers were the main support of Akbar in his plan to drop the pilot, it seems that the decision for dismissal and the plan adopted for it was mainly Akbar's own in which they eagerly participated for they were hostile to the great minister. A perusal of the original authorities reveals the difference of opinion among contemporary historians as regards the comparative share of Akbar and the Maham Anaga junto in the plot for the dismissal of the Khan Khanan. Some historians make Akbar mainly responsible for the plot while others make him ignorant of it before his leaving Agra and shift the responsibility on Maham Anaga, Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, Adham Khan and others.

Abu-l-Fazl regards Akbar as the author of the plot who divulged it to the Maham Anaga group and made them join it:

> 'He (Akbar) . . . . laid his closely-hidden secret before . . Maham Anaga, Adham Khan, M. Sharafu-d-din Husain . . and intimated that he would assume sovereignty, and would inflict suitable punishment on

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Bairam Khan . . . . These considerations were adduced at Biana, whither he had gone for hunting, and the servants of fortune's threshold . . . . . engaged in proper schemes. Maham Anaga communicated this close secret to Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, who was governor of Delhi . . . . On Monday, 20th Jumada-al-akhiri 967/19th March, 1560, he left Agra with an intention which involved in it the administration of the world . . . . Ostensibly he went to hunt at Kul and its vicinity, and so crossed the Jumna.'[1]

From Arif Qandahari also it appears that Akbar decided to separate himself from the Khan Khanan and his group and left Agra for Delhi on the pretext of hunting:

'In the midst of these circumstances that faction i.e. Bairam and his specious associates who were enemies of the State committed certain things which caused the vexation of the luminous mind of His Majesty the emperor Akbar. On account of this the world-adorning judgment which does not turn but on the right road resolved . . . that he should keep aloof from the hypocritical people. And the happy signal from the inspirer who shows the right way required it that he should seek separation from that treacherous ungrateful clique. Therefore the emperor Akbar, the nourisher of his servants, considering it as a grand opportunity, proceeded on horseback in the month of Jumada-al-awwal in the year 967 A.H. along with a few of his intimates from the capital city of Agra towards Delhi on the pretext of hunting.'[2]

Tahir Muhammad also seems to corroborate the same view that Akbar not only knew of the plot but played the main part in it:

'His Majesty became disgusted and on the pretext of excursion and hunting crossed the Jumna with Maham Anaga and several others and reported the true state of affairs to Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan who was a Sayyid of pure descent of Nishapur and governor of Delhi. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan wrote a petition asking him to proceed to Delhi with great speed and His Majesty arrived at Delhi'.[3]

From Amin Ahmad Razi it appears that Akbar was aware of the plot before he left Agra and he had a hand in it:

'On 20th Jumada-al-sani in the year 967 A.H. the emperor, whose mind was alienated from him (Bairam) on account of certain affairs, proceeded towards Delhi on the pretext of hunting. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan kept him within the fort which he strengthened'.[4]

Abdul-Baqi Nahavandi says that the strifemongers influenced Akbar in the alienation from Bairam but Akbar himself decided to dismiss his guardian and acquainted the Maham Anaga group with this intention:

'They (the strifemongers) so engineered affairs that the emperor became suspicious of and displeased with such a guardian and pillar of

1. *Akbar-nama* (Beveridge), vol. II, p. 141.
2. *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, p. 84, Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript of Rampur MS.
3. *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin*, fol. 348a, Buhar Library MS.
4. *Haft Iqlim*, fol. 182a, India Office Library MS.

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State (i.e. Bairam Khan) and revealed certain things to Mirza Sharaf-ud-din Husain, Adham Khan and Maham Atka and his intention to punish the Khan Khanan and his flatterers . . . And this deliberation took place at Biana where he had gone for hunting.'[5]

Mirza Ala-ud-Daula Qazwini also seems to state that Akbar took the initiative in leaving for Delhi and dismissing Bairam.[6]

From Nizam-ud-din Ahmad it appears that Akbar was not aware of the plot and crossed the Jumna with a view to hunting and Bairam Khan remained at Agra to manage affairs of administration. The plot had been made before this by Bairam's enemies, Maham Anaga and Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan who induced the king when he arrived at Sikandra Rao to go to Delhi in order to see his ailing mother who was there. It was then that they revealed the plot to Akbar and influenced him to decide to take the reins of government in his own hands, for they pointed out that as long as Bairam would remain in office, he would have no authority at all. Maham went so far as to ask leave of the king to go to Mecca for fear of Bairam Khan.[7]

The *Tarikh-i-Alfi* on the whole agrees with Nizam-ud-din. The nobles who were displeased with Bairam Khan for his highhandedness—specially Adham Khan—were determined to suppress him. Maham Anaga became anxious for her son lest Bairam should come to know of this and she and everybody (of her group) poisoned the mind of Akbar against Bairam. On 21 Rabi-al-sani Akbar left Bairam in charge of affairs at Arga and reached Sikandrabad. Akbar's mother was then at Delhi and sick. Maham Anaga, taking this as her opportunity, induced Akbar to go to Delhi to see his ailing mother as he had not seen her long. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad, a relation of Maham, advanced to receive Akbar and both of them after Akbar's arrival availed of the opportunity and expressed to Akbar their apprehension of the all-powerful Bairam and their helplessness and pleaded to him that they, i.e. those at Delhi, would be the victims of Bairam's revenge as he would suspect that Akbar had come to Delhi at their advice without consulting the Khan Khanan and their safety lay in retiring to Mecca. Akbar assured them that he would send messenger to Bairam and explain that his arrival at Delhi was at his own desire and thus exonerate them from responsibility. Thus the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* makes Adham Khan and Maham Anaga mainly responsible for the plot and Akbar ignorant and innocent of it.[8]

Badauni agrees with the above view in holding Maham Anaga and Shihab-ud-din Ahmad responsible for the conspiracy against Bairam and Akbar's alienation from him but he states as well that Akbar felt his own impotence on account of Bairam's absolute authority and wanted to set matters right.[9] Hasan ibn Muhammad and Nur-ul-Haqq on the whole corroborate the view

5. *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, vol. I, p. 667, vol. II, p. 40, *A.S.B.* text, Calcutta, 1924, 1925.
6. *Nafais-ul-ul-Maasir*, fol. 46a, British Museum MS. Or. 1761.
7. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 142-44, *A.S.B.* text, Calcutta, 1931.
8. British Museum MS. Or. 465, fol. 600a-b and India Office Library MS. No. 3293, foll. 438b-439a.
9. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. II, p. 36, Lowe, p. 30.

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of Nizam-ud-din and closely follow him.[10] Firishta also, though he differs in minor details, agrees with Nizam-ud-din in making Maham Anaga group responsible for the plot and Akbar unaware of it.[11] Faizi Sirhindi agrees in substance with Nizam-ud-din but from his account it appears that hunting was a mere pretext and was pre-arranged.[12] The Bodleian Library *Ms.* No. 101 completely corroborates, the view of Nizam-ud-din.[13]

In between the version of Abu-l-Fazl and that of Nizam-ud-din lies the version of Ahmad ibn Bahbal who holds Maham Ananga party responsible for the plot but makes Akbar aware of it. According to Ahmad Akbar came to know of the plot and it was made with his consent before he left Agra on the pretext of hunting but the initiative and main part were taken by Maham Anaga and others. Maham Anaga, Adham Khan and Sharaf-ud-din Husain Mirza pleaded to the king that so long as Bairam remained in office, he would have no voice in the affairs of the State and advised him to proceed to Delhi on the pretext of hunting and do the needful in consultation with Shihab-ud-din Ahmad. She herself saw the Khan Khanan and sought his permission on behalf of Akbar for going on hunt to the other side of the Jumna. The Khan Khanan replied that the king should first attend to some important matters which were waiting and then go for hunting. Maham Anaga argued that the king would be displeased and grumble as he found much delight in hunting and somehow secured the reluctant permission of the Khan Khanan.[14]

Thus from a perusal of the original authorities we find that Nizam-ud-din, the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Badauni, Hasan ibn Muhammad, Firishta, Nur-ul-Haqq, Faizi Sirhindi, Bodleian MS. No. 101 and Ahmad ibn Bahbal make the Maham Anaga group responsible for the plot and all of them except the last consider Akbar as ignorant of it before he left Agra. All of them, it should be noted, mainly draw from Nizam-ud-din except Ahmad ibn Bahbal who generally follows Abu-l-Fazl. But against Nizam-ud-din and Ahmad who composed his work in the reign of Jahangir, we have the weighty evidence of Abu-l-Fazl, Arif Qandahari, corroborated by Muhammad Amin, Tahir Muhammad and Abdul-Baqi Nahawandi. Arif Qandahari is the only contemporary authority in the strict sense of the term. He witnessed the fall of Bairam Khan and accompanied him to Gujarat where he was present at the time of his tragic end. None of the other historians mentioned above was contemporary with the events. Neither any other historian had better opportunities to obtain accurate information than Abu-l-Fazl who was a friend of the emperor himself. The view of these two is corroborated by Tahir Muhammad who spent about twenty-five years at the court of Akbar and by Abdul-Baqi Nahawandi who

10. *Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh*, foll. 514b-515a; *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh*, foll. 102b-103a, India Office Library MS. No. 290.

11. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, vol. 1, p. 248, Lucknow text, 1323 A.H. and Bombay text, p. 467. In the English translation by Briggs we find Firishta rather agrees with the view of Abu-l-Fazl that Akbar decided to dismiss his great minister and communicated his decision to Adham Khan and Maham Anaga, vol. 11, p. 198, Calcutta ed.

12. *Akbar-nama*, foll. 13a-b, British Museum MS. Or. 169 and foll. 9b-10a, India Office Library MS. No. 289.

13. fol. 323a-b.

14. *Ma'dan-i-akhbar-i-Ahmadi*, fol. 176a-b, India Office Library MS. No. 121.

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was well-equipped with information about Bairam Khan's family. Abdul-Baqi generally follows Abu-l-Fazl and to some extent Tahir Muhammad as well, but Muhammad Amin's work, which was completed only three years after the compilation of the *Akbar-nama,* has independent value. Mutamid Khan, as usual, completely agrees with Abu-l-Fazl.[15] Khur Shah, the envoy of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who wrote his *Tarikh* in 1563-64 A.D. and who heard the story of Bairam's rebellion from people, writes that Akbar left for hunting with a view to punishing Bairam.[16] Besides, of the historians who support Nizam-ud-din, Badauni adds that Akbar disliked Bairam's dictatorial authority and wanted to put an end to it and Ahmad ibn Bahbal seems to state that the plot was made with his knowledge and consent. In the letter that Akbar wrote from Delhi to Bairam at Agra[17] as well as that he wrote him when he moved towards the Punjab,[18] Akbar refers to the many grievances he had against his guardian. The fact that Akbar took Abu-l Qasim, son of Mirza Kamran, with him, confirms the conclusion that Akbar knew of the plot and apprehended that Bairam might use him as a pretender.

In view of these reasons we accept the version of Arif Qandahari and Abu-l-Fazl and conclude as follows: Akbar, impatient of the tutelage of Bairam Khan, wanted to dismiss him and he took the initiative and in this action which required great firmness and much address he had to take the help of and was helped by the Maham Anaga group which was hostile to the great minister. The dismissal of Bairam Khan was achieved by a coup, planned by Akbar, organized by the Maham Anaga junto and worked by all who were hostile to the Khan Khanan.

DRESS, TOILETS AND ORNAMENTS DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

DR. P. N. CHOPRA

Indian dress is a product of the soil and is eminently suited to the climate and conditions of life in the country. But we have to admit that foreign influence has also played an important part in its evolution. Aesthetic considerations, too, have been responsible for determining our clothing. We have different types of dresses for different seasons of the year, and there are different ways of putting them on, specially for women. The cut or the fashion, once introduced, takes a long time to alter. There is some truth in Orme's observation about us, that "the habit has at this day the same cut which it had a thousand years ago."[1] Our medieval dress impressed foreigners, specially European travellers, who spoke highly of the neat and

15. *Iqbal-nama,* fol. 18b, Buhar Library MS.
16. British Museum MS. Add. 23, 513, fol. 429b.
17. *Tarikh-i-Akbari* by Arif Qandahari, pp. 85-87.
18. *Akbar-nama* (Beveridge), vol. II, pp. 161-66 ; *Iqbal-nama,* fol. 22a-23b.
1. Orme's Fragments, p. 410.

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well-fitted costumes of the Bengalis,[2] the Panjabis[3] and the people of other provinces. The Goanese were said to have excelled all. The rich among them would change their dress every day and sometimes even oftener.[4] Della Valle writes about the Indian dress: "I was so taken with the Indian dress in regard of its cleanliness and easiness and for the goodly show—I caused one to be made for myself complete in every point and carry with me to show it in Italy."[5]

Poor people of different communities dressed very much alike, and so did the rich. The poor contented themselves with a piece of cloth wrapped round their waist, called *dhoti,* which used to be usually five yards long. The rich imitated the *darbari* (court) dress—an inter-mixture of Indo-Persian style—consisting of a long coat and tight trousers of Indian make.[6] The head-dress of the poor was a cap ; that of the rich was a *pagri.* Hindus, irrespective of their position, wore turbans. According to Della Valle, the nobles changed their clothes daily.[7] Muhammadans spent lavishly on dress,[8] particularly on their women,[9] and used silk, brocade, etc., according to their position in life.[10] But the orthodox among them abstained from yellow[11] and silken clothes.[12] The historian Badaoni was enraged to see a mufti dressed in "garment of unmixed silk."[13] Muslim ascetics wore a tall darvesh cap and wooden sandals, and wrapped themselves in a sheet of unsewn cloth.[14] A simple loin cloth was sufficient to cover the body of Hindu Yogi. Muslim scholars or ulemas put on a turban, a *qaba* and a *pyjama.* Bernier thus describes the dress of Kavindracharya, the great Hindu scholar of the time of Shahjahan whom he met in Banaras. "He wore a white silk scarf tied about his waist and hanging half way down the leg, and another tolerably large scarf of red silk which he wears as a cloak on his shoulders."[15] Such must have been the dress of other medieval Hindu scholars, except that the poorer among them must have used cotton instead of silk.

2. Ranking's Historical Research, p. 266.
3. Pyrard, II, p. 137.
4. Pyrard I, p. 376.
5. Della Valle, p. 23.
6. For dresses of nobles refer to various paintings of the period. 'Portrait of Raja Birbal' No. 642, I.A.E. lent by Bharat Kala Bhavan depicts the Raja put on a *jama* having five sides. A painting No. 610, I.A.E. lent by Indian Museum, Calcutta, of Jahangir's period depicts a courtier put on a turban, jama, kamarband, narrow breeches, yellow colour and flowery chapals having no back flaps. Paintings numbered 603, 635, and 643, I.A.E. depict various nobles in their attires. All these nobles put on ornaments as pendants, necklaces, bazubands, etc. They also carry swords and daggers.
7. Della Valle, p. 456.
8. Mandelslo, p. 64.
9. Ovington, p. 320.
10. Mandelslo, p. 63.
11. M.A. Trans., Talab (Urdu), p. 111.
12. Badaoni, II, 306, Tr., II, 316.
13. *Ibid.* Haji Ibrahim of Sarhind was called a wretch by Mir Ali, because the former had issued a *fatwa* legalising the use of garments of red and yellow colour—Badaoni, II, 210. Tr., II, 214.
14. For a contemporary painting of ascetics see an "Assembly of Darveshas" Mughal, second quarter of 17th century lent by Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, No. 616, I.A.E.
15. Bernier (ed. 1891), p. 341.

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Dress of the Royalty

The Mughal kings were very particular about new fashions and variety in dresses. Humayun invented several kinds of new dresses, particularly the one called *Ulbagcha*. It was a waist-coat, open in front and hanging down to the waist over the coat or *qaba*.[16] Akbar, whose aesthetic taste was highly developed, employed skilled tailors to improve the style of the costumes in his wardrobe.[17] Humayun and Akbar generally changed their dresses daily to match with the colour of the planet of the day.[18] Monserrate writes about the dress of Akbar: "His Majesty wore clothes of silk beautifully embroidered in gold. His Majesty's cloak comes down to his hose and his boots cover his ankles completely and (he) wears pearls and gold jewellery."[19] Sir Thomas Roe thus describes the dress of Jahangir: "On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of heron's feathers, not many, but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as long as a walnut, on the other side, a diamond as large, in the middle an emerald like a heart much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies and diamonds drilled. About his neck, he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearls, the largest I ever saw. About his elbows armlets set with diamonds and on his wrist three rows of several sorts, his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without sleeves upon a fine femain as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buskins embroidered with pearls, the toes sharp and turning up."[20] Jahangir reserved for himself a particular dress consisting of *Nadiri,*[21] *Tus shawl, Batugiriban,*[22] *qaba* of Gujarati satin, *chera* and waist belt, woven with silk and inter-woven with gold and silk threads. None was allowed to imitate or put on this dress unless it was specially bestowed upon him by the Emperor.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* describes eleven types of coats. *Takauchiyah* was a coat with round skirt tied on the right side *Peshwaj,* open in front and tied in front ; *Shab-Ajidah* (or the royal stitch coat) with sixty ornamental stitches ; *Gadar,* wider and longer than the *qaba* was used in place of the fur coat, and *Fargi* was worn over the *jama*. *Chakman* and *Fargul* were raincoats, the former was made of broad cloth, woollen stuff or wax-cloth.[23] Shahjahan's dress was practically the same as that of his father with one difference, namely, that it was more gorgeous and gaudy.[24] Aurangzeb made an attempt at simplicity.[25]

16. *Qanoon-i-Humayun,* p. 50.
17. *Ain.,* I (1873), p. 88.
18. Badaoni, II, pp. 260-62, Tr., II, 268.
19. Monserrate, p. 198 ; Della Valle (pp. 456-57) saw the king adorned with many precious jewels.
20. Roe's Embassy (Edition 1926), pp. 283-84. Also see Manrique, II, p. 198.
21. A long coat without sleeves worn over *qaba* and coming down to the thighs.
22. Coat with a folded collar with embroidered sleeves.
23. *Ain.,* I (1873), pp. 88-90.
24. Painting No. 620 of 1650 A.D. in I.A.E. lent by Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay shows clearly the dress usually worn by Shahjahan.
25. 'Alamgir at the siege of Golkunda' lent by the Rampur State Library, painted by Nadir-uz-Zamani, early 18th century shows Aurangzeb dressed in military fashion.

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Dress of the Upper Class

The well-to-do classes spent lavishly on their dresses, and wealthy Muhammadans wore both *shalwars*[26] and breeches[27] or tight trousers. *Shalwars* were of three kinds—single, double and wadded,[28] and breeches, though loose round the waist, were invariably tight from the mid-leg to the ankles and were long enough to be plaited.[29]

The shirt was worn by the upper and middle class people and, according to the customs in the East, it hung over the trousers and like the coat was open from top to bottom.[30] The Bengali shirts were usually long,[31] but Pyrard seemed to exaggerate when he said that these came down to the heels.[32] The people of Goa wore shirts which were also very long.[33] Some wore narrow waist-coats with sleeves up to the elbow.[34] As a protection against cold in winter they wore over their shirts an *'arealuck'* (*Bandhi*) stuffed with cotton. The outer cloth was either checkered or flowered on silk or cotton.[35] A vest called *qaba* was sometimes put on as an upper garment. The rich had it woven with golden threads and other rich stuff and lined with sables.[36]

The *qaba* or coat made of a variety of stuffs was usually long and came down to the ankles.[37] It was fastened by strings. The Hindus tied the strings on the left side, while the Muhammadans tied them on their right side.[38] The rich also carried over their shoulders shawls of very fine woollen fabric of several handsome colours, and some wrapped them like a scarf.[39] It was the fashion to tie one's waist with a scarf which was sometimes made of beautiful and costly multi-coloured stuff.[40] Men carried arms and fashionable people adorned themselves with a *katari* or dagger fitted with golden handles set with precious stones.[41] Hindus used to carry a piece of coloured or white cloth over their shoulders and wore pendants in their ears.[42] Golden

26. *Ain.*, I (1873), p. 90.
27. Mandelslo, p. 64.
28. *Ain.*, I (1873), p. 90.
29. Hamilton, I, p. 163 (New Edition) ; Pyrard, I, p. 372, II, p. 137 ; Della Valle, pp. 410-11. Thevenot, chap. XX, pp. 36-37 ; Ovington, p. 315. Painting No. 550 of 1500 A.D., I.A.E. lent by Sri Ajit Ghose of Calcutta further illustrates the style of breeches adopted in Mughal days.
30. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 36.
31. In recent times the long shirt has been discarded in Bengal and a short one known as 'the *Panjabi*' has been universally adopted.
32. Pyrard, I, p. 332.
33. Varthema, p. 46.
34. Mandelslo, p. 51.
35. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 36.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
37. Della Valle, p. 410. His description though detailed, is confusing. Pyrard (I, p. 332) and Thevenot compare it to frock and gown respectively. *Travels in India in the 17th century* (Trubner, London 1873), Mandelslo, p. 51 ; Hamilton (New Edition), I, p. 164 ; Ovington, p. 315. Storia, III, p. 39 ; Stavorinus, II, pp. 414-15.
38. Hamilton (New Edition), I, p. 174 ; According to Lisnchoten, I, p. 247 it was considered dignified to tie only the first and the last of the ribbons of the *qaba* while the others were left hanging. Stavorinus, I, pp. 414-15.
39. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
40. Pyrard, I, p. 372. Della Valle (pp. 410-12) rightly calls it *Kamarband*. Manrique, II, pp. 223-24. Hindus preferred *Kamarband* of white muslin (Storia, III, p. 39).
41. Mandelslo, p. 63 ; Stavorinus, I, p. 457.
42. Pyrard, I, p. 372.

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bracelets were worn by the rich around their wrists.[43] The children generally up to the age of four or five years went naked,[44] but they tied round their waist a silver or gold chain and on their legs wore little bells of precious metal.[45]

Dress of Common People

Workmen, artisans, tillers of the soil and other labourers contented themselves with a cotton *langota*[46] tied round the waist and reaching down to their knees.[47] Babar writes in his memoirs: "The Hindustanis tie on a thing called *langota*, a decent cloth which hangs two spans below the navel."[48] Abul Fazl remarks: "Men and women (of Bengal) for most part go naked, wearing only a cloth about the loins."[49] Nizamuddin Ahmad saw men and women in the Deccan and Golkunda walking about with a "cloth bound about their middle without any more apparel."[50] European travellers from Caemoes to Manucci confirm this view.[51] What the travellers failed to notice was that during winter the common people, except paupers, put on small quilted coats which lasted for years.[52] As the *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* writes, these were never washed till worn out and torn.[53] In northern India even the poor sometimes put on turbans to protect their head from the heat and the cold. Varthema calls it a red cloth head-wear.[54] In the cold weather quilted caps were common in some parts of northern India, especially in Kashmir, the Panjab and the modern Uttar Pradesh.[55]

Head Dress

Bare-headed persons were little respected in medieval India, and people invariably put on a cap or a turban while stirring out of their houses.[56] It was so with the Muslims as well as the Hindus. The head-dress was not removed in the presence of one's superiors and the traveller De Laet noted

43. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 216.
44. Mandelslo, p. 51 ; Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
45. Storia, III, p. 39.
46. Abul Fazl describes *langota* as a waist cloth which covers only two parts of the body. *Ain.*, III, p. 274. For the dress of a Yogi, refer to Macauliffe, I, p. 162.
47. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 216.
48. *B.N.* (Bev.), p. 519, see painting of a poor *kisan* clad in *langota*. "Harvest scene", early 17th century I.A.E. painting No. 602, lent by Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
49. *Ain.*, II, p. 122.
50. *T.A.*, II, p. 100.
51. Caemoes in Canto VII Est. XXXVII quoted in *"India in Portuguese Literature"*, p. 52 says: "They go unclothed, but a wrap they throw (for decent purposes round their loin and waist). *Early Travels in India*, p. 17 ; Tavernier, II, p. 125 ; Stavorinus, I, p. 414.
52. *Ain.*, II, p. 351 ; *J.U.P. Hist. Soc.*, July 1942, pp. 68-69.
53. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* (Urdu), p. 106.
54. Varthema, p. 45.
55. *J.U.P. Hist. Soc.*, July 1942, pp. 68-69.
56. *Bengal in the 16th Century*, p. 91 ; Petermundy, II, pp. 110-111 ; *J.U.P. Hist. Soc.*, July 1942, pp. 68-69. Mandelslo, p. 53, describes turban as a 'Coissure'. De Laet, pp. 80-81, wrongly calls it a *shash*.

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that when paying respects to elders "they never take this covering off."[57] Turbans worn by Muslims were usually white and round shaped, while those of the Hindus were coloured, straight, high and pointed.[58] There were many styles of tying turbans and these differed from caste to caste and province to province.[59] The rich used the finest possible linen for their turbans, 25 to 30 yards in length hardly weighing more than 4 ounces.[60] Some got their turbans wrought with silk or gold threads,[61] while others had only one end of the turban interwoven and this they displayed in the front or the top of their forehead.[62] *Kulahs* and Kashmiri caps have also been mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.[63] These must have been put on by Muslims of upper India. Sometimes caps had as many as ten sides, like those worn in Gujarat.[64]

Foot Wear

Stockings were not used by any section of the people.[65] Bernier writes: "Heat is so great in Hindustan that no one, not even the king, wears stockings."[66] However, there is a preference to the use of *mozas*.[67] The general style of the shoes was Turkish,[68] viz., pointed in front and open above with low heels to be easily undone when necessary.[70] Stavorinus writes: "They have a kind of shoes which are put on slip-shod and are turned up before just like the Turkish babooches (Babouches)."[71] It was found to be very suitable in the hot climate of the country and could be conveniently taken off when one entered a house. The floors of sitting rooms were carpetted either with costly rugs or cheaper coverings in medieval times,[72] and it was necessary to take off one's shoes before entering. Muhammadans, according to Thevenot[73] and Mandelslo,[74] kept the heels of their shoes invariably low and even folded, so that they could be conveniently put on and off. But

57. De Laet, pp. 80-81.
58. Pyrard, II, p. 137. Several modes of binding turbans in vogue at that time can be seen in a big painting (about 2½ yards in length and one yard in breadth) of the 17th Century 'Abdullah Qutab Shah in procession', I.A.E.
59. Mandelslo, p. 53 ; *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 317.
60. Muslins manufactured in Bengal were so fine that a piece of 20 yards in length and even longer could be enclosed in a common pocket tobacco box (usually eight inches long and 4 inches broad and an inch deep), Stavorinus, I, pp. 413-414. Also see Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
61. Mandelslo, p. 64 ; *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 450 ; Della Valle, pp. 410-12 ; Bernier, p. 240.
62. Varthema, p. 45.
63. *Ain.*, I, pp. 88-89 ; *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S. H. Hodivala, p. 504.
64. *Bengal in the 16th Century*, p. 91. It remained the usual head-dress of Muhammadans round about Murshidabad down to the recent times.
65. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
66. Bernier, p. 240.
67. *M.A.* Trans. (Talab) Urdu, p. 111. Ovington is of the opinion that "the length of their breeches which descend to their heels serve them instead of stockings." Ovington, p. 315.
68. Pyrard, II, p. 137.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Travels in India of Roe and Samuel Purchas*, p. 96.
71. Stavorinus, I, pp. 414-15.
72. De Laet, pp. 80-81.
73. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
74. Mandelslo, p. 51.

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men of business kept the heels of their shoes high to enable them to walk swiftly.[75]

Pyrard, however, saw Brahamans of Calicut put on brown slippers "much pointed in front, the point raised high with knob of the same leather in winter,"[76] and use wooden slippers in summer.[77] A special type of sandal called *'Alparcas'* was another footwear. It consisted of several leather sides and was fitted with a number of fine gilt leather straps knitted together by means of gilded buckles and fastenings.[78] According to Mandelslo, *Alparcas* were wooden shoes "tied up over the instep with straps of leather."[79] The middle class people used red leather shoes[80] worked over with small flowers,[81] while the rich got them embroidered with gold, silver or silk flowers.[82] Some used shoes made of Spanish leather and the wealthier had them of velvet and brocade.[83] Sometimes Morocco or Turkish leather[84] was also used and was bordered with gold if the wearer was rich. The men of quality had their shoes made of velvet[85] of several colours or of brocade covered with gilt leather[86] and sometimes set rubies, jewels and diamonds on the instep of their shoes.[87] Such shoes were used usually in weddings.

Women's Dress

Ladies had not many varieties of dresses.[88] The only apparel of the poor women folk was a piece of cloth wrapped round the middle part of the body[89] and thrown over the head, called *sari* and an *angiya* or a small jacket worn round the chest.[90] Babar describes *sari* as "a cloth, one end of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head."[91] One end of the *sari* usually striped in two colours was drawn to cover the head.[92] Sometimes it was left over the shoulder to enhance beauty.[93] Hindu ladies liked the red colour best and their clothes were usually striped and dyed in that colour.[94] Lower class women in the South did not usually cover their head. Ferishta

75. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37 refers to *banias* in particular.
76. Pyrard, I, p. 376.
77. Mandelslo, p. 51. Wooden shoes (*kharawan*) are particularly used by the *sanyasis* and orthodox members of the priestly classes who have an aversion to animal leather. In villages these are most commonly used.
78. Pyrard, I, p. 376.
79. Mandelslo, p. 74. Linschoten (*Hak. Soc.*, I, p. 257) also refers to 'Alparcas' sandal which was quite popular according to the traveller in the Deccan.
80. Ovington, pp. 314-15.
81. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
82. Ovington, p. 38.
83. Mandelslo, p. 51.
84. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
85. Storia, III, p. 39.
86. Mandelslo, p. 51.
87. Varthema, p. 48.
88. For the dress of Rajput ladies refer to Tod (Crookes), II, pp. 58-59.
89. Tavernier, II, p. 125.
90. *Ain.*, III, pp. 311-12.
91. *B.N.*, p. 519.
92. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37. See a painting of the 17th century depicting a woman wearing a *sari*.
93. Grose, I, p. 143.
94. Storia, II, p. 341.

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writes: "Here in the Deccan and Golcanda men and women do go with a cloth bound about their middle without any more apparel."[95] Some of the poorest Oria women could not even afford to provide a piece of cloth and used the leaves of the trees instead.[96]

The *angiya* or jacket, covering down to the waist, was used by the rich and the poor alike.[97] Stavorinus[98] and Grose[99] have described it as a pair of hollow cups or cases. Stavorinus writes: "They support their breasts and press them upwards by a piece of linen which passes under the arms and is made fast on the back."[100] A smock down to the waist and a piece of cloth wrapped like a petticoat were the indoor dress.

Some of the ladies put on half smocks reaching to the waist and made of the finest cotton or silk through which their skin was quite visible.[101] While going out they would put on a silk or cotton waist-coat over the smocks and tie a *sari* over the petticoat. The *ghagra*[102] too, was popular, especially among Muhammadan women. Manucci writes: "Ordinarily they wear two or three garments, each weighing not more than one ounce and worth from rupees forty to rupees fifty each."[103]

Breeches (trousers) and shirts were common among Muhammadan ladies whose breeches did not differ much from those of men,[104] and were tied at the navel by means of a silver or silken string running through them. Some ladies would allow one end of the string to hang down to their knees.[105] The Muhammadan ladies were distinguished by their *shalwars* and shirts with half-length sleeves, the rest of the arm was adorned with precious ornaments.[106] The breeches or *shalwars* were made of cotton, silk or brocade according to the wearer's position in life[107] and were striped in several colours. The rich women put on *qabas* of fine Kashmir wool[108] which were in some cases "gathered or plaited a pretty above to make their waist seem short."[109] Some of them also used Kashmir shawls of the finest quality that "can be passed through a small finger ring."[110] Some of the royal ladies besides having artistic taste, possessed inventive genius. For example, Nurjahan devised many kinds of dresses, fashions and ornaments. Several varieties of brocades,

95. Ferishta, II, p. 100. Fitch saw women in Tanda, Sonargaon, etc., all naked except a cloth round the waist. Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, pp. 22, 29.
96. *Ain.*, II, p. 126.
97. *Ain.*, III, pp. 311-12.
98. Stavorinus, I, p. 415.
99. Grose, I, pp. 142-43.
100. Stavorinus, I, p. 415.
101. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 384.
102. For a beautiful shirt worn by rich ladies, see Art. No. 704, I.A.E. ; it is embroidered with peacock and floral sprays in yellow field and floral meanders on edges, effective colour scheme, Kutch, end of the 18th century. Painting No. 670, I.A.E., shows a woman in *ghagra*.
103. Storia, II, p. 341.
104. Della Valle, p. 411.
105. Mandelslo, p. 50, remarks that it came down to the feet. It seems exaggerated.
106. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
107. *Ain.*, I, (1879), p. 90.
108. Storia, II, p. 341.
109. Hamilton, I, p. 164.
110. Storia, II, p. 341.

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laces and gowns owe their origin to her and are known as *Nur Mahali, Her Dudami, Panchatolia, Badlah, Kainari* and *Farsh-i-Chandni*[111] Ladies, both Hindus and Muhammadans, covered their heads by a *dopatta*[112] of fine cotton or silk wrought with silver or gold threads,[113] according to their means and both its ends "hung down on both sides as low as knees."[114] Muhammadan ladies whenever they moved out, put on white shrouds or *burqas*.[115] Hindu ladies adorned their hair with flowers and jewels.[116] *Lachaq* was a superior head-dress reserved only for princess and daughters of nobles. It was a square mantle doubled into triangle and fastened at the chin.[117] Some of the princesses put on turbans with the king's permission.[118]

Nobody wore stockings and precious ornaments were put on the legs over the breeches.[119] Poor women moved about bare-footed,[120] but high class ladies put on shoes of various patterns,[121] and artistic slippers covered with silver and golden flowers.[122] Usually they were of red colour and without backs.[123]

Soaps and Dyes

In modern times articles of toilet have multiplied due to western inventions, but the common Indian is content with, rather prefers, his old, and in many cases more effective, make-up products. Thus the poor has not his soap but soap-berry, plant air, bark ash and pulse-flour-powder, and for improving complexion turmeric powder, rice powder, a paste of *kusama* flower, oil cakes, sandal-wood paste, and various other such like products are at his disposal.

India had made sufficient progress so far as this aspect of civilization was concerned. Hair-dye, recipes for the cure of baldness and the removal of hair from the body were known and practised even in ancient times.[124] Soaps, powders and creams had their substitutes in *ghasul*,[125] myrobalans,

111. *History of Jahangir* by Beni Prasad, p. 183 ; K.K., I, p. 269 ; *Ain.*, I (1873), p. 510.
112. *Ain.*, I (1873), p. 90.
113. Mandelslo, p. 64.
114. Della Valle (p. 411) says they were made of white calicoes.
115. Hamilton, I, p. 164 ; De Laet, pp. 80-81 ; Mandelslo, p. 50 ; Tavernier, III, p. 181.
116. Grose, I, p. 143.
117. *Humayun-Nama-Gul*, p. 138.
118. Storia, II, p. 341. Painting No. 650 I.A.E., 18th century shows Rupmati wearing a turban. See another painting of 'Chand Bibi and her maidens' Deccani, early 17th century, No. 659, I.A.E. in which are seen some of these maidens with turbans on.
119. Storia, II, p. 40.
120. *Ibid.*
121. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37.
122. *Travels in India in the 17th century*, p. 384.
123. See I.A.E., Painting No. 519 of 1720 A.D.
124. See *Atha Kesaranjanam Slokas* 3055-3072, Ed. Peterson, vol. I, Bombay 1888. Also see an article on 'Toilet' in *Indian Culture*, 1934-35 for various hair dyes and prescriptions for cure of baldness etc. Also see Amir Khusrau's ridicule of the dyeing of hair, *Matla-ul-Anwar* of Amir Khusrau, Lucknow, 1884.
125. A liquid soap, *Ain.*, I (1873), p. 75.

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opatnah[126] and pounded sandal wood.[127] Soap was known and used in India from ancient times. According to Mr. Watt, "The art of soap-making has been known and practised (in India) from a remote antiquity, the impure article produced being used by washerman and dyers."[128] Even the word Saban or Sabni was known in about Babar's time as a line of Guru Nanak in *Japji Sahib* clearly states:[129]

Perfumes and Oil

Soap is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in the following words (about Bisar): "Lenar[130] is a part of Mekhur[131] division . . . . These mountains produce all the requisites for making glass and soap."[132] Bocarro in his report on Portuguese forts and settlements in India in 1644 also refers to Sabas.[133] Precious scents of divers kinds were in use. Kautilya's *Artha-sastra* gives a long list of fragrant substances for toilet preparations. The *Ain-i-Akbari's* account of scents is no less detailed and their prices ranged from half a Rupee per tola for Zabad to Rupees 55/- per tola for Sandalwood.[134] *Araq-i-Sewti, Araq-i-Chameli, Mosseri,*[135] and *Amber-i-Ashab*[136] were considered best among the different varieties of perfumes. Akbar had created a special perfumery department called *Khushbu Khana*. Shaikh Mansur was put in charge[137] of it. According to Pelsaert: "they studied night and day how to make exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves, such as *Mosseri* or *falroj* containing amber, pearls, gold amboa, opium and other stimulants."[138] Nurjahan's mother prepared a new *itar* from roses and named it *itar-i-Jahangiri*.[139] Jahangir writes: "It is of such a strength in perfume that if

126. It is rubbed over face and other parts of the body to clean and make them look brighter and lovely. Usually its composition is scented oil mixed with butter, flour and some colour.

127. A collection of Voyages undertaken by East India Co., p. 218. *Ain.*, I (1873); pp. 75-76.

128. *The Commercial Production of India,* 1908, p. 819. Dalgado records the names for soap in Asiatic languages including Indian vernaculars and other languages as *Sabun* (Persian), *Sabon* (Arabic), *Sabun* (Turkish), etc. *Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* (G.O. Series, Baroda, 1936), pp. 314-15.

129. *Madhyayugina Charitra Kosa* by Chitrav, p. 483—Nanak.

सूत पलीत कपड़ होये दे सबूनी लय्ये धोये।

130. *Indian Companion* by H. G. Khendekar, Poona, 1894. Loner is in the Buldana District of Berar.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 169. Mekhar is 14 miles from Buldana.

132. *Ain-Gladwin,* I, p. 348.

133. Mss. in India Office No. 197 of B.M. Solan Mss., Bocarro, XIII, p. 588, Marathi poet Mukesvara (1599-1649 A.D.) refers to the word *Saban*—Art. of *Poona Orientalist,* July to October, 1946, Vol. XI, Nos. 3 to 4.

134. *Ain.*, I, (1873), pp. 75-77.

135. A *falroj* containing amber, pearls, gold, opium and other stimulants. Pelsaert's *India;* p. 65.

136. A product of zabad, musk and agar.

137. *T.A.*, II, p. 494.

138. Pelsaert's *India,* p. 65.

139. Tuzuk Rogers 1, p. 271. *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri* mentions that Nurjahan's mother conceived the idea of collecting the oil by heating rose water and the experiment was successful. According to Manucci, Nurjahan got all the reservoirs in the garden filled with rose water. Next day she found a film of oil had come over its top and had a very sweet smell. Storia, I, pp. 163-64.

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a drop of it is rubbed on the palm of the hand it scents the whole assembly. There is no scent of equal excellence."[140] Lahore,[141] Balsar,[142] Cambaya and Banaras[143] were well-known for rare perfumes.

Men's Toilet

Sweet scented oils of various kinds were exported from Bengal and applied to the hair and also rubbed on the body.[144] How much a bath without oil was resented can be judged from the words of Mukundram, a poet of the 16th century, when he arrived at Gokra: "My bath was with oil, water only was my drink and food and my infant child cried for hunger."[145] The poor people used cocoanut oil,[146] and the nobles would anoint their bodies with sandal[417] and other oils extracted from various flowers.[148] In Gujarat, according to Barbosa, they anointed themselves with white sandal-wood paste mixed with saffron and other scents.[149] In hot weather, the rich would add rose water to keep their skin cool.[150] *Santak*[151] and *argajah* were also used for the same purpose. They used a sweet powder like that of sandal wood to get the sweat out of their bodies[152] and head, and "daubed it (head) with oil." Collyrium was used for the eyes.[153] Sur Das laments in one of his verses: "The collyrium does not stay on my eyes, my hands and my cheeks have become dark."[154]

Hair dyes were also freely employed to make one look younger. Muhammadans who usually kept hair on their upper lips would not let them grow grey even when old by "combing it continually with lead black combs."[155]

Betel was made use of both by men and women to dye their lips red and make them look attractive.[156] It rendered the breath agreeable and also strengthened the gums.[157] Tooth gums and tooth picks were also employed for cleansing teeth.[158]

Mirrors were in common use.[159] Combs made of wood, metal or horns

140. R. & B., I, p. 271.
141. Monserrate, p. 160.
142. *Ain.*, II, p. 243.
143. Purchas, II, p. 66 and for Cambaya, *Thevenot* p. 12.
144. *Pyrard*, I, p. 243.
145. *Bengal in the 16th Century*, p. 63.
146. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 447. Storia, II, p. 430.
147. *Ain.*, II, p. 126.
148. *Ain.*, I, p. 75.
149. Barbosa, I, pp. 113, 141.
150. Pelsaert's *India*, p. 65.
151. Product of civet, chuwah, chambeli's essence and rose water.
152. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 447 ; *Ain.*, I, (1873), p. 81.
153. *Ain.*, I, (1873), p. 75.
154. *History of Hindi Literature* by Keay, p. 75.
155. Della Valle, p. 376. He adds: "But they let the hair of their chains grow long and large which make many grey bearded amongst them."
156. *Travels in the 17th Century*, p. 180 ; Careri, pp. 205-06.
157. *Ain.*, I, (1873), p. 72.
158. Badaoni, III, p. 315 ; Tr., III, p. 436.
159. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 447. *Padumavat* translation by Grierson, p. 42. Here the reference is to a mirror in the hand of Nagamati. The price of a looking glass has been mentioned as 5 pounds by Hamilton. Hamilton, I, p. 119. *Tabqat*, II, p. 685 also refers to a mirror made by Mir Fathullah Shirazi.

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of animals were indispensable item of toilet.[159a] Hair was kept in proper trim by a piece of cloth called *rumali*.[160]

People in those days were as anxious to look young, bright and beautiful as in our times. Grose rightly observes: "In short, one must do the Orientalists in general the justice to allow that none are more studious of the cleanliness and suppleness of the body than they are which they not absurdly conceive conduces even to the pleasure of mind."[161] *Samhita*[162] and *Nikayas*,[163] followed by the *Ain*[164] in the Mughal times, give a long list of the rules of the conduct to be observed after leaving the bed early in the morning. It includes tooth brushing, use of eye and mouth washes, bathing and washing, rubbing, kneading and shampooing, anointing the body with perfume, using collyrium for the eye, using mirror, face powders, hair dressing and betel chewing. Early in the morning people used then, as now, a *datan* for cleaning and brushing teeth.[165] Besides making them clean and beautiful, it strengthened the gums and the teeth. Mandelslo writes: "It is ordinary (usual) to see among them men of hundred years yet have not a tooth missing."[166] Other practices were wearing bracelets, carrying walking sticks, swords or gun-like weapons, umbrella, wearing a turban, a diadem, carrying a fan or *chauri*, wearing embroidered and fashionable garments. The *Ain*. adds for men triming of the beard, wearing the *jama* fastened on the left side, tying the mukuta, which is a golden *tiara* work, on the turban, and painting on the forehead the sectarian marks of one's particular caste.[167] Akbar used to spend three *gharis* (a little over one hour) on his body, dress, clothing, toilet, etc.[168]

Bathing was a preliminary requirement both for men and women before starting their daily business. It was a religious duty for Hindus to bathe early in the morning preferably in a river or a tank. Bathing houses did a flourishing business in all the great cities of the Mughal empire. Some eight hundred were to be found in Agra alone.[169]

Bathing arrangements in such places were very elaborate. After a good bath, the customer was rubbed all over with a hair cloth, and the soles of his feet with a piece of porous sand-stone. Then another man would rub the

159A. *Tabqat* II, p. 685.
160. Storia, III, p. 38.
161. Grose, I, pp. 113-14.
162. *Cikitsasthana*, ch. XXIV, Eng. translation by K. L. Visagratna. Article 'Toilet' in *Indian Culture*, pp. 651-66, by G. P. Majumdar.
163. *Khuddaka Patha* with commentary—Smith, P. T. S., 1915, pp. 1-37.
164. *Ain.*, III, pp. 311-12.
165. Careri, p. 168 ; Badaoni, III, p. 300, Tr. III, p. 414. Tavernier's remarks are worth quoting: "It is the custom of Indians to cleanse and scrape their tongues every morning with a crooked juice of a root (*datan*) which causes them to void a great quantity of flegum and rhume and provokes vomiting." Tavernier, chap. VI, p. 44.
166. Mandelslo, p. 85.
167. *Ain.*, III, pp. 311-12.
168. *A.N.*, III, 257, Tr. III, 373.
169. Mandelslo, p. 36. *A New History of East Indies*, I, p. 298. For a public bath scene (*Bihizad*, 1945) see plate XVII in *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*. Warm baths were resorted to by upper classes in northern India. Nicolo Conti in *Travels in India in the 15th Century*, p. 29.

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customer's back[170] from the backbone down to the sides in order to stimulate the blood to flow freely in the veins.[171] In these *hamams*, oils, perfumes,[172] essence of sandals, cloves and oranges were freely applied to the customer.[173] The people kept their feet as clean and soft as their hands. Some of them anointed them with scented oils.[174] These healthy practices are fast dying out in our days.

Barbers kept no shops. They were to be found roaming in streets with a towel on their shoulders and a mirror in their hands.[175] These looking-glasses, according to Della Valle, were made of steel[176] and were round or square in shape.[177] Besides a mirror, barbers were equipped with a razor, a pair of scissors, and a nail cutter with one end of which they used to clear ears of the wax and with the other end to cut the nails.[178] For all this labour they would not demand more than a pice or two.[179]

Hindus and Muhammadans could be distinguished by the difference in their manner of shaving. The former were usually clean shaven.[180] Only a small number of them kept small beards with their hair turned upward. The orthodox Muslims, however, kept long beards which usually reached their chests and were trimmed.[181] Moustaches were kept both by Hindus and Muhammadans.[182] Hindus kept them long, and Muhammadans trimmed them in the centre and in the corners. It was a common custom among Hindus to apply *tilak* to their foreheads—a yellow mark of about a finger's breadth.[183] Caste Hindus put on a sacred thread.[184] The rich among them adorned themselves with pendants and necklaces of gold, set with jewels and pearls.[185]

Women's Toilet

Naturally toilet was regarded as a thing more important for women[186] than

170. "Both Moors and Gentoos are, however, extremely fond of this practice and it is so common that it would be hard to find a barber-native who is not skilled in it as one of the essentials of that profession." Grose, I, pp. 113-14. For a detailed description see *Ibid.*

171. Mandelslo, p. 45.

172. Mukundram mentions *ghani* or the oil pressing machine. *Bengal in the 16th Century*, p. 158.

173. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 450.

174. Della Valle, pp. 376-77.

175. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 450.

176. Della Valle, pp. 376-77.

177. Grose, I, pp. 113-14.

178. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 450.

179. Ovington, p. 321.

180. Barbosa, I, 113.

181. Mandelslo, p. 63; Pyrard, I, p. 280. For the style of *'qalams'* see painting No. 606, Jahangir period, 1625, Treasurywala collection, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 56, kept by C. A. A. Museum. See painting No. 401 of Maharaja Gaj Singh (1700 A.D.).

182. Mandelslo, p. 50.

183. It is made with water and sandalwood to which they add 4 or 5 grams of rice. Mandelslo, p. 51. *Early Travels in India*, p. 96. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 447.

184. *B.N.*, p. 561, f.n.

185. Mandelslo, p. 51.

186. For a photo of woman at her toilet see *Civilisation of India Series*, p. 384; For contemporary paintings of ladies at toilet see "A lady at her toilet with attendant" painting No. 514, I.A.E. (Early 18th century). Another numbered 505 I.A.E. is of late 17th century.

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for men. In *"Padumavat"* of Malik Muhammad Jayasi there is a detailed description of women's toilet. There are bathing, application of sandal, and vermilion on the parting of hair, a spangle on the forehead, collyrium, earrings, nose-studs, betel to redden the lips, necklets, armlets, a girdle and anklets. Then there are sixteen graces, four long, four short, four stout, and four thin.[187] Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* describes 16 items for a woman's tolet which include bathing, anointing, braiding the hair, decking the crown of her head with jewels, sectarian marks of caste after decking with pearls, jewels and gold, tinting with lamp black like collyrium, staining the hands, eating *pan* and decorating herself with various ornaments as nose-rings, necklaces, rings, wearing a belt hung with small bells, garlands of flowers, etc.

Girls up to the age of 12 kept only a small tail of hair and made it into a roll on one side of the head. Young girls made their hair into tresses and bound them with ribbons. "Their hair is always dressed, plaited and perfumed with scented oil", according to Manucci.[188] Hindu ladies usually tied their hair behind their heads.[189] Long hair was considered a mark of beauty.[190] Hindu ladies considered it auspicious to put a vermilion mark and to anoint the parting of their hair.[191] They decked their heads with jewels and flowers. Collyrium was used for the eyes. It was usual for high class ladies to use *missia*[192] for blackening between the teeth and antimony for darkening their eye lashes. Zeb-Un-Nisa who did not use these toilet accessories was considered a surprising exception.[193] They made strings or collars of sweet flowers and wore them about their necks. Indian women frequently used *mehndi* to give red colour to their hands and feet.[194] It served as a nail polish to redden their finger nails. They reddened their lips with the betel leaf which served them as a lip-stick.[195]

Various ornaments, such as, nose-rings, ear-rings, etc., adorned their lovely faces. Beautiful and well-adapted robes made them attractive. Orme with many others corroborates, "Nature seems to have showered beauty on the fairer sex throughout Indostan with a more lavish hand than in most other countries."[196]

187. Canto XXIII of *Padumavat* from A.S.B. 1893. Part I, p. 179. Article by G. A. Grierson on *Padumavat*.

188. Storia, III, p. 40. In most of the paintings of the period the well-to-do women are shown to dress their hair as to let some curled hair hang loose before the ear, cf. Painting No. 633, I.A.E., late 17th century lent by Rampur State Library.

189. *Travels in India in the 17th Century*, p. 182.

190. Mandelslo, p. 50. He praises the Gujarati ladies for their long hair.

191. *Early Travels in India* by Foster, p. 22. *Padumavat* translation by Grierson, p 52, f.n.

192. *Padumavat* translation Grierson, p. 569.

193. *Dastur Ul Amal*, p. 14 in *Diwan of Zeb-Un-Nisa* by Magan Lal, introduction, p. 8.

194. Leaves on a plant pounded and formed into a paste by mixing with water. Storia, II, p. 340.

195. *Majith* is the dark red madder dye, f.n., p. 107, *Padumavat*. Amir Khusrau rebukes the middle aged women who tried hard to retain their diminishing beauty by painting their eye-brows, powdering their faces and putting antimony in their eyes. *Batla-ul-Anwar* of Amir Khusrau, 1884, pp. 186, 194.

196. Orme's Fragments, p. 438 ; Pyrard, I, pp. 380, 332.

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Women's Ornaments

The love of ornaments prompted by vanity is inherent in the human race. A primitive instinct is to make one's person more beautiful and imposing by ornamentation. Jewellery is not worn only for the purpose of attracting attention, but it satisfies the desire not less deep rooted in humanity of establishing a distinctive mark of sex, rank and dignity. In India the use of ornaments has a religious significance both among Hindus and Muslims. It is, for instance, a common belief of the Hindus that at least a speck of gold must be worn upon one's person to ensure ceremonial purity, but for the Muslims these stones and settings have a magico-religious significance.[197] They (Muhammadans) would inscribe on their amulets in Arabic character the names of the Most High as Hindus draw and venerate the Swastika.

Indian woman has always been anxious to adorn, even load herself with a large variety of bulky ornaments.[198] There was no departure from the traditional custom during the Mughal period.[199] All the travellers agree, and this is confirmed by our experience, that ornaments were "the very joy of their hearts."[200] They would deny themselves other necessities but would not forgo ornaments. It would, however, be a surprise to an Indian of the mediaeval age to note that in the 20th century our women have practically given up wearing ornaments, but they are still fond of possessing them. Ornaments had to be totally dispensed with when a woman unfortunately became a widow.[201]

Ladies were accustomed to the use of ornaments from their very childhood. The ears of both sexes and the noses of girls only were pierced at a very tender age. Ornaments of gold, silver or brass according to the means of the parents were thrust through the pierced holes, which grew wider and wider with age.[202] Every child was adorned with a silver or gold chain with bells tied round the waist and anklets round the legs.[203]

Ladies decked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. Abul Fazl enumerates 37 in his list in the *Ain*. Of the 5 ornaments allotted to the head, *Chauk* called *Sisphul* by Abul Fazl was a raised bell-shaped piece of gold or silver, hollow, and embellished from inside with attachments fastened to the hair over the crown of the head.[204]

Mang was worn on the parting of the hair to add to its beauty. Some adorned their heads with bodkins studded with diamonds. *Kotbiladar* was

197. "The primary intention in wearing ornaments is to secure protection against evil eye." Herklot's *Islam in India*, p. 313.

198. For ornaments of women and their photos see Rothfeed's *Women of India*, pp. 189-94. Also see *Indian Jewellery*, by Col. Hendley. A painting of the late 17th century and numbered 633, I.A.E., lent by Rampur State Library shows "A lady seated on a terrace". She is adorned with all possible jewellery. For another see a paitning numbered 510 I.A.E., *'Nayika Subject'*, 1720 A.D. The painting no. 514 I.A.E. may also be mentioned.

199. Ovington, p. 320.

200. *Ibid.*; *First Englishmen in India*, p. 76; Storia, III, p. 40.

201. Storia, III, p. 40.

202. Terry in *Early Travels*, p. 323; Storia, III, p. 40.

203. Samuel Purchas' *India*, p. 76.

204. *Ain.*, III, (J. N. Sarkar), p. 343.

205. *Travels in India in the 17th century*, p. 384.

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perhaps the modern *"Chandraman"* worn on the forehead consisting of fine bands and a long centre drop. According to Manucci, "there hangs down from the middle of their head in the centre of their forehead a bunch of pearls or precious ornaments of the shape of star, sun or moon or flower[206] beset with glittering jewels."[207] On the right side of the star they wore a little round ornament set with a ruby with two pearls on their side. *Sekra,* or *Shikhara,* mainly used in the marriage ceremony and on other special occasions, consisted of seven or more strings of pearls linked to studs and hung from the forehead in such a manner as to conceal the face.[208] *Binduli* was another ornament meant for the forehead. Pendants were often worn in the ears. Usually made of gold, silver or copper, they hung down from the ears almost touching the shoulders.[209] *Karnphul* (shaped like the flower Magrela), *Pipal-Patti* (crescent shaped), *Mor Bhanwar* (shaped like a peacock), *Bali* or *Vali* (a circlet) were the different forms of the earings. Usually one big and several smaller rings were worn on each ear.[210] *Champakali* usually adorned the shell of the ear.

Nose ornaments were unknown in India upto the early mediaeval period.[211] It seems quite certain that this fashion was brought into India by the Muhammadan invaders from the north-west. Even after its introduction, nose ornaments were neither in general use in the country nor in the Imperial harems, as is clear from the Persian miniature paintings.[212]

However, it soon became the fashion to put on gold rings ornamented with gems, called *Nath,*[213] and *Besar.* The former, worn in the nostril, had a ruby between two jewels ; *Besar* was a broad piece of gold with a jewel attached to its upper end and at the other end was a gold wire clasped on to the pearl and suspended from the nose. The more fashionable used a gold or silver nose pin,[214] of the shape of *laung* or a flower-bud—a small stud of single diamond or ruby fixed at the corner of the left nostril[215]—which enhanced the beauty of the face.

Around the neck were worn necklaces of gold, pearls and other precious stones which contained five to seven strings of gold beads.[216] Another form of necklace called *Har* was a string of pearls inter-connected by golden roses which came down almost to the stomach. Its centre contained a pendant

206. Storia, II, pp. 339-40.
207. Ovington, p. 320.
208. *Ain.,* III, pp. 313-14. For a list of 37 ornaments as narrated by Abul Fazl see *Ain.,* II, pp. 314-16.
209. *Travels in India in the 17th Century,* p. 384 ; Ovington, p. 320.
210. Hamilton, I, p. 163 ; Thevenot, III, chap. XX, p. 37.
211. There is no reference to *Nath* or nose ornaments in the pre-Muslims literature. All paintings and sculptures of the Hindu period totally ignore this ornament. *J.P.A.S.B.* (N.S.), XXIII, 1927, pp. 295-96.
212. The paintings in the *Razm Namah* in Jaipur State Library show no nose ornaments: *JPASB* (NS), XXIII, Art. of Mr. N. B. Divatia on nose ornaments.
213. Thevenot, chap. XX, p. 37 ; De Laet, p. 81 ; Mandelslo, p. 50. In some contemporary paintings ladies are depicted without nose ornaments as shown in No. 409 I.A.E. while in others (numbered 519 and 524 I.A.E.), the ladies are shown without *naths* in their noses.
214. Petermundy, II, p. 192.
215. See *Ain.,* III, pp. 313-14. *Indian Jewellery* by Col. Hendley, p. 84, Pl. 63.
216. *Bengal in the 16th Century,* p. 184.

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made of diamonds or other precious stones[217] *Guluband* consisted of a five or seven rose-shaped buttons of gold strung on to silk and worn round the neck.[218]

Arms without ornaments were considered a bad omen. The upper part of the arms above the elbows were ornamented by armlets, called *Bazuband,* usually two inches wide inlaid with jewels, diamonds, etc. with a bunch of pearls hung down.[219] *Tad* was a hollow circle worn on the arm just below the *Bazuband. Gajrah,* a bracelet made of gold or pearls adorned their wrists. *Kangan* was a variety of the bracelet surmounted with small knobs.[220] *Jawe,* consisting of five golden barley corns strung on silk, was fastened on each wrist. They decorated their wrist upto the elbow with bracelets called *churis,* usually 10 or 12 in number on each arm.[221] *Bahu* was like the *Churi,* but was smaller. They covered their fingers with rings, usually one for each ; the rich studded them with diamonds and sapphires.[222] One of these put on the right thumb was fitted with a looking glass, called *arsi.*[223]

Chhudr-Khantika was an ornamental waist-band fitted with golden bells. *Kati-Mekhala* was another form of golden belt which was hightly decorative.[224] Rings (usually of silver) were worn on toes and fingers.[225] Three gold rings called *jehar* served as ankle-ornaments. *Pail,* the ornament of the legs, called *Khal Khal* in Arabic, was commonly used. It produced an agreeable jingling sound when its wearer moved about.[226] *Ghunghru* consisting of small golden bells usually six on each ankle and strung upon silk were worn between the *Jehar* and *Khal Khal.*[227] *Bhank* and *Bichhwah* were the ornaments used for the instep. *Anwat* was the ornament to decorate the great toe. The large number of ornaments worn on their feet did not permit wearing a shoe and it consequently was dispensed with.[228]

Men's Ornaments

Men were not accustomed to so much ornamentation as women. Muslims were usually against it except that some of them put on amulets. Hindus, on the other hand, adorned themselves with ear and finger rings.[229] Rajputs[230]

217. *Ain.,* III, p. 313 ; Storia, II, pp. 339-40.
218. Pyrard, I, p. 380,
219. Storia, II, p. 340.
220. *Bengal in the 16th Century,* p. 184.
221. *First Englishmen in India,* p. 76 ; Pyrard, I, p. 377.
222. *Bengal in the 16th Century,* p. 184.
223. Storia, II, p. 340 ; Thevenot, XX, pp. 37-8.
224. *Ain-i-Akbari,* III, p. 313.
225. *Bengal in the 16th Century,* p. 184. The prohibition against wearing gold upon the feet was in vogue among the Hindus in all parts of the country. *Women of India,* p. 191.
226. Hamilton, I, p. 163. They put on their legs valuable metal.
227. *Ain.,* III, p. 313.
228. Fitch in Early Travels, p. 323. Ovington, p. 320 describes a lady fully loaded with ornaments.
229. *Ain.,* II, p. 126 ; Pyrard, I, p. 372 ; Hamilton, I, p. 163. On special occasions Hindus liked to put on necklaces.
230. Rajput paintings and their traditions corroborate it. There is an unfinished drawing of a darbar of Shahjahan in British Museum by Anuj Chaton. Here we see a young Rajput wearing pearls in his ears. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Second Session, Allahabad, 1938, p. 346.

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considered it a mark of dignity and nobility to put on ear-rings and bracelets at their elbows. Even common people among the Hindus wore ornaments if they could afford. All the Mughal kings except Aurangzeb adorned themselves with all possible jewellery on important occasions. Sir Thomas Roe relates that on his birthday Jahangir appeared highly attired and laden with ornaments of all sorts: "His turban was plumed with heron's feathers ; on one side was a ruby as big as a walnut ; on the other side was a large diamond ; in the centre was a large emerald, shapped like a heart. His sash was wreathed with a chain of pearls, rubies and diamonds. His neck-chain consisted of three double strings of pearls. He wore armlets set with diamonds on his elbows, he had three rows of diamonds on his wrist ; he had rings on nearly every finger."[231]

Ornaments were usually made of gold or silver but those who could not afford them contended themselves with less costly metals or substances.[232] Samuel Purchas also mentions the use of copper, glass, and tortoise shell to manufacture these ornaments.[233] According to Abul Fazal, ornaments were also made of a special kind of stone found near Rajgarh in Bihar.[234] Thevenot[235] and Linschoten[236] found that elephants' teeth or ivory was much used in India, especially in Rajasthan and Cambay where women wore "*manillas* or arm bracelets made of it."[237] *Churis* (bracelets) and rings made of *gainda* were highly esteemed.[238] The women of Bengal prized the use of Mother of Pearl in the preparation of bracelets.[239] The rural people satisfied themselves with necklaces made of cloves[240] and of baser metals.

Goldsmiths were always at work designing beautiful patterns. Abul Fazl says that the fee of a skilful artificer was 64 *dams* for each tola,[241] Gujrati Hindus were famous for their workmanship in gold and silver and according to Manucci, the dealers who "give the orders for this class of work go themselves or send agents to the diamond mines, to the kingdom of Pegu, to the Pescaria Coast or other places to buy the precious stones they required."[242] The artificers of Cambodia were reputed for their skill in making bracelets of elephant's teeth.[243]

231. Quoted in *Indian Jewellery*, pp. 10-11. For the ornaments worn by Akbar and Aurangzeb refer *Ibid.*
232. Bernier, p. 224.
233. Purchas' *India*, p. 10.
234. *Ain.*, II, p. 152. The stone resembles marble.
235. Thevenot, p. 12.
236. Linschoten, II, p. 3.
237. Hamilton, I, p. 129.
238. Petermundy, II, pp. 171-72.
239. Linschoten, II, p. 136.
240. Pelsaert's *India*, p. 25.
241. *Ain.*, III, p. 314. According to Stavorinus (Vol. I, pp. 412-13) these goldsmiths were taken from the market to the customers' house where they worked sometimes on daily wages, but usually charged according to labour and pattern.
242. Storia, II, pp. 339-40.
243. Purchas' *His Pilgrim*, X, p. 93. These bracelets were also called *Mawn*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ain.—*Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, Vol. I ; English Translation by H. Blochmann (1873) ; revised by D. C. Phillott (1939), Vols. II and III by Col. H. S. Jarrett, 2nd Edition by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

A.N.—*Akbarnama* by Abul Fazl, ed. Agha Ahmad Ali and Abd Al Rahim (Bib-Ind), English Trans. by H. Beveridge.

B.N.—*Babarnama,* English Translation by A. S. Beveridge.

Badaoni—Abdul Qadir Badaoni's *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,* ed. by M. Ahmad Ali Kabir and Din Ahmad and Nassau Lees (Bib. Ind.), English Trans. Vol. I by G. S. Ranking, Vol. II by W. H. Lowe and Vol. III by T. W. Haig.

Bengal in the 16th Century—J. N. Das Gupta, Calcutta 1914.

Bernier.—Bernier Francois—*Travels in the Mughal Empire,* English translation by Constable, revised by V. A. Smith.

C.A.A.M.—Central Asian Antiquities Museum.

De Laet—De Laet's *Empire of the Great Mughal,* trans. by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerji, Bombay 1928.

Della Valle—Pietro Della Valle—*The Traveels of a Noble Royal into East Indies and Arabian Deserts,* London 1664.

Hamilton—Alexander Hamilton's *A New Account of the East Indies,* London MDCCCXLIV and also a later edition of MDCCXXVII.

H.N.G.—*Humayun Nama—Gulbadan Begam,* trans. by A. S. Beveridge.

I.A.E.—Indian Art Exhibition—Exhibition of Indian Art Catalogue.

J.U.P. Hist. Soc.—*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.*

K.K.—Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Bib. Ind.).

Linschoten—Linschoten Von John Huyghen's *Voyage to East Indies,* Eng. trans. by Mr. P. A. Tiele.

Mandelso—Albert Mandelslo's *Voyages and Travels* by Adam Obearius London 1669.

Manrique—Travels of Manrique Fray Sebastem Vol. II, *China and India.*

M.A.—*Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Bib. Ind.), Urdu Trans. by Fida Ali Talab.

Monserrate—Monserrate S. J., *"The Commentarius",* Eng. Trans. by J. S. Hoyland, Annotated by S. N. Banerji, Oxford 1922.

Orme's Fragments.—Robert Orme's *Fragments of the Moghul Empire,* London, 1753.

Ovington—A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689. London, 1696.

Pelsaert's *India*—Pelsaert Francisco's *The Remonstrate,* Trans. by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Cambridge 1925.

Petermundy—Travels in Europe and Asia, Vol. II. Second series, 1914.

Purchas—Hakluyt Posthumus or Purchas' *His Pilgrims,* 20 Vols.

Pyrard—Pyrard Francisco of Laval's *Voyage to the East Indies,* the Maldives etc. by Albert Gray.

Roe's Embassy—The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Moghul, ed. William Foster, 1899 and 1926.

Stavorinus—Stavorinus John Splinter's *Voyage to East Indies.* Trans. by Samuel Hull, London 1798.

Storia—Storia Do Mogor—By Manucci Niccalao. Trans. James Irvine.

Tavernier—John Baptista Tavernier, *The Six Voyages through Turkey into Persia and East Indies,* Part I.

Thevenot—Thevenot Monsieur De-Travels of, into the Levant Part II, English translation 1686.

Tavels in India in the 17th Century—John Frayer and Sir Thomas Roe—*Travels in India in the 17th Century,* London 1873.

Tuzuk (R. & B)—Rogers and Beveridge's English translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.*

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ALBUQUERQUE VITTO?

THE DESTROYER OF KONARAK TEMPLE

S. NIWAS

On the shore of the Bay of Bengal and 53 miles off Puri lie the ruins of the famous temple of Konarak. A shrine of the Sun God (Arka Kshetra) the place is described in the Puranas as Maitreya Bana where Samba, the son of Shrikrishna practised a rigorous penance to get himself cured of leprosy. This place was once a site of a big and prosperous town and was a centre of commerce and served as a harbour known by the name of 'Charitra Bandara'. It is here king Langura Narasingh Dev of Ganga dynasty built a magnificient temple of Sun God in the year 1278 A.D. A wonderful piece of work in Orissian art and architecture the temple was originally 226'-6" high and was constructed in the shape of a chariot harnessed with seven life-like stone horses. It was greater in height and more remarkable in sculpture than the two temples of Puri and Bhubaneswar and though now in ruins still attracts thousands of visitors every year. But one is grieved to see its dilapidated condition and wonders why this temple came to a ruin when the temples of Puri and Bhubaneswar which were built long before it are still intact.

Many historians have tried to answer this question but as it seems none has so far arrived at the right conclusion. The fall of the tower is indeed a problem, the solution of which has given rise to many theories. Mr. Fergusson says that the collapse of the temple is due to the sinking of the foundation. Mr. Hunter also subscribes to this view and further adds that it collapsed soon after its construction. Mr. Rajendra Lal Mitra also holds the same opinion. But Mr. Sterling advances a quite another theory. He ascribes the fall to seismic and other supernatural disturbances such as lightning. Again Mr. M. H. Arnott, the Superintending Engineer, P.W.D., gives a novel opinion about this. In the *District Gazetteer,* Puri, he writes. "It is nearly certain that the Dewl (Temple) fell from the same cause, viz. that when the sand was removed from the interior, the weight above was not great enough to resist the tendency of the corbelling to fall in. The heap of stones is direct proof that the result of the catastrophe, when it did take place, hurled the stones inwards and not outwards ; had it been the later, the heap would have been a scattered one, instead of which it is remarkably a compact one". Thus according to Mr. Arnott the temple was never consecrated and it collapsed just after completion. Finally Messrs. Bishan Swarup, Kripasindhu Mishra and Manmohan Ganguli hold the view that in 16th century, one Kalapahaḍa, a Muslim convert, attacked the temple of Konarak and damaged it. After this deseration the image was removed and the temple was totally abandoned. Gradually the stone blocks began to crumble bringing the tower in the course of time to the ground.

Now, on consideration, the above views appear to be erroneous. Because architecture was a flourishing art in Orissa and reached a high standard of

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perfection when the temple of Konarak was built. This is quite evident from so many remarkable temples both large and small built in Orissa from time to time which still testify to the architectural perfection attained by the sculptors of Orissa. Therefore it cannot be imagined that such a skilled team of builders could have been careless in laying down a strong foundation or could have committed the grave mistake of choosing a defective soil on which there was chance of subsidence. I can, in this connection, quote Mr. Manomohan Ganguli, Vidyaratna, B.E., M.R.A.S. etc. In his *Orissa and her Remains* he writes, "I examined the temple very carefully and did not notice anywhere the least trace of the subsidence of the soil. This would have, as a matter of course, occasioned vertical cracks in the structure and horizontal one in the floor of the sanctum ; the floor, I have noticed, is without any crack ; moreover, the collapse due to the subsidence of the soil would have tumbled down the temple on one side which did not occur actually".

The next cause shown is the seismic and other disturbances. But considering the geographical position of Orissa, it is immune from earthquake and there is nothing in the history of Orissa to show that the province ever experienced a severe shock of earthquake. If we, however, assume for the time being that the temple of Konarak was ever subject to this sort of natural catastrophe it will be absolutely absurd to think that the shock of an earthquake brought about only the downfall of the main temple or Vimana keeping intact the Jagamohana, a structure just close to the former. As regards the lightning it can be stressed that the ancient treatise on architecture have described various ways and means to ward off the fall of lightning and the engineers would not have failed to use those devices. For example, it can be said that in the years 1841, 1846, 1906 and 1927 there was occurence of lightning on the temple of Jagannath but no harm to the structure was reported. According to Mr. Bishan Swarup (*Konarka,* page 100) there was such an occurence on the temple of Konarak in the year 1900 and 1910 but no much damage has been evident. Thus this theory also does not hold good.

Mr. Arnott's view also seems to be quite erroneous. For from the description of Abul Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari,* vols. II, page 128, it appears that as late as the middle of the 16th century, the main temple with all the minor ones, was in a good condition. Even in 1822, Mr. Fergusson saw a portion of the main temple about 120 feet in height. Later on in 1839, Sterling also confirms it. Thus there is no scope for the presumption that the temple tumbled down as soon as the sand was taken out from the interior. But on the other hand, it is known definitely that the deity was duly installed in the temple and received worship for centuries. Mr. Bishan Swarup refers in his book *Konarka* to some "marks on the Sinhasana or the sanctum to show that the worship had been going on there for sometime".

Other historians who accuse Kalapahaḍa for the damage of the temple are also not right. Although he is associated with the breaking of the Hindu idols it cannot be said that he damaged the Hindu temples. Had it been his aim to destroy temples, no temple whether big or small would have existed in Orissa today. There is no proof in support of this. Even the Madala

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Panji, the oldest and trustworthy chronicle which has recorded with other events the invasion by Kalpahaḍa of Orissa, says nothing about the attack by Kalapahaḍa on the temple of Konarak.

But certainly, the Konarak temple was invaded and damaged not by Kalapahaḍa but by some foreigners. And Dr. H. K. Mahtab, in his book *Orissa Itihasa* has supported this view. This also goes with the popular belief that the temple on account of a huge load-stone at the top used to draw ashore the vessels of the Firingees passing near the coast. The Firingees thus being troubled from time to time somehow found out the temple to be the cause of attraction, attacked it, scaled the tower, and took away the load-stone from the top of the temple. As shown above Mr. Manomohan Ganguli and others have formed their conclusion relying on this hearsay and it may be said that this hearsay is not without any foundation. As it appears it is not merely a hearsay but contains a few grains of truth so far as the destruction of the temple by the 'Firingees' is concerned. The reason of destruction may be different.

A document has been explored from the records of Gajapati Maharaj of Puri which testifies to a great extent the hearsay referred to above. It is executed on behalf of the Moghul Emperor by Jalayar Khan Nazim, presumably the then Moghul Subadar of Orissa to Madhusudan Mahapatra and Bir Samartha for opposing one Albuquerque Vitto in his attempt to destroy and desecrate the Konarak temple. The deed entitles the receipants to special rewards and privileges. A full text of the deed is given below.

THE DOCUMENT, A TRANSLITERATION

Seal: JALAYAR KHAN NAZEEM

As you, Madhusudan Mahapatra of village Killa Bayalisbati, along with Bira Samartha opposed Albuquerque Vitto of Pipli while he destroyed and desecrated the Konarak Dewl in the absence of the Raja of Khurda, who has fled away, the Mustafa Badashah is pleased with you. Hence forward the Rahadars and Putwaris will show you respect. You, adorned with the title of Bhramarabar will receive 312 gold coins annually and permission for a fire-lock from the Raja of Khurda. You are presented a sword with my symbol inscribed on it.

Now Albuquerque Vitto referred to in the deed is no doubt a Portuguese and the Portuguese settlers were called as the 'Firingees' by the natives. (Vide *Viswakosha*, vol. 12, page 604). During the 16th century the Portuguese were supreme in India and although their colonial empire began to decline with the opening of the 17th century yet they carried on a good business in Bengal and Orissa. The Pipli Bandar in Orissa was their stronghold and a good many of them made their settlements there. Throughout their stay in India their policies, apart from trading, were frequent religious persecution and even forcible conversion. History tells us that in 1543 Affonso

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de Sousa, Portuguese governor of India, organised an expedition to sack the Hindu temples at Conjeveram in Vijaynagar itself, and similar incidents are common in Indo-Portuguese history. Wherever the Portuguese were supreme they endeavoured to obtain converts frequently.

Therefore, it may safely be surmised that the Portuguese must have not lost site of the remarkably tall Hindu temple of Konarak which was situated on their trade-route.

Orissa was then in a state of confusion—specially the district in which the temple was situated—on account of the repeated attacks of the Moghuls and as appears from the deed, the King of Khurda had fled away. Thus there was virtually none to repulse the attack of the Portuguese and protect the temple form pollution. This was a golden opportunity for Albuquerque and he did not fail to seize it.

But it is still a mystry who this Albuquerque of Pipli was?

REVENUE SYSTEM OF SHER SHAH

SATISH CHANDRA MISRA

"The land revenue system of Upper India", writes Moreland, "presents a fundamental continuity from the period when the sacred law of Hinduism was formulated, down to the changes introduced in the 19th century."[1] A critical appraisal of the present available data shows that this tradition continued unbroken through the Sur period, and though he modified it in some respects, Sher Shah made no attempt to alter basically, the method of assessment, the mode of payment and the share that the state took from the cultivator's produce.

It has been generally stated that Sher Shah adopted the method of Measurement as the basis of his assessment and enforced it throughout his dominions in supersession of the other existing systems.[2] If by the word "Jarib" which has been commonly used by the chroniclers, and which has been translated as "Measurement" by the modern writers, it is meant that Sher Shah ordered a general mensuration and on this basis assessed land

1. *Sher Shah's Revenue System* by W. H. Moreland. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1926, p. 448.

2. The various modes of revenue assessment and the terms as *jarib*, *muqtei*, *ghalla-bakhshi*, and *nasq* have not been explained in this paper for they have been adequately discussed and defined by previous writers on the subject, namely, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* by Dr. R. P. Tripathi, (Allahabad 1936), pp. 357-360 ; *Provincial Government of the Mughals* by Dr. P. Saran, (Allahabad 1941), pp. 453-456 ; *Sher Shah's Revenue System* by Dr. P. Saran, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVII, I, pp. 137-140 ; *Assessment and Collection of Land Revenue under Akbar* by Dr. S. R. Sharma, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, pp. 701-736 ; *Farhang-i-Kardani* by Prof. S. A. Rashid, *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XIX, pp. 71-74. *Sher Shah's Revenue System* by Moreland, *op. cit.*

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revenue, the statement can be accepted. If, however, the word "Jarib" is translated to prove that the entire system of revenue administration was radically changed to supplant systems other than "Measurement" and the method of payment changed from kind to cash, then the observation is hardly tenable.

Firstly, Sher Shah did not and had he wished it even, could not abolish old existing systems of revenue administration. It was a task beyond the five-year rule granted to him. Akbar waited, and gathered experience for nineteen years before he could reorganise his revenue system on a fresh basis. Till that time he adopted the prevalent schedules of Sher Shah, only demanding cash in place of kind[3] which incidentally proves that the basis of payment till then was kind.

Hasan Khan mentions three systems of revenue administration prevalent in the country.[4] He furnishes details of only one, according to which a person called "Maguzar" was held responsible for an allotted area from which he collected land revenue, paying a fixed sum in lieu thereof to the state. Due care was taken by the state to prevent over-charging and oppression.[5] This system bears a close resemblance to the "Zemindari" and "Malguzari" systems till recently prevalent in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Obviously in such areas, where this system was prevalent, "jarib" or "Measurement" was not enforced in its sense of cash payments directly realised from individual cultivators by the state. The two other systems, which go by default in Hasan Khan's account, were also clearly old-established ones, which were not interfered with by Sher Shah except for regularizing the procedures and mapping out the land and classifying the tenures and ownerships under which a particular piece of land was held.[6]

Lastly, there were exceptional areas where new ideas could not have been and were not introduced. In Multan, for instance, the traditional assessment and administration was allowed to continue.[7] It would have been scarcely possible to realise any revenue from trans-Jhelum area (Ghakkarland) or Rajputana. In Malwa, the zemindari system was allowed, though the land

3. *Ain-i-Akbari* translated by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 294.

4. *Daulat-i-Sher Shahi* by Hasan Khan. English Translation of the Farmans only by Dr. R. P. Tripathi. Unpublished. Referred hereafter as "Daulat", Farman X.

5. "The first is that we make one person from the village responsible for the payment of government dues. He is expected to collect the dues from the various pieces of land and farms and to pay a fixed sum. But (in some cases) some power of coercion shall have to be conceded inevitably. Therefore it is necessary that government officials should be instructed to look to the protection and security of the people so that none of the malguzars should strech out his hands for oppressing the subjects in any place. Both the Hindus and Musalmans should obey these orders." *Daulat :* Farman X. .

6. "The tenth farman was issued regarding the measurement of the cultivated and uncultivated land of the dominion. Ahmad Khan Tangi (or Bangi) who was the soul of this system of management and whose rank commanded a good reputation in administration, accomplished this work with the help of able and learned Brahmins, and prepared a register in which were entered the rights of owners and the measurement of all arable and other pieces of land. Th land was divided into several classes and the rate for every one of them was fixed." *Daulat :* Farman X.

7. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* by Abbas Sarwani, Allahabad University MSS., hereafter referred to as Abbas, p. 191 ; Dorn, *History of the Afghans,* I, p. 135.

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might have been mapped, for Shujaet Khan is reported to have been rebuked by Sher Shah for withholding lands allotted to his lieutenants.[8]

Therefore though Sher Shah might have had a decided preference for the system of Measurement, he did not press his choice except in areas where the system could be worked without handicapping the cultivator. The peasant enjoyed the freedom of choosing any of the prevalent method of assessment, though his rights over his land were clarified and the field mapped. He was freed from the vexatious extortions of the muqaddams and other petty functionaries, the Amin contacting him directly to assess his revenue according to the system he preferred.[9]

Sher Shah was no doubt trying to extend the sphere of king's authority and therefore desired a wider application of Measurement. Islam Shah continued the work of his father and under him the administration became more centralised than ever. So it seems to have been Islam Shah who was responsible for what 'Abu'l Faḍl calls, freeing Hindustan from the systems of ghalla-bakshi and muqtei.[11] He had more time than his father, he was more disregardful of the established usages, the nobles as a land-owning power collapsed under his rule and their place was taken by the king's bureaucracy.

The above observation also apply to the second problem, namely, the mode of payment. The system was based on the produce reaped and the basis of assessment was grain or other produce. The schedule of Sher Shah given in the *A'in* has kind as its basis and not cash as Akbar's later schedules have.[12] The state's share could be converted in cash by selling it according to market rates or the cultivator if he chose, for the time being, could pay cash in lieu of his share of his produce. This was encouraged by the state.

The third question, viz., the amount of the share which the state took is the most complicated. Dr. Qanungo and Dr. Qureshi believe that Sher Shah took one-fourth of the produce while Dr. Saran and Mr. Moreland are of the opinion that the state's share was one-third.

Dr. Qanungo adduces the following arguments for his statement:

(*a*) *Makhzan-i-Afaghanan* has it that Sher Shah wrote to Haibat Khan to take ¼th of the produce from Multan.

(*b*) Abu'l-Faḍl writes, "The revenue levied by Sher Khan which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment." Later Abu'l-Faḍl writes that Akbar raised the land revenue to ⅓rd. Hence in Sher Shah's times, it must have been only ¼th.[13]

Mr. Moreland refutes the arguments given above:

(*a*) The above passage (*Makhzan* quoted by Dr. Qanungo) is found in page 135 of Part I of Dorn, who writes that Sher Shah who

8. Abbas, pp. 232-236.
9. Abbas, Alld. Mss., p. 216; 10 Ms. fol. 106a.
10. *A'in.*, I, p. 296, lines 5-6.
11. *A'in.*, I, p. 296; lines 5-6.
12. *A'in.*, I, p. 294; also *A'in.*, XIV and XV for 10-year and 19-year rates.
13. *Sher Shah* by K. R. Qanungo, pp. 373-4; *A'in.* tran. by Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 63 and 66.

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was naturally elated at the conquest of that region, "exempted Multan from all public charges, except a fourth of the produce which was to be levied." A more literal translation of the Ms. used by him (No. 60 in Morley's Catalogue of the R.A.S.), would be, "(he) ordered that a fourth share should be taken from the country of Multan, it being exempted from all 'takalif'." The last word has a wide range of meaning from troubles to taxes, but in this context it means cesses or miscellaneous imposts. Multan thus received specially favoured treatment and the fact that the revenue demand was there fixed at one-fourth does not justify the inference that the same fraction was taken from the rest of the kingdom.

(*b*) In the second argument, Dr. Qanungo has relied on Jarrett's version of the *A'in*, but had he referred to the original, he would have found that this version is rather loose. The text says, "In all provinces at the present day less than that is not indicated", the word "that" referring to a Schedule of Sher Shah's assessment rates: in other words, the assessment when the *A'in* was written, were not Sher Shah's ; they might have been equal or greater and the passage cannot be used to prove that they were greater. No statement to the effect that they were raised by Akbar to one-third appears on page 66 of Jarrett nor can Mr. Moreland find them elsewhere.

Continuing, Mr. Moreland uses the words of 'Abbas as given in Elliott's translation and which are not found in any of the available Mss., and the Schedule of Sher Shah given in the *A'in* to prove that Sher Shah claimed one-third of the gross produce as the king's share and assessed the claim by measurement on the basis of an average yield determined separately for each crop.[14]

Dr. Saran agrees with Mr. Moreland in his conclusions and suggests that the text of *A'in* at this passage clearly says that the 'ray' " of Sher Shah found acceptance." So whatever rates were prevailing and were approved by the Emperor were those which had come down from Sher Shah's time. Hence Akbar's rate at this time were equal to those of Sher Shah. Dr. Saran then discusses the meaning of the word "ray' " and comes to the conclusion, on basis of the Schedule, that Sher Shah claimed one-third of the produce.[15]

Dr. Qureshi gives the following reasons for his opinion that Sher Shah charged one-fourth of the produce as land revenue.

(*a*) The passage in Elliot (to which Mr. Moreland refers) is based on some exceptional Ms. of 'Abbas Sarwani and is not supported by the versions of the available ones.

(*b*) A critical study of the passage in *A'in* shows that 'Abu'l-Faḍl is referring to Sher Shah's figure of average produce as the lowest available in the kingdom at the time.

14. Moreland, *op. cit.*, pp. 452-459.
15. Saran, (cited in footnote 2), p, 147.

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(*c*) The favour to Multan lay in exempting it from a number of taxes and not in the reduction of land revenue.

(*d*) There is clear evidence to show that it was Akbar who first demanded a third as land revenue. Timur demanded a third in some of his dominions and Babur demanded a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred. Sher Shah's demand was not exceptional and it was raised by Akbar which Abu'l-Faḍl seeks to justify by saying that Akbar abolished various other taxes including jiziyah.[16]

There are three passages in the authorities which furnish a clue to the revenue demand of Sher Shah. Hasan Khan writes, "The principle (regarding revenue assessment) is that the government demand should be less than the income accruing from the land so that they (the cultivators) might not be afraid of government demand and tax if there is scarcity of water or insufficiency of rains. Rather he arranged that everyone of the landholders and payers of revenue should pay 2½ per cent of their tax to the public treasury so that it might be spent in case of accidents or heavenly punishments."

This is general. It indicates only the principle of revenue assessment and the fact that 2½ per cent of the revenue was held as a reserve for exigencies.

The second passage is the one in Elliot's rendering of *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi,* to which Mr. Moreland refers. It runs as follows, having for its context, a discussion of the pargana officials under Sher Shah: " . . . . . ; and he ordered the governors to measure the land at every harvest and collect revenue according to measurement in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator and half to the mukkaddams and fixing the assessment with regard to the kind of grain in order that mukkaddams and chaudharies should not oppress the cultivators who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom."[18] The word "governor" and the continuing "giving one share to the cultivator and half to the mukkaddams" has no equivalence in the available Mss. of *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi.* It has led Mr. Moreland to label it as an "incorrect gloss" though he remarks that it accords with the Schedule in the *A'in.*

The passage is in fact rather confusing. It postulates the universal prevalence of the system of ghalla-bakhshi or division of grain as the basis of revenue administration, for such a rule of thumb could not operate under measurement.[19] Though the former system may have extended over considerable areas it could not have been the only one. It is with caution, therefore, that the passage may be used to represent the revenue which the state realised from areas where the malguzari and the ghalla-bakhshi systems prevailed.

16. Qureshi (cited as above), pp. 118-119.
17. *Daulat,* Farman X.
18. Elliot, IV, pp. 414-415.
19. Moreland, *op. cit.,* p. 449. "Measurement was based on the area sown ; a charge of certain weight of each kind of grain or its equivalent in cash was made on each unit of the area sown and the assessment for the area was complete when the crop areas had been measured, though in practice, it was found necessary to make allowances when the crops failed."

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Therefore, it also does not deserve the scorn with which Dr. Qureshi treats it, for even if it comes from an exceptional Ms., it equates with what Hasan Khan writes regarding "malguzari" and what Abu'l-Faḍl gives with reference to Sher Shah's Schedule.

This Schedule is the third important piece of information. It is reproduced in original below (in the footnote)[20] and Jarrett translates it as follows: "Of the first two kinds of land, there are three classes: good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third of which is exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Khan, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment, generally obtained; and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money."[21]

Dr. Qureshi considers the translation to be incorrect. In the first place, he thinks the stops to have been wrongly read, the passage being read without a stop after زبرں , which translates as: "Of the first two kinds of land, the good, the middling and bad produce should be added together and a third of this represents the medium produce . . ." For the second part, he believes that the translation of the word "ray' " as "revenue" is wrong since it is only recently that the word has figuratively come to mean this. Its older connotation was that of "produce" and it is in this sense that it has been used by Abu'l-Faḍl. The correct translation of the latter portion therefore is, "The (figures of mean) produce adopted by Sher Shah, lower than which cannot be found throughout the provinces, were accepted and for the convenience of etc. etc."[22]

Abu'l-Faḍl is referring here of the classification of land by Akbar into polaj, parauti, chachar and banjar. It appears that the first part of Dr. Qureshi's amendation is correct, for as he writes, his interpretation of finding the average produce is more logical. His second verification is doubtful. How is it possible for the figures of "mean produce" to have been "lower than which cannot be found throughout the provinces" unless the years concerned had been those of exceptional scarcity? And such does not appear to have been the case in the reign of Sher Shah. It cannot be supposed that the figures had been deliberately altered to provide a lower level than actual. It appears therefore that Abu'l-Faḍl is using the word "ray' " in the sense of revenue and means that, "The revenue levied by Sher Khan, lower than which cannot be found throughout the provinces, was accepted and for the convenience of etc., etc."

20. Blochmann, *A'in.*, I, p. 294:
در دورے نخستین گزیدہ و میانہ و زبوں - ہر جنس را فراہم آوردند، سوم بخش آں محصول ندارند و بہ یک آں دست نزد جہانبانی برستانند - و ریع کہ شیر خان بر گرفتہ بود و امروز در ہمہ صوبہا ازو کمتر نشان ندہند پزیرش یافت و براے آسودگی سپاہ و رعیت ارچ بریختہ زر بار خواست نمایند -

21. *A'in.*, Trans. II, p. 63.
22. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Bibliotheca Indica Text, edited by Blochmann, Vol. I, pp., 294-295; also *A'ins.*, XIV and XV for 10-year and 19-year rates.

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Abu'l-Faḍl goes on to give tables which are apparently those of Sher Shah. These were generally accepted as the basis of land revenue before the 19-Year Settlement. Until then, Akbar's only modification was to demand cash instead of kind. The full and fresh evaluation which resulted in the 19-Year Settlement and for which also Abu'l-Faḍl gives figures, changed this state of affairs.

The estimate here clearly is of one-third. It was due to this fact that Akbar did not raise the land demand except in some cases where he imposed extra cesses.[23] It is also obvious that Sher Shah also charged the same fraction (one-third) of the produce as land revenue.

Multan, it is certain, was a special case and was treated as such. It cannot be held up as an example for the rest of the kingdom.[24] For here the Langah tradition was ordered to be continued by Sher Shah and the revenue balance was not altered to bring it into line with other provinces. It is difficult, therefore, to accept Dr. Qureshi's statement that the respite granted to Multan consisted only of cesses.

Lastly, as Dr. Qureshi himself states, Sher Shah's demand was not unusual. Babur demanded a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred and as this tradition could hardly have been disturbed by Humayun, it is scarcely possible that Sher Shah would have cut down this most fruitful source of state income. I have failed to discover the statement in the *A'in* to which he refers in saying that Akbar raised a demand to a third ;[25] even if such a statement exists, and Akbar did raise the demand, it does not follow that Sher Shah's demand was a fourth which was raised to a third by Akbar. The difference might have been insignificant and what is more likely, the rates might have dropped in the chaos that followed the death of Islam Shah.

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RELIGION OF THE MUGHAL KINGS AS REVEALED THROUGH PAINTINGS

DR. M. L. RAY CHOUDHURY

Babar, the founder of the Mughul rule in India, was a great admirer of painting and arts. One can enjoy the company of Babar while going through his autobiography. He was a great connoisseur of Iranian culture. Paintings of Hirat were enjoyed by him and his companions in their hours of leisure. Babar was very lavish in his praises of the great painters like Shah Muzafar and Bihzad, the two favourite painters of the Timurid Court. Sahibani-Khan, the Uzbeg Amir, once was very much satirised by Babar, because that Uzbeg Amir had the audacity to put his brush and correct the paintings of Bihzad. The effect of his brush by Sahibani-Khan effected a deterioration of Bihzad's painting. This incident had been a matter of satire in later Mughul writings too. As a mark of his appreciation of painting and arts, Babar in his autobiography mentioned a large number of contemporary painters with high flown adjectives. He himself took pride though he had no personal acquaintance with those painters.

He gave a description of Dilkushabagh of Samarqand which was a personal residence of Timur. Here on the walls of the Dilkushabagh, the main incidents relating to the invasion of Himur against Hindustan were painted. The Torab Khana palaces of Hirat were decorated with similar paintings relating to incidents of war. The paintings at Samarqand were done under the orders of Timur, the conqueror, and those of the palaces at Hirat were done under orders of Abu Said, grand-father of Babar.

Babar was not very happy with his Indian surroundings. He looked upon India as a place of conquest and never accepted Hindustan as his own country. He admitted the importance of Hindustan, was forced to transfer his capital from Kabul to Delhi. He regretted in his autobiography, "Hindustan produces no sweet food. There are no grapes in Hindustan, no melons, no sweet fruits. Here you would find no ice; no fresh fruits, no bath, no candle, no torch." A little later, with great disgust, Babar wrote, "Here in Hindustan all the currents ultimately loose themselves into the rivers. In the rivers, there is no wave, there flows no torrent of water in any of the

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palaces in Hindustan." But in the end he was gracious enough to write, "In Hindustan there are plenty of gold and gold-coins ; the climate during the rains is very bracing. The great advantage of Hindustan is that artisans of every kind are found in this country and in large numbers too." It makes one feel that Babar could not love Hindustan. His chief attraction was Central Asia. He was happy when he remembered his days in the wilds and mountains of Central Asia, and he looked upon this Hindustan as a mere settlement.

Humayun, son of Babar, like his father, was attracted to Persian culture. Turned out of Hindustan by Sher Khan, he looked upon Persia as the land of his refuge. Even at that distant time, the influence of Iranian painting and culture on Humayun was prominent. Mirak, the great royal artist of Iran, was influenced and inspired by Bihzad. For several generations, the Persian rulers had systematically patronised painting and art. The paintings of Humayun's court bear very eloquent traces of Iranian painting. Even, while he was on the throne of Kabul as a practically independent sovereign, Humayun cultivated painting and encouraged Iranian style of painting. Humayun was cultured enough to inspire love for painting and art into Akbar, his young son, and he appointed Abdus Samad, an inhabitant of Siraj, to act as a tutor in painting to Akbar. In his later life, Akbar conferred upon his teacher Abdus Samad the title of *Shirin Kalam,* i.e. sweet pen. During the time of Akbar, this famous painter from Siraj came into India with a large number of his pupils and became attached to the Mughul Court. It was he who introduced a new style in Indian painting and this ultimately became known as Mughul style.

Badshah Humayun was once acquainted with a painter, Mir Syed Ali. He was an inhabitant of Tabriz and a very scrupulous follower of Bihzad. In the year 1550 A.D., Humayun extended his invitation to Mir Syed Ali to come to his Darbar. This Mir Syed Ali planned a huge painting project known as the *Amir Hamza*. Hamza was the uncle of still more famous Muhammed, the founder of Islam. The Amir Hamza was a picture Album, planned to depict the story of the life of Hamza through pictures. In Persian art, a picture Album is called *Murakka*. The Album, *Amir Hamza,* was divided into 12 parts. The length of the Album was 72 centimeter with breadth at 56 centimeter. A large number of painters were employed ; collectively they worked to complete the Album. Humayun sufficiently patronised these painters who worked for this Album as long as he lived ; but unfortunately Humayun could not see the end of the work. The plan of this Album was so wide and so detailed that even working for 25 years during the reign of Akbar, the *Amir Hamza* could not be finished. The Album contained 1400 pictures. Before this Album was completed, Mir Syed Ali felt tired and retired to Mecca, leaving the Album unfinished. During the absence of Mir Syed Ali, one Khan Abdus Samad, an inhabitant of Siraj, was placed in charge of completion of the *Amir Hamza*. Later, many Indian painters were invited to join in the project and they readily and gladly accepted the invitation. The *Amir Hamza* was planned in Iran, began in Afghanistan and

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was completed in Hindustan. It was planned by Humayun, an inhabitant of Samarqand, the first touch of the brush was made by Mir Syed Ali, an inhabitant of Tabriz. The work was executed later on by the painters of India and finally completed by Abdul Samad of Iran. The Mughul style of painting in India really developed round the *Amir Hamza*.

Akbar, in his early life, received his training in painting from Abdus Samad as has been mentioned already. It was a fact that in his early life Akbar was not at all expert in drawing and painting. It is said that once Akbar, while a child, drew a few lines in the form of a picture. Abdus Samad took up that picture and put a few lines above and around the drawing of Akbar, and it at once blossomed forth into a beautiful picture. This revealed a world of beauty before the eyes of young Akbar. Abdus Samad in his own way drew out the potentiality in his royal pupil and convinced him that he could be a great painter. This small incident opened a new vista before the eyes of Akbar. After this Akbar became a great patron and connoisseur of painting and art. Akbar used to say, "Painting increases the power of observation and analysis in the minds of men. Painting is inexhaustible source of joy."

It was a custom with the Mughuls to regard poets and painters as inseparable parts of war and expedition. The poet could immortalise the scenes of war with his pen and the painter could reduce them into eternal scenes of joy through his brush. In the year 1573, Akbar made an expedition against Guzrat and he did not forget to take with him his three famous painters—Jagannath, Taranath and Sanawal Das. Sanawal Das had left to us some specimens of his painting which still seems to be incomparable. Akbar never allowed destruction of any works of art and painting after the conquest of a country. Of his booty, paintings formed an integral part. Pictures after every conquest were sent to the capital and deposited into as a royal treasure. From *Ain-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, we learn that there was a great studio in the capital at Fatehpur Sikri. A large number of painters were employed in the royal studio. Akbar himself used to visit this studio once a week, examined the pictures, noted their progress, fixed price of each picture and announced rewards according to the merit of the picture. This studio ulutimately became the greatest of its kind in contemporary Asia through the patronage and inspiration of the Mughul Emperor, Akbar. The works produced in this studio could very favourably be compared with those that had come from the influence of Bihzad. Abul Fazl mentioned that during this time, many paintings were brought for sale in India from Europe. Indian painters were so expert and quick in their work that they could easily immitate those paintings and in a very short time. Sometimes copies made by Indians were even better than the originals from which they copied. These pictures were so realistic that they would never look dull and lifeless. Some of these pictures have come down to us and even at a distance of 400 years, those pictures seem to be so life-like that they seem to have been drawn yesterday, and they revealed the genius of Indian painter and Indian painting.

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One of the characteristics of the Mughul painting was decoration of manuscripts. Sometimes, events narrated inside were reproduced through paintings outside. Illumination of the title page or cover was universal with the Mughuls.

The walls of palaces were often beautiful with fresco painting. Akbar employed under Abdus Samad Shirazi and Mir Syed Ali, Irani Uzbeg and Kalmaki painters. But the number of Indian painters were much larger than foreign painters. They were liberal enough to work under Abdus Samad and Mir Syed Ali though they did not belong to India, nor were they Hindus. The Hindu painters did hesitate to create beauty even when the inspiration was Muslim. Abul Fazl said, "The skill of Indian painters is beyond conception. There were few painters in the contemporary world as skilful as Hindu painters are." In the Mughul Darbar, both Indian and Persian styles of painting were followed. Often, Indian and foreign painters worked together in the same picture out of curiosity and sometimes out of necessity. The Musalmans look upon painting as unlawful—because it was futile to paint a body of a human being or animal ; practically by painting the body of a living being, the painter challenges the might of the All-Mighty. But Akbar thought otherwise. He considered painting as a source of knowledge and as antidote of ignorance. Akbar used to sit as a model before the painters which was a very irreligious act in the eyes of orthodox Musalmans.

According to them, Muhammed himself prohibited the painting of living animals. It is said in the *Hadis,* "One who will paint a picture of a human being but will not be able to infuse life into the painting, will get hell-fire as punishment. Angels shall not enter the house which is decorated by a picture of a human being." *Ayesha,* the favourite wife of Muhammed, had her curtain woven with the picture of human beings. Muhammed did not enter her bed so long as she did not remove those paintings from her curtains. Whether a Shiah or a Sunni, an orthodox Muslim considers it an audacity on the part of a man to draw the picture of human being because it is the exclusive right of the Allah to create human beings. Allah alone has power to impart life ; so a painter, by painting a human body, indirectly assumes the roll of the Creator, a painter is guilty of polytheism. Therefore, he is punishable with hell-fire. A moderately liberal Muslim considers the painting of an animal is not as serious a sin as painting of human being. But Akbar himself sat as a model before his painters which evoked protest from his colleagues. But Emperor was adamant. Ultimately many of his courtiers also sat as models before painters and got their pictures painted. Akbar replied to the charge of profanation saying that, "I know many cultured Amirs do not subscribe to the idea of my sitting as a model, but I do not subscribe to their views because I consider that painting offers an opportunity for remembering Allah. The reason is that the best of painters with best of skill cannot give life to his work of arts ; so a painter feels his limitation and feels himself powerless ; and as such he is bound to remember the all-mightiness of Allah. Allah is the giver of all lives ; so the painter through painting realises spiritual knowledge."

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Akbar had in his Fatehpur Sikri a mosque in which a picture of Mary was painted. On the followers of the *Din-i-Ilahi,* a *sufi* creed propounded by Akbar, used to have a symbol on their head-dress. "It was a picture of the emperor," says Badauni. "Akbar distributed among his disciples his own miniature painting and they were asked to use that miniature as a mark of decoration on their head-dress."

Emperor Akbar had a variety of colours prepared in his chemical laboratory for the use of his own painters. He was conscious that success of brush depends much on quality of colours. The imagination of the painter could never be realised without the success of the colour scheme. So, Akbar had a number of new combinations in his colour for the requirements of his artists. There were occasions when 4 or 5 painters used to work in the same picture —some was expert in imaginations, some in plan, some in colour scheme and others in brush.

It is one of the characteristics of painting of Akbar that he utilised the services of more than one artist for a single picture. It may be that the Emperor thought that a picture completed in collaboration with several experts might give him the perfection which he wanted in his paintings. Possibly, the art critics of modern days would condemn this process because the individuality of a painter could never have its full play in such a combined effort by a number of painters. Possibly, a close examination of paintings of Akbar in which different painters from different countries, following different styles, were employed, show that they did not fail to produce the best of pictures.

After a picture has been finished, calligraphists (Munshi) was requisitioned for writing letters in the picture. Sometime the calligraphist used his own name in a picture as painter ; often the absence of the name of the painter left opportunity to calligraphists to use his own as the painter. There were occasions when the calligraphist brushed aside the name of the painter and substituted his own name.

Jasobant (Jasowan), an Indian disciple of Abdus Samad, was possibly the best painter in the Court of Akbar. Jasowant was the son of a palanquin-bearer. Akbar discovered this genius while he was on his way to Mathura from a painting by charcoal on the wall of the city. Akbar found him out and employed him as an assistant under Abdus Samad. Within a short time Jasowant's talent was discovered and ultimately he became the greatest painter of the age. But, unfortunately, this great artist put an end to his own life and his dead-body was found by the side of an incomplete picture. The cause is unknown and is unknowable.

Basant (Bason) was another painter who was a jewel of Akbar's studio. He was a great expert in planning pictures, in using the lines, in drawing the features and also in using his brush.

Abdus Samad was noted for his designs of and on new coins. Ultimately, he was appointed as the Mint-Master of the Emperor. His fingers were so adept that he could reproduce the 62nd chapter of the Quran on a single leaf of a poppy plant. Abul Fazl also mentioned the name of a large number of painters, each of whom had left inimitable pictures for their master. To name

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a few of them—Keshab (Kesha), Juggarnath (Jugger), Mādhu (Madhu), Mukund, Mahesh, Tara, Ram, Ksheri Karan, Nimkin and Hari. Besides them we find 153 other painters in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Most of them came from Kashmir, Guzrat, Rajputana and the Punjab. Many of them had worked under their Iranian masters and yet each of them preserved his own individuality. Indian painters were almost all Hindus.

Paintings of the period of Akbar may be divided into:

(1) General pictures.
(2) Wall pictures or Frescos.
(3) Decorated Manuscripts.
(4) Murakka (Album), i.e. pictures in the form of books.

Most of these manuscripts bear no dates. There were some pictures which required long years to complete, and in the same picture different styles of painting may be found mixed up. So, it is not possible to identify the dates of all them, nor is it possible to follow their chronology. Of these, the *Amir Hamza* was the most famous. It was began by Humayun as has already been mentioned. This Album or some parts of it are still found distributed in different Muscums of the world. The Vienna Museum is proud of having 60 pieces from this Album. The London Albert Museum has 20 of them. England is proud to possess the illustrated copies of *Babarnama, Darbarnama, Akbarnama* and *Anawar Soheli*. The Munich Museum possesses *Shahnama* of Firdusi. In Moscow, one can find a very profusely illustrated copy of *Babarnama*. In India, we have a copy of *Timurnama* at Bankipore (Khoda Box Library). At Jaipur, we have the *Rajanama* in the royal archive.

In the year 1580, a Jesuit Mission came to Fatehpur Sikri, which included Father Rudolf and Father Monserate. Under the patronage of Phillip II of Spain, the Mission presented to Akbar two paintings of Jesus and Mary. Akbar permitted the Christians to build a Church at Agra. They embellished this Church with large number of paintings. The royal painters of the Court had many of these paintings copied, some of them were better than the originals. These Christian paintings influenced the Mughal artists and gradually was the penetration of western influence into Indian art. The Indian painters often immitated the European scheme of colour. In 1585, the famous painter Keshabdas presented an Album to Akbar which contained some copies of Christian painting. In the same year one Portuguese painter came to Lahore with the Jewish Mission. Akbar, in order to demonstrate the skill of his court painters, ordered one of them to draw a picture of Mary in the presence of the Portuguese painter, and in his presence the Indian painter produced the picture of Mary without the least defect. The Portuguese Fathers resided with Akbar in his Lahore Darbar for some time. The painters of the court had accompanied the Emperor to Lahore which soon became a veritable University of Painting.

A Venitian painter has recorded a scene on the tomb of Akbar in Sikendra. He mentioned that the tomb contained a picture of Jesus on the Cross, and another a painting Medona with Jesus on her lap. By the left side of Medona were painted the images of saints. The ceiling of the roof

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was decorated with large number of profane paintings. Though Musalmans as a class opposed to painting, yet the great Emperor lay in his eternal sleep surrounded by large number of pictures of human beings. Neither Jahangir nor Shajahan allowed any damage to be done to those pictures in the tomb of Sikendra.

In the year 1691, taking advantage of the long absence of Aurangzeb in the Deccan, the Juts plundered the tomb of Sikendra and desecrated the tomb of that Great Emperor. Aurangzeb was possibly happy and he asked all these frescos on walls to be one with line so that those paintings might not defile the eyes of the pious Muslims.

JAHANGIR

Jahangir was a peculiar man, a mixture of opposites. He inherited paternal liberality, maternal orthodoxy and ancestral love of art from his great ancestor, Abu Said. The lust for enjoyment common to a Mughul race, the cruelity of Timur the great founder of his race, addiction to drinking like his great grand-father Babar, love for poetry like his grand-father Humayun and the love for art like his great father, Akbar—all found expression in this prince. He enjoyed poetry and literature. He loved music and was himself an artist. At the same time he had the resignation of a philosopher and the tyranny of an autocrat. He is a man who may be admired but not immitated. His autobiography is a fountain of perennial joy. Jahangir had a great passion for collection of arts and curios. He collected a large number of manuscripts ; and ultimately this desire for collection turned into an addiction. It was his greatest hobby ; often many clever men presented to Jahangir a beautiful picture or a painted manuscript, in order to gain his favour. A story runs thus: the Persian Emperor once lost a picture from his treasury. This was the picture of Timuri Lang, which represented a scene of a war between Timur and Taktamish. This picture was drawn by Khalil Mirza, who was the teacher of Bihzad, the great painter. To any one who loved art, this famous painting was an invaluable treasure ; Jahangir was very fond of it, because it was a very life-like picture of Timuri Lang, his great ancestor. Some how this picture had been stolen from the art gallary of the Persian King. Khan Alam, Jahangir's Ambassador at the court of Persia managed to purchase this stolen property and sent it to Jahangir. Ultimately this news reached the Persian Shah who demanded the return of the picture from Jahangir. Jahangir knew the fact and honestly sent back the picture to Persia. The Persian Sultan, Shah Abbas, had the courtesy to send it back to the Indian Mughul and in his turn he realised a good deal of his own interest from Jahangir.

In his autobiography, Jahangir mentioned a large number of painters and paintings. He mentioned the famous picture of *Yusuf and Zulikha* drawn by the famous painter Abdul Ali Khan. Its price was 1000 gold Mohars, i.e. Rs. 16,000/-, in modern exchange of about 1 lakh of rupees. Jahangir had his agents to purchase or collect objects of art and curios in different parts of

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the world. Of these purchasing agents the most famous was Mukarrab Khan. He purchased for Jahangir one tapestry, which was known to be the most beautiful in the whole of Europe at that time. Khan Alam, his Ambassador, purchased an original painting of Timur for which Jahangir rewarded him with presents, befitting the Mughal Emperor. This picture was drawn up by a Christian painter of Constantinople. But Jahangir ultimately discovered that this was a mere immitation. So he refused to mention it in the list of his collections, because it was not considered as piece of art.

Jahangir was not a painter himself as his father or his grandfather had been. He was a critic of painting and excelled in his criticism any other Mughal Emperor before or after him. He writes in his autobiography, "My love for painting and my faculty of criticism of a picture has grown so advanced that from the mere sight of a picture I am well to name the painter and also the time of the painting." From this, it appears that he could examine the details of any painting, judge the style of drawing and adjustment of colour ; he knew the life history of almost every famous painter of his age. Jahangir employed a large number of painters and artists in his court and he mentioned their names in his autobiography. In this connection Jahangir said, "While I was a prince I appointed Akka Biza of Hirat as my personal painter. He was a very clever artist but his son Abul Hussain surpassed his father as a painter. I conferred on him the title of *Nadir-a-Zaman,* the pinnacle of the age. It was this Abul Hassan who decorated the *Jahangirnama* with his own painting. I have not the capacity to judge the beauty of this famous picture of Abul Hassan. If the great painter Abul Hye and Bihzad were alive today, they would be the men to judge the merit of Abul Hassan. I have been carefully watching the progress of Abul Hassan since his childhood and I can boldly say that he was a wonderful creation in this world." From this, it may be concluded that Jahangir watched very carefully the progress of every artist and painter of his court and he took particular care so that their genius might have its full play.

Next to Abul Hassan, the name of Mansur has been mentioned by Jahangir with great appreciation. Al-Mansur was very clever in painting animals. In planning a picture, Al-Mansur was always consulted. Jahangir conferred on him the title *Nadir-ul-Asr,* the pinackle of the age.

There is a mention of a Kalmaki painter, Faruk by name in the autobiography of Jahangir. Faruk followed the Safavi style of painting that was current in Persia at that time. The young painters of this period often received their inspiration from the technique of the European painters. But Faruk had has own style and had always avoided European style for which Jahangir praised him lavishly.

Drawing of figure by lines was very much favoured in the Mughal court. Muhammed Nadir often painted with black lines and this style was called Siha-i-kalam. Black lines or sepia or white paper was very much admired in Jahangir's court. It is just like our monochrome. Besides these famous painters there were many Indian painters of great repute in the Jahangir's court. Of them, the name of Gobordhan was very prominent. The Mughal

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style of painting was in fact of various styles and there is always an admixture of different influences on Mughal painting of this period. But Gobordhan was above all these influences ; he brought back the old Indian type of painting. Jahangir always loved a little show and grandeur. In painting pictures for the Darbar, Gobordhan utilised the old Indian scenes of grandeur for the satisfaction of his Emperor. Jahangir's autobiography contained some of the paintings of Gobordhan and it was no small honour for Gobordhan.

Another painter, Monohar by name, adorned the court of Jahangir. Play of colours was the special feature of Monohar. In the 16th century, Jahangir sent one Indian painter to the court of Persian Badshah Abbas. The name of this painter was Bishnu Das (or Bishn Das). He had a wonderful finger in drawing human figures. The painting of Shah Abbas drawn by Bishnu Das was given a place of honour in the court of Delhi. This picture represented Khan Alam, the ambassador and Shah Abbas, the Badshah sitting opposite to each other.

Jahangir liberally patronised European paintings in the Mughul Court. In his autobiography he has drawn a contrast between a European painting and a Persian painting. He had a good collection of paintings from Europe. A general order issued on his agents at different ports of India to collect any painting and reserve it for the emperor. No picture could be sold to any man unless the king had given permission for its sale. He asked his own painters to draw some Frescos on the wall in immitations of foreign pictures.

Father Guerairo has given very eloquent description of Jahangir's love for painting. "Drawing of human figure is prohibited in Islam, yet Emperor Jahangir was very lavish in his praise of the pictures of saints." Jahangir had a large number of Christian paintings on the walls of his palace both outside and inside. The roof of the room for personal use had a painting of Jesus Christ, surrounded by angels and decorated by halo of light. On the outside of the wall there were the paintings of many of his favourites. Those pictures were surrounded by the pictures of Portuguese soldiers. On the top of them, there was a picture of Jesus, the Deliverer. In this picture, Jesus had in his hand the entire globe as if He was the deliverer of the entire world. On the other side, there was the painting of Mary, the Virgin, and the pictures of saints on their knees praying before Mother Mary. This painting was in imitation of a painting of Saint Louis. There were also the paintings of Saint Paul, Saint Gregory and Saint Ambroys, surrounded the picture of his son. The Missionaries of Europe was astonished to find Christian pictures in the Muslim palace. These European clergymen had been the witness of the religious animosity during their period and the ambers of the religious war between Portuguese and the Catholics had not died down till then. Reminiscences of the Inquisition by the Catholics had still the terror in the minds of the contemporary Europe. These European missionaries could not but think that a king who had in this studio the painting of so many Catholic Saints could be anything but be a devout Catholic. There was the famous painting of Jesus known as the Act, and the pictures of the

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St. Jujan and the Saint Ane. The incidents from their lives of those saints have been well-depicted. There was also the famous painting—the Passion. Guerairo says, "The Emperor Jahangir advised his painters to take instructions from the reverend Fathers in drawing pictures relating to Christianity. It is a fact, of course, that the Indian painters did not follow the colour scheme of Europe though they copied the engraving of the European artists. In one of the walls in the palace of Agra there was the picture of Flogging of Jesus in oil painted fresco. This picture of Flogging of Jesus was considered the best amongst the painting in the Darbar.

Jahangir was a lover of tapestry as has already been mentioned. He ordered tapestries to be woven in his own factory. Some of these tapestries have the events on the life of Jesus woven on them. In one of the halls of the Palace he had a painting of Jesus talking to the Pope, to Emperor of Philip and to the Duke of Savoy. Of course, these paintings were done in imitations of the engravings.

Jahangir was very deeply acquainted with Christian paintings. Once a picture under the name of "Adoration of the Wise men of the East" came to his Darbar. Father Guerairo said, "The Emperor took the picture into his own hand and at once began to narrate the events of the life of Jesus and also the incidents of the lives of many wise men of the East." Jahangir had great taste and culture in criticising the beauty of paintings. A scene of beauty always inspired him to admire the painting of the Europeans. At the same time he was also attracted to the Chinese and Turkish paintings. It was very difficult to say which of these styles attracted him more. Because he had the skill to appreciate the style of all kinds of paintings and also their outer expression.

William Finch, an English traveller, came to the court of Jahangir in the year 1610. In one of the descriptions he says that the royal palace had a large number of fresco paintings on the walls. There were figures of the members of the royal family. Some of those paintings were of the ancestors of that Emperor and also of his high officers. It is interesting that William Finch mentioned a painting of a Satan on the walls of the palace. This Satan had long arms, long hairs, a long tail, large eyes and terrible teeth. But the Jesuit Fathers are very discreetly silent on the picture of Satan. The picture of Satan convinces us that the Christian paintings, which were done on the walls and roofs of the royal palace, did not inspire Jahangir's love for Christianity. But it was his love for beauty and painting that inspired him to have Christian paintings in his court. The very same wall which contained the picture of Jesus and the Virgin Mother also contained the picture of the Satan. At the same time there were the paintings of the members of the royal family. It is difficult to assess which picture received the greater attention and appreciation of the Emperor.

An English sailor, Capt. William Hawkins, stayed in the Court of Jahangir from 1609 to 1611. He was a great admirer of the wine cups of Jahangir. Both of them spent long evenings in front of wine cups. Jahangir decorated him with the title of the "English Khān". Hawkins, said, "Every

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morning Jahangir used to pray with beeds made of diamonds, jewels and ambers and at the end of the prayer he offered obeisance to Mother Mary and Jesus Christ."

Sir Thomas Roe was in the Court of Jahangir from 1610 to 1618. Father Guerveiro eulogised Jahangir as the Constantine of Christianity in India. But Hawkins always paid him tribute as the companion of the wine cups. Sir Thomas Roe described Jahangir as open-minded, liberal and lover of beauty. Once Jahangir saw an old picture of his own in the hands of Sir Thomas Roe, but he did not like that picture. He asked his court painter to draw picture for the honoured guest. Soon after he handed over to Sir Thomas Roe a picture of his own which astonished Sir Thomas Roe, because it was done so quickly and it was so life-like. All the high officers, Amirs and Rajas used to have the royal picture hung round their necks tied by a golden chain.

An English painter Robert Hues accompanied Sir Thomas Roe in India. Jahangir, on hearing about this painter, requested Sir Thomas Roe to make arrangements so that he might enjoy the painting of the English painter. But Robert replied very politely that he was not a painter but only an amateur and that all his paintings were just the work of an amateur. But the Emperor insisted on his bringing the paintings of Robert Hues in the court. After perusing these pictures he openly declared that there were painters in his court who could draw pictures like those, and he requested Sir Thomas Roe to leave one miniature painting for him. Next day when Sir Thomas Roe came to meet the Emperor he presented before him six imitations of that miniature and asked him to find out the original one. Sir Thomas Roe, in spite of his long observation, could not find out the original picture and he felt very awkard. Jahangir enjoyed this awkardness very much and congratulated himself and his court painters that the skill of an Indian painter had befooled the foreign.

Clever as Sir Thomas Roe was, he could easily discover the weak point in the character of Jahangir and he knew how to utilise this weakness: he gained favour from Jahangir by catering to his love for painting. He wrote to the authorities of the East India Company in London, "Please send beautiful pictures for presentation to the Mughal Emperor. But take care not to send pictures worth penny. Pictures come to the Mughal Court from Italy through land routes and through Ormuz for sale. The Mughal Emperor is a great connossieur of art and his courtiers are very expert in assessing values of pictures and in making criticism. They are in a position to criticise pictures that had come from Europe." In 1617, a large number of pictures arrived in the Mughal Darbar. Jahangir requested Sir Thomas Roe to explain some of those pictures: Jahangir was charmed with the pictures of Lady Montague and Lady Malino. But he was little puzzled to see the picture of Satyr. He requested Sir Thomas Roe to narrate to him the significance of this picture and Sir Thomas Roe was often puzzled with question after question on this picture and in the end he was forced to admit that the picture was only an imagination of the painter. But Jahangir was not satisfied with the explana-

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tion. He himself then began to explain. Sir Thomas Roe narrated, "The Emperor went on saying, this white Venus with brown Satyr below the feet symbolises the White Europe with India down her feet ; in other words a White Lady has subdued Hindustan." After this explanation, a great flatter passed through the Mughul Darbar and Sir Thomas Roe felt very uncomfortable after this. So after the incident Sir Thomas Roe wrote to England, "Do not send any picture to India which may hurt the sentiments of Indians and which may yield to misinterpretation."

Next year, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the East India Company, "The picture of Diana has given great satisfaction to the Mughal Emperor." Again, Sir Thomas Roe asked the East India Company to send some presents on behalf of the English King to the Court of Great Mughal and he advised them not to forget pictures in the list of presents because pictures are alwavs admired in the Mughal Court." The description of Sir Thomas Roe mentioned Daulatabagh, a city built on the bank of the Ana Sagar. The walls of this city were decorated with the ancient Indian paintings and European paintings and there were also some pictures of French Kings. Once Jahangir had arranged a very big reception in his throne hall, that hall was decorated with the paintings of English King and Queen and also English Dukes. An English painter named Hatfield had drawn those pictures under orders of the Emperor. This proves that Jahangir had also employed some European painters in his court. The autobiography of Jahangir mentioned the name of a French Artist who was employed for decorating his throne. The name of this mechanic was Austin Elias. Jahangir conferred on him the title of *Hurnarnand,* the expert.

SAHAJAHAN

Through the veins of Sahajahan ran Hindu blood more than Muslim blood. His mother was Jagat Gosaini, his grandmother was Jodh Bai, a princess of Jaipur (Ambar). His mother Jagat Gosaini was very much influenced by Vaishnavism. She used to have deep marks of sandal on her forehead to maintain Hindu connections. Jahangir, in his joking mood, addressed her as *Gosaini,* i.e. the wife of a saint. Sahajahan's grandmother Jodhbai maintained a sacrificial den in Hindu fashion in which she offered homage to her deity by offering oblations. Every evening she used to bow down before the *Tulsi plant* seeking blessings from her God Narayana. She used to sprinkle sacred water of the Ganges to purify the touch of a Javana (unclean). She had her food cooked by a Brahmin—such was the terrible attempt made by that pious lady to preserve the sanctity of her religion. Jahangir was half-Hindu by birth. Sahajahan's mother was a full Hindu and his father Jahangir was half-Muslim. Therefore, Sahajahan was three-fourth a Hindu. But, through the influence of the Persian wife, Mamtaz Begam, Sahajahan got rid of Hindu influence of his birth. In order to win the sympathy of the Muslim orthodox community, Sahajahan often maintained the orthodox form of Islam, thus impeding the Indo-Muslim cultural

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approach to the great disadvantage of the Hindu. But, within a few years, Mamtaz died and consequently Sahajahan's unique love for beauty got the better of the sanctions and prohibitions of the Quran. Sahajahan was a great admirer of architecture, art, music, dancing and painting. His greatest hobby was building of palaces, tombs and mosques. On the walls of the *Diwan-i-am*, i.e. the hall of public audience, he had "the picture of a baby with wings like European Cherubim". Those paintings were often drawn in imitation of Indian *Kinnara* (किन्नर) or Iranian miniature angels and these drawings were against Islam. He did not bring down the picture of Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary which hang behind his throne since the time of his father. It is a fact that Sahajahan ordered the destruction of churches at Lahore and Agra. It is also a fact that an Augustian Missionary named Sebastian had to draw pictures in connection with a reception at Lahore ; a large number of pictures depicting the incidents of St. John, the Baptist was planned by Sebastian and these pictures were used to decorate the hall of reception.

Like his father, more elaborately than his father, Sahajahan used to celebrate the weighing ceremony (*Tuladan*). During that ceremony the body of the Emperor was weighed against gold, silver, diamonds and jewels which, at the end of the ceremony, were distributed in charity to his favourites and to the poor. Just on that day the Emperor used to sit before the painters to have his picture drawn. The Emperor could mark the progress or deterioration of his health every year on the day of his birth. The princes, Mansabdars and the Amirs had their pictures drawn on their respective birthdays in imitations of their Emperor.

During the reign of Sahajahan a few of the old painters of his father's age survived. Of them, we note the existence of Hunhar, Anup, Chintaman, Mir Hassain, Banichand and Fakir Ullah Khan. But we do not get a name of any famous painter who was the product of the reign of Sahajahan. All the celebrated painters were the remnants of the period of Jahangir.

Dara Sikho, the eldest son of Sahajahan, offered his favourite wife one *Murakka* (Album), on the front page of this album has been written,—

> "I, Prince Dara Sikho, son of Emperor Sahajahan, in the year 1051 Hijri (1651 A.D.) present this *Murakka* to my wife and friend Nadira Begam."

This Nadira Begam was the last companion of this unfortunate prince. She followed Dara in his captivity while he was fleeing away from India. She committed suicide by sucking poison lest she might fall into the hands of Aurangzeb and be insulted. She preferred death to dishonour. This *Murakka* was taken by her while she was on her journey to the west and it was recovered after Dara Sikho was imprisoned. This *Murakka*, at least a part of it, has survived.

The peacock throne of Sahajahan had been planned on a picture first. A very great and subtle expert must have the model of the peacock throne painted and it was ultimately reduced to a material throne with gold, silver, diamond and jewels. Similarly Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas had been planned on paper in the form of pictures before they were reduced to marbles.

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AURANGZEB

Aurangzeb was the last great Mughal emperor in India and he revived the old orthodox principles and customs. He believed that attention to beauty slackens the sense of morality in man. Therefore, he always avoided music, dancing and art including painting. Within a few years of his accession, the royal grandeur and brilliance took leave of the royal court. There was no longer that play of music (*Nahabat*) on the gate of the royal palace, no longer there were those play of dancing ring (*Nupur*) of the dancing girls. The musicians left the royal palace, the dancing girls were no longer necessary adjunct of the royal household. Once Aurangzeb came to the royal mosque in a Friday afternoon. On the way he marked a great procession carrying a very large funeral bier covered with a piece of black velvet and all the processionists had worn black garments as a mark of mourning. Aurangzeb was astonished, who was this man? Who was this great man in whose funeral, so many citizens of Delhi were taking part? The Emperor asked, "Who is this man? Who is dead?" The reply at once came "It is the funeral of music. The Mughal Emperor has murdered music and we the citizens of Delhi are going to bury the dead body of music." Aurangzeb placed his finger on his lips, became sullen and uttered solemnly, "See that the depth of the burial pit is dug deeper." It is futile to expect any encouragement of art and painting from such a man who loved not music. After the conquest of Bijapur, Aurangzeb ordered washing out of all figures of men and beasts on the walls of the royal palace. He ordered that the walls of the Delhi Fort or royal palace must be washed white so that no human figures could defile the eyes of a pious Muslim. Thus he declared his crescentade against painting. Even the beautiful pictures on the walls of the tomb of the Sinkandra were denuded of their matchless paintings. Thus, Aurangzeb caused the destruction of art and beauty of India and that forever.

It was a characteristic of the Mughal age to write history. Every incident of the state was put down in black and white and the important of these events were reduced to painting. The Bazar painters used to paint pictures of contemporary events and of big personalities and sent them to shops for sale. Sometimes the painter went into the market every Friday and sold those paintings in the open market. Professional painters used to sit on the road side, or on the steps of the Mosque and offered themselves for employments like the wage earning masons of modern days. These were, of course, not real artists but professional men. They used to lend their services on daily or monthly wage basis. There are instances when contracts were made between the artists and the Amirs for painting the walls or decorating the manuscripts or drawing pictures of their own choice. In Mughal India, really good artists found employment in the royal court ; Subader, Amirs or feudal chiefs also employed them. They were often rewarded with grants or lands for meritorious work. They were asked to paint for satisfaction of their employers and often they have no independence in their execution of work. Decoration of manuscript was also a part of their work for the painters. Of course, there are

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instances when the painters were given full freedom to draw and to have full play of their talent.

Bernier (1656-1668 A.D.) divided Indian painters into two groups:

(1) Bazari—(Professional)—Open to engagement anywhere.

(2) Darbari—attached to court.

The Bazari painters were really in a very sad plight. If they could not satisfy their employers they were not only denied their wages for their work, but often they received flogging instead of wages and there was no remedy for this ill-treatment.

There were some families who were painters by caste. Their art came down from father to son and so on, but not in female line. These men could not leave their family profession even when their earning was not sufficient. From their very childhood, the members of the family were given training in painting and every member could more or less paint and earn out of their paintings. Upto the time of Sahajahan, most of the emperors, Amirs, Subadors had their own studios, and these studios gave employment to families of painters or to individual painters. Painters had their Jaigirs or they worked on salary.

Bernier was not very generous in his praise about the Indians. Yet Bernier writes, "The subtlity of Indian painters is so attractive, so appealing, so delicate that I cannot but commend on them and admire them." Bernier once expressed his admiration for a painting on an Indian shield and he exclaimed "how beautiful". This painting on shield was the scene of a war of the time of Akbar. It took 7 years for a reputed painter to complete this picture on the shield. According to Bernier, Indian drawing of faces suffered by comparison with European faces. Indians had no sense of promotion of human body, as Bernier revealed. Of course, this remark is due to his ignorance of the scientific knowledge of the Indian background. He may be excused for his ignorance because he was not a painter himself.

One Mr. Thevnot came to India in 1666. He has given descriptions of several Indian paintings in his journals. He had seen Indian paintings on paper and board. During the period of Sahajahan, the sanctity of the Mughal Darbar and of the Mughal harem had been very much toned down, though Sahajahan showed his love for the memory of his wife, Taj Mahal. It might be said that behind this memorial of tears there was more love for architecture than love for his dead consort. The building of the Taj Mahal was more or less "playing to the gallery" and his amours did not cease because of the absence of Mamtaj ; this tomb-making was a fashion in Mughal India and there were many before him but his was the best.

Thevenot said that the pictures drawn for Sahajahan's court were more prompted by appeal to physical beauty like the European paintings of Aratin. Aratin's paintings were so indelicate that a father and a son, or a brother and sister could not enjoy them together. Scenes of war as painted by Indian painters had the greatest attraction for Thevnot. Actual stories of expeditions and war were very accurately painted by Indian painters. The colour scheme of the Indian painters could immitate the beauty of the sun rise or of the sun

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set. But, in the end, Thevnot concluded that Indian painting was gradually becoming lifeless for want of patronage ; Aurangzeb was then on the throne of Delhi.

During the later period of Sahajahan's reign (1640-1683), Mannucci arrived in India. He was aged only seventeen and stayed in India till his seventy-eighth year when he died. He took to the profession of a physician and as a physician he had the opportunity of acquaintance with the monarch and the aristocrats. He was very lavish in his praise for the beauty and love for art. Mannucci was himself a connossieur of art and painting. He mentioned the name of one painter named Mir Muhammed who drew a *Murakka* on his request. Many of the pictures drawn by Mir Muhammed were used to decorate *Storia du Mogor*—which Mannucci wrote. The originals of these pictures are still in Paris. A very interesting story had been told by Mannucci regarding the drawing of pictures on Mughal ladies. These Mughal ladies were sacrosant and they could not appear before the male painter. But the painter had to draw her picture ; so a device was engineered. The Mughal lady used to sit on the edge of a lake or a tank behind a screen. The painter was asked to take his model from the shadow of the lady on the water. Certainly this was a difficult task, but Indian painters were so expert that they could do their part well. We have also one or two instances when the lady-painters used to take sketch from the Mughal harem.

The loss that Indian painting has sustained due to the activities of Aurangzeb cannot be measured. The orthodoxy of this one man was responsible for the loss of some of the great works of the India's painters and sculptors. That loss is beyond measure.

SAMBHAJI'S RELATIONS WITH THE SEA POWERS IN KONKAN

R. V. Oturkar

Historians writing about the Sambhaji period treat his activities in Konkan and his relations with the sea-powers, more or less as an appendix to the main narrative which deals with his struggle with the Moguls. As an illustration the reader is referred to Sardesai's *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, Chapter XIII, Sambhaji the violent. Again Prof. Sarkar assessing Sambhaji's activities, in *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, Chapter 44 remarks 'And yet Shambuji was frittering away his strength in small predatory incursions here and there, or engaging in fruitless wars with the Siddis and the Portuguese, having "too many iron in the fire" to do anything effective, as the Surat factors rightly remarked in December 1683. The proper strategy for him should have been to concentrate all his forces against his chief enemy and deal a crushing blow at any of the main Mughal divisions, and thus clear the way for an invasion of the imperial dominions that would have produced an important political effect." It is thus clear that the eminent historian was of opinion that

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Sambhaji was frittering away his strength in fighting with the Siddis and the Portuguese.'

And in my opinion this remark is an outcome of looking at the whole situation from a wrong perspective. Not only was Sambhaji frittering away his resources in fighting with Siddi and the Portuguese but he had a correct grasp of the situation and was perfectly right in directing his strength against the two sea powers—Siddis and the Portuguese. It should be noted that Konkan bounded by sea on one side and the wall of the Sahyadri on the other was something like a home for the Maratha power. Raigad, the capital of Shivaji, was in Konkan close to Janjira—the stronghold of Siddi. Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad describes Siddi as if 'he were a mouse in the house', evidently because Sabhasad who had been living in the life-time of Shivaji looked upon Konkan as the home of the Marathas. The writer of *Adnyapatra* which is an early 18th century document on Maratha polity treats about Shyamalas and Phirangees, i.e. Siddis and Portuguese as enemies at home. In this connection it is interesting to note that Shivaji after his defeat in the siege of Purandar in 1665 nogotiated a treaty with Jaising in which he ceded as many as 24 fortresses to the Moguls and kept only 12 for himself. If the geographical location of these fortresses, Rairee, Tale, Lingamgad, Pal, Ghosale etc. is carefully marked, it will be found that most of these are on the other side of the Sahyadri. The biographers of Shivaji have not looked at this aspect with a correct perspective. If Shivaji's activities be minutely studied, it will be noted that he always took very great care in consolidating his position in Konkan, which was guarded on the side of the sea by a line of sea ports from Kalyan Bhiwandi to Karwar and on the side of land by a line of fortresses ranging from Salher Mulher in the north to Panhala in the south. Konkan formed really the base of operations of Shivaji. He belonged to the Bhonsle family which had its hereditary lands at Hingni, Berdi and Deulgaon which are located on the plains in the Godawari valley what is today called Aurangabad Dist. That was really the home of the Bhonsales. But Shivaji did not make that as the starting point of his activities, because the places were situated on the plains and were in close vicinity of the Mogul capital of the Deccan. Shivaji started his career at a time when he had to face the Mogul power at Delhi and the Adilshahi power at Bijapur. He chose Poona as the centre of his activities and extended his hold in the western and southern direction which was a hilly tract of land difficult for approach both for the Moguls as well as for the Bijapur power. Moguls were valiant in fighting on the plains but they were on the whole weak in their capacity to fight amongst the hills and they had no navy worth the name. In choosing Konkan as his home Shivaji chose an area difficult to be approached by the two powers that he had to face. Again Konkan rarely suffers from scarcity of rainfall. Crop, such as it is, is certain and therefore there is no danger of a failure in the receipt of land revenue, once the system is placed on a sound footing. In mediaeval times land revenue formed the major portion of the income of the State. Certainty of the amount of revenue and regularity in its collection would promote stability, leading to peace and order, the primary

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needs of the people in those days of constant warfare. It will thus be seen that Konkan was a very convenient basis for the Maratha power for reasons strategic as well as financial.

Shivaji was as anxious to build up his navy as he was in raising a line of fortresses on the hills of the Sahyadri. He had to deal with the Siddi, the Portuguese, the English and Savant of Kudal as his rivals that would question his authority on sea. Of these the English followed the policy of throwing the burden of fighting on somebody else, only limiting themselves to such activities as would not draw upon them the aggressive attack of that Maratha ruler. Kudal Savant generally shielded himself by going under the protection of the Portuguese. There were, therefore, only two powers to be accounted for, viz. the Portuguese and the Siddis. Of these Shivaji had defeated the Portuguese at Salsette in 1669, and thus their northern centre Daman was rendered innocuous. Shivaji next turned to Siddi and to Goa which was the southern centre of activities of the Portuguese. He could not accomplish the task of overpowering them during his life-time and it was left to his son Sambhaji to take up the thread where his father had left it.

Sambhaji has often been described as a prince giving himself up to wine and women. It is not the purpose of this paper to go into the investigation of that charge ; but whatever may be said about his character, he was engaged in such ceaseless activity during the first four years of his rule 1680-84 that it hardly left him any time for indulging in such excesses ; at least from the available evidence on record it can hardly be said that the political interest of the State ever suffered on account of his alleged personal vices. His responsibilities were great, his difficulties still greater. Distracted by a series of conspiracies at home on one side and a well organised strategic attack upon his kingdom by the Moguls, Sambhaji had to make Konkan clear of all the enemies, in the midst of the multifarious campaigns that he was required to fight. The Mogul attack on Sambhaji was well planned, strategic and co-ordinated. It was not an isolated attack of a Mogul General or two only in one direction such as the ones that Shivaji ever had to face during his life-time. The whole campaign has been very well described by Prof. Sarkar in his *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV and I do not wish to repeat it here. The two armies, one under Shahabuddin and the other under Muazzam had planned to penetrate into Konkan from two different directions, from north and south, which were to form a junction in the heart of Sambhaji's State, Siddi all the while performing an important task of giving supplies to the fighting forces in that inaccessible land. The Portuguese also were looking forward to fight with redoubled vigour by forming a junction with the army under Muazzam that was marching across Ramsej Ghat, near Belgaum. Here was Sambhaji's opportunity. His main responsibility was to prevent the junction of the two armies intending to march into Konkan from north and south, as also to prevent Siddi from offering supplies to the fighting forces and to render the Portuguese powerless to do any mischief before Muazzam was able to get into Konkan across the Ramsej Ghat. It must be said to the credit of Sambhaji that despite domestic distractions he became completely successful

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in achieving all his ends and maintain his hold on the home lands of Konkan. It is a matter of common knowledge to a student of history of this period, that Aurangazeb for a time had to drop his plan of subjugating Sambhaji and to divert his forces towards Bijapur and Golconda early in the year 1685.

It will thus be clear that the incursions of Sambhaji during this period were not of a predatory nature, nor were his wars with Siddi and the Portuguese fruitless and without a purpose. If Sambhaji would have indulged in pursuing Ajinm in Baglan, he perhaps would have got plunder, but Konkan would have been a meeting place of the Moguls under Shahabuddin and Muazam, who would have joined hands with Siddi and the Portuguese on sea and effectively choked the Maratha power out of existence. The sea powers were weak because they had not an effective grounding on land and the land power of the Moguls was weak against the Marathas because the Moguls had not a navy worth the name. The combination of the two would have proved extremely dangerous for the existence of the Maratha power. Again by concentrating his movements in Konkan in the vicinity of Raigad, the capital, Sambhaji could keep a watch on the rival factions at the Court and could prevent them from being too powerful in forming a counter-plot against him. If Sambhaji would have listened to the ambitious suggestion of Akbar to go over to the North and thus create a diversion for Aurangazeb, who knows what development could have taken place in Konkan during Sambhaji's absence. Sambhaji could not have gone to the North in the same secure conditions at home as Shivaji had gone in 1666. His plan of concentrating in Konkan, might not appear to be a very adventurous policy that could catch the imagination but in my opinion it was a policy of well advised caution. In this connection it is interesting to compare Bajirao and Sambhaji. Bajirao followed the policy of going to the North, with the hope of striking at Delhi, but he left Siddi and the Portuguese unconquered. His brother Chimaji humbled the Portuguese, but Siddi even remained a thorn in the side of the Maratha power. With all our admiration of Bajirao for his dash in rushing to the North he can be justly criticised for having gone to the North without consolidating the South. Sambhaji followed the policy of consolidation first and conquest, if possible, afterwards. That things took a different turn after 1685, and he could not start on his career of conquest is a different thing and it would be wrong to accuse Sambhaji to have frittered away his resources in fighting fruitless wars with the Siddis and the Portuguese, in the context of what happened after 1685.

The judgement of the Surat factors that Sambhaji was frittering away his resources in fruitless wars can hardly be called in to support this contention. Contemporary evidence may be used to ascertain facts but should be used with caution when the statement expresses a judgement on the situation. Those in the thick of fight are often not competent enough to express an opinion on the fight itself. Again the Directors at Surat were hardly qualified to comprehend the correct bearing of the relative strength and weakness of those that were engaged in a deadly struggle at that time.

Before concluding this short paper I have to make one request. Historical

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research, if it is to be a worship of truth and a discipline of thought must be as free from emotions and prejudices as is humanly possible. Sambhaji, Siddi and the Portuguese of the 17th century might have fought a deadly war with each other in defending their respective positions ; but we, their descendants must cooperate in preserving papers, ransacking the records, and pooling together the whole of the contemporary evidence in assessing facts and understanding their sequence. The study of Maratha history can hardly be complete without the knowledge of Portuguese and an admission to the archives at Goa which is rich with the historical material so useful for the study of this and the earlier period. So it is with the Siddis whose state has lately been merged in the Union of Bharat. The records ought to be made available to the students, so that Sambhaji's relations with the sea powers could be studied from the other end. So far as the Portuguese material is concerned, it is necessary to urge that the study of history cannot wait the political development that might or might not lead to an integration of Goa in the Union of Bharat. Let us steer clear of the political path and join in co-operation for the study of the past.

NIGAR NAMA-I-MUNSHI

(A valuable collection of Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign)

DR. S. NURUL HASAN

The study of the history of medieval India is handicapped by the meagreness of official records. The *Ain*, and the few known *Dasturul Amal* provide information on the administrative laws, but enough information is still not available on the working of the administrative institutions. The *farmans*, though existing in large numbers, are still too widely scattered, while the few collections of official correspondence have not been properly analysed. It is hoped that the Record Offices of the older Indian princely States will yield much useful material when they are scrutinised by historians. But apart from the important volume relating to *Daftar-i-Diwani* records not much material has appeared in print. The present paper is, therefore, intended to introduce to the historians a rich and important collection of documents and records of the reign of Aurangzeb—the *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi*. Two copies of the work are preserved in the manuscript library of the Aligarh Muslim University.[1]

1. The first manuscript (A) is in Sir Shah Sulaiman Collection, no. *Farsiya*, 152. Transcribed in 1195 H/1781. Written in stylish *shikast*, with the headings in red. Ff. 206. Size: 8.5″ × 5″ ; 6.7″ × 3.2″. Ll. to page 15. Slightly worm-eaten and water-stained. Binding defective.

The second manuscript (B) is in Nawab Abdus-Salam Collection, no. 362/132. Transcribed in 1227H/1812-13. Written in bold *nasta'liq*, with the headings in red. Ff. 304. Size: 9.7″ × 5.7″ Ll. to page 13.

The transcription of A is accurate, while that of B is defective. Both the manuscripts have long gaps, but taken together they are complete.

All references, unless otherwise specified, are to Ms. A.

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The work was compiled as a model of letter-writing, and its arrangement is therefore, in accord with that object. But the letters and documents, though arranged for a different purpose, are drafts of actual letters sent or documents issued. Consequently, they are of great value.

The author calls himself "Munshi, known as Malik-zada." From the preface it appears that he served on the staff of Lashkar Khan, who was Mir Bakhshi from July 1670 to January 1671. Some time after the latter's death, he entered the service of Prince Mu'azzam, Shah 'Alam. When the prince was proceeding on his expedition to Afghanistan (in 1677), he was attached to the secretariat of Prince Mu'izz-ud-Din. Due to infirmity, however, the author could not proceed beyond Peshawar. From an incidental reference in the text, we gather that he was given a mansab of 200 and was made a *sadr* and darogha *'adalat* at Multan (f. 110B). Later he joined the staff of Mirza Badiuz-Zaman, Rashid Khan, who held the office of Diwan. Then for sometime he served under Rahmat Khan, the *Diwan-i-Buyutat,* and later, under Mirza Muhammad Irani, entitled Basharat Khan who held the office of the Imperial Diwan. When the Imperial Camp moved from Aurangabad, Munshi did not accompany his master but stayed behind. He had reached the age of 70 years, and decided to devote his time to the compilation of his own drafts, as well as those of other well-known *munshis.* The compilation was done in the year 1095/1684.

Plan of the Work :

The work begins with an Introduction on the art of drafting (*insha*), in which the styles of the prominent *munshis,* from the time of Abul Fazl, are reviewed.

The work is divided into two parts, called *Daftar.* The first includes the letters or documents drafted by the author himself, while the second comprises documents drafted by other well-known *munshis.*

DAFTAR I: The first *Daftar* is divided into four *Safha,* each of these being further subdivided into several *Babs.*

Safha I : Letters drafted for, or on behalf of, the princes of the royal blood.

Bab i : Petitions, or letters written to elders and superiors. Most of the letters included here were written for Prince Mu'izz-ud-Din, the eldest son of Prince Mu'azzam. There are some letters written for Princess Daulat-Afza and Khujista Akhtar and for Princess Dahr-afruz Banu Begum. (10b-22a).

Bab ii : Letters written to youngers of equal status. This section includes the correspondence of Mu'izza-ud-Din, Daulat-afza Dahr-afruz (22a-23b).

Bab iii : Letters written for Mu'izz-ud-Din to notables, including Maharaja Jaswant Singh, A'izz Khan,[2] Sheikh 'Abd-ul-Khaliq, the Imperial Vakil, and Mir Muhammad Ma'sum, the Diwan (23b-25b).

2. The general who was sent to the Afghanistan expedition, and who has been incorrectly mentioned by Sarkar as Aghar Khan. *History of Aurangzeb,* III, pp. 237 *et seq.*

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Most of these letters are of a personal nature, though some, especially in the *Bab iii,* throw some light on administrative affairs.

Safha II : Letters written for the nobles, divided into two *babs.*

Bab i : Correspondence between the nobles. Most of these letters were written for Lashkar Khan. Three letters are of condolence at the death of Ja'far Khan, in 1670, while two others were also written in condolence. Two letters of congratulations, written to Mukhtar Khan on his appointment as *Subedar* of Kashmir, and to Wizarat Khan on his appointment as *Darogha* of Imperial *Ghusl-Khana,* are interesting from the administrative point of view. There are a few other letters of a personal nature.

Bab ii : Contains two letters to inferiors, the second being addressed to Mulla Mushiri of Kashmir, the poet, who was assigned 100 *Kharwar Shali,* from the revenues of the *'amil* of the *Jagir* in Kashmir, as stipend (30b-31b).

Safha III : Letters of Diwans.

Bab i : Petitions, to the Emperor and to Prince Mu'azzam. It is difficult to ascertain the name of the *Diwan* on whose behalf these letters were written. Some were written for one Imad, who was probably attached to Prince Mu'izz-ud-Din.

These letters deal principally with revenue administration. There are reports that local officials, particularly those entrusted with the maintenance of law and order, like *fauzdars,* were tyrannising over the peasantry. The trouble became acute because the *fauzdar* was not subordinate to the *Diwan* of Jagirdars. There is considerable information regarding the assignment of the revenues of specified territories to nobles as *Jagirs* in lieu of cash salary. Sometime only part of the revenues of villages had to be sent to the Government treasury, or the treasury of some high noble. There are references to the difficulties in the payment of cash salaries to minor officials and troops regularly. Information is also given regarding the difficulties of transferring treasure from one place to the other, and on the widely prevalent system of bills of exchange (*Hundi* or Hindui (31b-51a).

Bab ii : Letters of *Diwans* to other distinguished nobles. The addressees include Asad Khan, Muhsin Khan, Bahramand Khan, Abdur Rahim Khan, Amanat Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Anas Khan, Mir Mahdi, Afrasiyab Khan, Amir Khan and Rashid Khan.

These letters, some of which are personal in nature, throw light on the relations of nobles with one another, and also on the working of the administrative machinery. Some letters indicate the difficulties arising out of dual control in *jagir* areas, as also in the matter of appointments. There is also information on the combining of the offices of *amin* with *krori* or thanadar or *faujdar.*

The rate of revenue was prescribed as ½ of the produce. Efforts were made to extend the cultivated area, and to stop all extra cesses and taxes even in *jagir* lands.

The accounts were not always kept properly and there were defalcations. The letters describe the efforts to bring the system of accounting in *jagirs* in conformity with Imperial regulations.

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These letters also show that *jagirs* were very frequently transferred, and revenue of a territory assigned to one person was sometime transferred in times of emergency to another.

There is also some information on the mode of payment of excess revenue by *jagirdars* to the Imperial Treasury (51a-81b).

Bab iii : Orders, sent to officers.

Much of the information regarding revenue administration referred to above is elucidated in these orders. There is criticism of subordinate officials who either tyrannised over the people or neglected their duty. Co-operation between *faujdar* and *amin* is urged, and slackness in collecting revenue is disapproved. Some light is thrown on the position of the Zamindars. These orders reveal that although the administrative machinery was showing signs of a break-down, yet the control of the higher authorities was still quite effective.

While the realisation of revenue in cash had become almost the rule, nevertheless crop-sharing system also continued in some places.

There is an interesting order regarding the collection of *Jaziya*. This tax, levied on persons living in *Jagirs* as well, presumably went to the Imperial Treasury. In the absence of classified nominal rolls of Hindus, the Imperial tax-collectors demanded from *jagirdars* large amounts. Consequently efforts were made to prepare a list of Hindus falling under the three prescribed catagories (81b-90a).

Bab iv : Letters of Appointment and other orders.

This constitutes the most important section of the work. It includes the actual letters of appointment of various officials and instructions issued to them. There are letters of appointments to the following posts:

faujdar, diwan, amin, krori, qanungo, karkun, thanadar, kotwal, quazi, darogha of *'adalat, sadr, fotadar, darogha* of treasury, *mushrif*, superintendent of records, *Baramad nawis, waqia-nawis, bakhshi* and *chaudhri*. These orders not only state the duties of the above officials but also reveal the character of administrative machinery.

Copies of *sanads* issued for the grant or resumption of *jagirs* and grant of *madad-e-mu'ash* are also given. It is worth noting that grants of *madad-e-mu'ash* were small, 100 or 200 bighas of arable but uncultivated land. Usually revenue of villages was not assigned for this purpose. Some *sanads* deal with special duties, such as inquiry into accounts.

It appears from these letters as stated above that many posts were frequently combined. For example *Mir Bahri* with *Kotwali, Wikalat-i-Shava'i* with *Daroghgi-i-baitulmal, Bakshigiri* or *Daroghgi-i-khajana* with *Waqia-nowisi*. The *waqia nawis* was expected to report not only on general administration but also on the working of the revenue administration (90a-106a, A is incomplete, B gives copies of many more *sanads*.)

Bab v : Orders of the army department, regarding the appointment of *diwan* of an expeditionary army, and the inspection of *dagh* and weapons (106a-106b), and miscellaneous orders dealing with farming of revenue (*mustajiri*), taxes on groves, in which a lower rate was prescribed for groves

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belonging to Muslims. Some letters of appointment of officials are also given. This section concludes with an interesting *dastur-ul-amal* for *Diwans*. (In ms. B only.)

Safha iv : Letters written by the author in his personal capacity to Prince Mu'izz-ud-Din and to many friends, including a letter addressed to the famous historian, Mohammad Salih Kambuh.

These letters are personal in nature, though they contain incidental references to political events, administration and the day-to-day life of the people (106b-125a).

DAFTAR II: Letters drafted by other *munshis*.

Safha i : Royal *farmans* and *sanads*.

Correspondence of Shah Jahan with Nazr Muhammad Khan of Turan and Shah Abbas II of Iran, drafted by Sa'dullah Khan. These letters are well-known. (131a-137b).

Correspondence of Aurangzeb with Mirza Raja Jai Singh (125a-128a ; 128b-129b). In *Safha iv* and *v* below, more letters of Jai Singh to Aurangzeb are quoted.

This chapter includes a large number of letters of appointment, issued by the Imperial Secretariat, for most of the offices mentioned in *Bab iv* of *Safha* III of the first *Daftar*. There are drafts of public notifications of some of these appointments in which the duties of other officials and the public towards these officers are also stated.

Among the more interesting of these documents is an order issued to Rasik Das, in which the entire land-revenue administration is reviewed, its defects pointed out, and reforms ordered (129b-131a). Another order grants remission of *jaziya* to peasants on grounds of their poverty and in the interest of the extension of cultivation (B. 231a-232b). It is not clear whether this order was of general application, or was intended for some particular locality. (125a-137b. A is incomplete. The rest of the letters are given in B 225b-255a.)

Safha II : Orders issued by Prince Muazzam.

These include letters of appointment and instructions to *faujdars, amins* and *diwan*. There is a grant of *madad-i-mu'ash* and *parwanas* of safe travel (*rahdari*).

This section concludes with copies of letters written mostly by Mu'izz-ud-Din, and contain only incidental information (B. 255b-263a.)

Safha III : Letters and reports written by nobles. These letters were either written by or addressed to the following nobles:

Amanat Khan, Hamid Khan, Qasim Khan, Himmat Khan, Lashkar Khan, Adil Khan, Rahmat Khan, Amir Khan, Qiwam-ud-Din.

These letters are of great value, in so far as they contain reports on general and revenue administration. These are important from the point of political as well as administrative history. (147a-160a).

Safha IV : Petitions and letters written by the well-known *munshi*, Udai Raj Rustam Khani.

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Petitions or letters written to the Emperor (160a-182a) and to Ja'far Khan, to the *Sadr-us-Sudur,* to Adil Shah of Bijapur and Qutbul-Mulk of Golcanda and the correspondence of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. These letters contain valuable information on the political history of the earlier part of Aurangzeb's reign. (160a-188a).

Safha V : Specimens of drafts of well-known *munshis* like Sheikh Abdus-Samad Jaunpuri, Mir Mohammad Raza, Sa'dullah Khan, Sadiqi etc. Apart from the letters of Jai Singh to Aurangzeb (190a-191b), other letters do not contain much information on administrative or political affairs. (188a-206a).

It is not possible, in the course of this short paper, to examine in detail and assess the value of the information contained in the work, or even to give its analytical summary. If this paper draws the attention of the scolars to the need of subjecting this work to a close scrutiny, it would have more than served its purpose.

SOME DOCUMENTS ON REVENUE ADMINISTRATION DURING AURANGZEB'S REIGN

SHEIK ABDUR RASHID

Some valuable documents relating to revenue administration are contained in a little known book *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi,* a collection of letters, official correspondence and administration manuals, drafted on behalf of princes or nobles by one Munshi, known among his contemporaries as Malik-zada. The work was compiled by the Munshi himself in 1095/1683. Two manuscript copies of the work are preserved in the Library of the Muslim University.[1] My friend Dr. S. Nurul Hasan, M.A., D.Phil (Oxon) has elsewhere described with great ability this extremely interesting and useful book. I have been able to use the information contained therein for the purposes of this paper through his kindness. Limitations of space do not permit me to give detailed information about the duties and functions of the officials of the revenue department or the general principles of revenue administration of the Mughals. I have given here a very brief, and I am afraid disjoined, summary of the *Chapter* relating to the Revenue Department, and I hope it will be useful for studnts of Mughal history.

Apart from throwing interesting light on the working of the revenue administration, these documents reveal that:

(*i*) The state demand was fixed at 50% of the produce ;

(*ii*) The Government made every effort to prevent the levying of any unauthorised taxes over and above the state-demand ;

1. The first manuscript is in Sir Shah Sulaiman collection, No. Farsiya 152, transcribed in 1195H/1780. The other manuscript is in Nawab Abdus Salam collection, No. 362/132, copies in 1227H/1812-13. Both the manuscripts have lacunae, but together they appear to be complete.

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(*iii*) The Govt. emphasised with all the force the need for increasing the cultivation ;

(*iv*) The office of *amin* was frequently combined with that of the *Krori,* and sometime with the Faujdar.[2]

(*v*) The system of *Ghalla Bakhshi* and *Mustajri* continued to exist in many places along with other methods of assessment.[3]

(*vi*) Strenuous attempts were made to check the accounts, to define duties of different officers of the Revenue Department and to punish slack or corrupt officials and to clean up the administration.

The Manual of Diwan[4]

It contains 15 sections:

(1) The *diwan* should not see or receive in private *amils, chaudhries, qanungos, taluqdars* etc., but should see them in his office and in public. On the other hand the ryots and the poor people coming with complaints may be received in public or in private.

(2) The *amils* should be given strict orders that the annual revenue statements should be prepared village-wise and field-wise, giving the nature of produce, quality of the land and the area under cultivation. If the peasantry is destitute, he should make arrangements that every peasant makes utmost effort to sow more land as compared with the previous year and more area is brought under cultivation in the current year ; further instead of coarse grain, finer variety of grain is sown. His effort should be to see that no arable land is left uncultivated. He should strive to settle more peasants from the neighbouring areas on such lands, so that all possible means are employed to bring more land under cultivation.

(3) The *amins* of the parganas should be instructed that the annual revenue statements are compiled village-wise with description of the crop, and the name of the cultivator and on the basis of this statement the revenue should be assessed so as to conduce to the prosperity of the ryot and the economy of the state. This revenue return should be sent without delay to the office (of the *Diwan*).

(4) After the revenue has been assessed and determined, the instalments of payment in each pargana should be fixed. The *kroris* should be given strict orders that the collection of instalments due at each crop-season should begin in time, and should be completed within the prescribed period. The *Diwan* should get weekly information about the progress of collection so that

2. The provincial Diwan was the chief Amin and many letters of appointment of a Diwan refer to the recipient of that office as being appointed as Diwan and Amin of such and such province.

An Amin may also hold the office of an *amil,* a *faujdar,* or *thanadar.* For reference see: (1) Jagat Rai's *Farhange Kardani,* pp. 58, 59. (2) *Nirat-e-Ahm,* Vol. I, pp. 334, 391. (3) *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi.*

3. (i) Nasaq ; (*ii*) Zabti ; (*iii*) Kankut ; (*iv*) Ghalla Bakhshi ; (*v*) Lula bandi : (*vi*) Dēh-bandi.

4. This is the last document of *Daftar* I, Safha III, Bab. V. This document is missing from the Sulaiman manuscript.

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no arrears should remain. If some arrears remain in respect of the first instalment due to some unforeseen circumstances, the same should be recovered along with the second instalment. The entire revenue should be collected definitely along with the third instalment.

(5) Suitable and convenient instalments should be fixed for the payment of the arrears of the previous years according to the condition and the paying capacity of the ryots. The *kroris* should be instructed to recover these arrears in prescribed instalments in accordance with their province of collection. The *Diwan* should keep himself informed of the progress of collection, so that the officials do not become slack in collection.

(6) If the *Diwan* visits the villages for inspection and for ascertaining the condtion of the peasantry and the area of cultivated land, the gross income as well as the difference may be assessed properly and accounts should be checked (text is defective here). Report should be sent to the *wazir* regarding the work of the *amins,* as a result of this inspection.

(7) The customary *nankar*[5] and the *inam* according to practice in the *Khalisa* lands of the Emperor should be included in the revenue. And whatever increase in revenue the *amils* of the Sarkar (reference is to Prince Muazzam) have succeeded in effecting from the time of the assignment of Jagir, and whatever arrears have been realised, and the decrease that has taken place, on all matters reports should be called. Where the revenues have remained stationary the fact should also be stated.

(8) It should be prescribed that the cashiers should receive in revenue the *Alamgiri* sikka. If that is not readily available, Shah Jahani coins, or those current in market should be taken. In no case underweight coins which are not current in the market should be accepted.

(9) Should some unforeseen calamity befall, the *amins* and *amils* should be instructed to take utmost care of the cultivated areas that have escaped the calamity and they should assess field-wise what remains undamaged. This work should not be left to *chaudharies, qanungos, muqaddams* and *patwaris,* so that the ryot it not unduly exploited.

(10) The levying of extra cesses and taxes which hit the ryot hard should be stopped and *amins, amils, chaudharies, qanungos,* and *muqaddams* should be strictly warned that no unauthorised collections are to be made. The *Diwan* should keep himself informed whether any of these taxes are collected, and if report is sent that any official has collected extra-taxes, he should be dismissed and replaced by other person.

(11) For the purpose of checking, the vlaage papers should be compared with the final returns, on the prescribed forms. The regulation for the preparation of the returns is that at the time of translation of the Hindi document into Persian, all the various payments made by each ryot should be recorded village-wise and the accounts of the receipts as well and what has been taken by the *amin, amil, zemindar* etc. should be prepared, and the account of each maintained by name. All the

5. Assignment of land or revenue for assistance rendered to revenue officers.

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papers of the village should be translated, so that due to the absence of the *patwari* or for some other reason the *amils, chaudhries* etc., do not take for themselves more than what is prescribed, and they should be made to deposit any excess collections in the treasury.

(12) If any *amin, krori, or fotadar* works honestly, effeciently and loyally and in accordance with the regulations, or renders any other good service, he should be shown appreciation and favoured, and a report to that effect submitted, so that he is encouraged. If on other hand he works improperly he should be reported and punished or dismissed as a warning to others.

(13) Instructions should be given that all records are prepared in time, when the Diwan himself likes. Daily statements of collection of revenue and other taxes and price chart should be maintained. From different parganas fortnightly reports of collections and the balance in the treasury should be secured. The accounts of the *fotadar* should be compared with the crop-wise collection figures of the *amils,* and any discrepancies should not be allowed to stand till the next *Kharif,* or the papers of *Kharif* till the next *Rabi,* but should be prompty despatched to the office.

(14) If any *amin, amil* or *fotadar* is dismissed, his papers and records should be carefully taken over and sent to the office of Prince Muazzam so that his accounts may be examined and settled in the Kachehry.

(15) The *Diwani* reports should be despatched after each crop season to the court (of the Prince).

Letter written on the instructions of Prince Mauzzam to Mirza Badiuzaman Mahabat Khani, later entitled Rashid Khan (Sulaiman, M.S., f. 72b and 73a):

Since some parganas under the *suba* of Punjab have been given in Jagir to *Sarkar* (Shah Alam) in lieu of salary, the administration of this jagir is entrusted to the addressee. He will have complete authority of management and administration, including the power to confirm or dismiss *amils* of the former jagir. He should strive to enhance the revenue and pacify the peasants. Detailed statements of the crops in each field in each village should be secured and assessment should be made keeping in view the (current) prices. Half of the net produce should remain with the ryot, and the other half, without any deduction of expenditure should be deposited in the Treasury. Excesses committed by unauthorised occupants of land or collectors of revenue should be checked and information collected aobut the behaviour of *amils.* No one should keep more than the authorised wages of collection. Taxes and cesses prohibited by imperial order should not be levied. Detailed reports about condition (of the ryots and crops) should be sent. Copies of imperial *sanads* regarding the parganas given in lieu of salary are enclosed.

Letter written on the instructions of Prince Mauzzam to Muhammad Momin (Sulaiman, M.S., f. 88a):

Let it not be concealed that so and so, *muqaddam* of such and such village has written that the settlement of that village since ages has been on the basis of *ghalla-bakhshi* (crop sharing). For the satisfaction of the ryots, a royal *sanad* was required. It is, therefore, decreed that the settlement of *batai,*

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provided the agreed grain is adequately protected, which is the best form of settlement, may be made on the condition that the ryot carry on the cultivation to the best of their ability and do not wilfully neglect their cultivation, and the assessment is not made in advance. Peasants should be encouraged to work hard for the prosperity of the state and the betterment of the people.

Letter written to an Amin : (Sulaiman M.S., f. 89):

Since in the course of the comparison of the area of cultivated land of the previous year with the current year, it has been noticed that in the *mahals* of the *iqta* of Sarkar (Shah Alam) there are vast tracts of cultivable lands which have not been brought under cultivation due to the negligence of the *amils*, it is ordered that the *amils* of these parganas be instructed to make every effort to bring all arable land under cultivation, so that not a *biswa* remains uncultivated.

Letter of appointment as Amin and Thanadar (F. 97b-98b):

Since the duties of *Amini* and *Thanadari*[6] of pargana Shahabad alias Lakhnaur under the *subadar* of Shahjahanabad have been entrusted to so and so, he should make every effort to have the assessment made in time and collections completed regularly. He should strive to increase the population, to see to its prosperity and to pacify and console the peasantry. At the time of sowing, he should visit the entire area and see that arable land does not remain uncultivated. The excess payments extorted from peasants should be restored to them. He should work in a way that the income of the pargana increases year by year . . . . Peasantry should be protected from the exactions of *kroris* and *fotadars*, and from the depredations of the soldiery. No unauthorised taxes should be allowed to be levied. The treasury should be carefully guarded under his seal and the seal of the *krori* and the lock of the *fotadar*. Not one dam should be spent without the *sanad* of the *Diwan* written under the explicit authority of the *Sarkar* (Prince Muazzam). The balance in the Treasury and the accounts of the *fotadar* should be carefully checked, so that not one dam is lost. The statement of receipts and other papers prescribed by the regulations under each heading should be prepared according to regulations for such heads and the balance sheet of the *fotadar* should be prepared and scrutinised and signed by him (*amin*) and should be sent to the office of *Sarkar* (Prince Muazzam). Every effort should be made that no disturbance occurs and expenses do not exceed revenue. The welfare of the *ryot* should be looked after and he should be treated with kindness. The *chaudharies, zamindars, muqaddams* and peasants are informed that so and so has been made their permanent *amin* and *thanadar* and they should co-operate with him and obey his instructions.

On extending cultivation (f. 93b):

So and so is informed that he should make every effort to extend cultivation so that the entire arable land is brought under cultivation. Where the *amin* is an efficient person the duties of *krorbandi* should be entrusted to him and security taken according to regulations so that the work may proceed

6. These are also instances where the posts of *amin* and *faujdar* were combined to ensure smooth working (f. 97b).

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smoothly and (finished) in time. Similarly where the *krori* is efficient, honest and capable, he should also be given the office of the *amin*. Where both *krori* and *amin* are honest and efficient, and co-operate with each other and look after the interests of the government as well as the ryot, they should be maintained separately. Where both are incompetent or dishonest, they should be dismissed and replaced.

Re : Farming of Revenue[7]

Since so and so, in such and such pargana, requests that two or three villages be farmed out to him on contract, it is ordered that: If those villages have been rendered desolate or are not prosperous the revenue may be suitably assessed and villages given on contract, so that within two to three years the revenue reaches the normal standard. The cultivated area should be noted, and its yearly extension stipulated according to a pre-determined schedule. After assessment, the agreement (*Qubuliyat*) and the security should be taken according to regulations. It should be laid down that the contractor (*mustajir*) shall strive for the extension of cultivation and satisfy and console the ryot. The *amil* should realise the revenue in accordance with the terms of contract of the *mustajir*.

GAMES, SPORTS AND OTHER AMUSEMENTS DURING MUGHAL TIMES

DR. P. N. CHOPRA

Leaving aside twentieth century amusements like cinema-going, flying, etc., that have come to us through contact with the West, the pastimes in vogue during Mughal times were similar to those commonly found today. The difference, if any, lies in details only. Chess, *chaupar* and playing cards stood out prominently among indoor games and were accessible to the rich and the poor alike. Besides, Chandal Mandal, Nard Pichisi were equally popular. The various types of tiger play, games of *gutis* and the games of sheep and goats were favourites with the rural population. Of the out-door diversions, hunting, animal fights and *chaugan* were the privilege of the few, while *ishq-bazi*, wrestling, etc., were enjoyed by one and all. In addition fishing, boating and riding were indulged in whenever possible. It is regrettable that no reference is traceable about *kabadi* in contemporary records. But the game must have been played in the villages, as it is done even today. Dancing, music, theatrical performances, story telling, gardening and fairs were other pastimes. Jugglers and magicians formed a class in themselves. Boys amused themselves, as narrated by Mukundram in his poem "Chandi", with the flying of kites,[1] mock fights, blindman's buff, climbing of trees,

7. This document is given in *Daftar* I, Safha 3, bab V of the Abdus Salam MS. It has not been transcribed in the Sulaiman MS.

1. Painting No. 537, I.A.E., "Girls flying kites", lent by C. A. A. Museum (Treasurywala Collection). Kites are of fine flowery paper and triangular shaped.

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bag chal and such other common pastimes.[2] Manucci thus sums up the amusements of the princesses and other high class ladies, "They have the permission to enjoy the pleasure of the comedy and the dance, to listen to tales and stories of love, to recline upon bed of flowers, to walk about in gardens, to listen to the murmuring of the running waters, to hear singing or other similar pastimes."[3]

Playing Cards

It is an old game and was in vogue in India long before the advent of Mughals. M. Ashraf's view that "it appears to have been first introduced into Hindustan by the Mughal emperor Babar"[4] is not conclusive. The external as well as internal evidence points to the contrary. The names of all the 12 suits were in the Sanskrit dialect instead of Persian till the time of Akbar,[5] who introduced a change by renaming the last seven suits and reconstituting *dhanpati,* the fifth, out of a total of 12.[6] Moreover, Abul Fazl's remark that "The ancient sages took number 12 as basis and made the suit to consist of 12 cards" shows that the game was practised in pre-Mughal days. From the few and stray references available about this game in contemporary records, it appears that the game was favoured by the rich and the poor alike.[8]

The game consisted of 12 suits of 12 cards each, making a total of 144 with different kinds of kings and followers.[9] Ashraf's contention that the "old Mughal pack of cards was made up of 8 suits of 12 cards each" (instead of 12 suits) is not borne out by documentary evidence. As is clearly mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari,* the ancient game of 12 suits, each of which had 12 cards, was not altered. What Akbar did, was to make "some suitable alterations in the cards,"[10] and to reconstitute the last 8 of the suits of the original game. The first four, viz., *ashwapati* (lord of horses), *gajapati* (king of elephants), *narpati* (king of infantry), and *gadhpati* (king on throne over a fort), remained intact.[11] This is apparently due to some misconception that Ashraf omitted to count the first four and miscalculated the number as reduced from 12 to 8. This view is further confirmed by the fact that none of the new names have been given the assignments of the first four.

As distinguished from our present-day cards, they were all in pictures, the highest represented the king, the second highest a *vizir* and the rest were

2. *Bengal in the 16th century,* p. 186.
3. *Storia,* II, pp. 352-53.
4. *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan,* Vol. I, p. 296.
5. Viz. *ashwapati, gajapati, narpati, gadhpati, dhanpati, dalpati, nawapati, tipati, surapati, asrpati, banpati,* and *ahipati. (Ain.,* I., pp. 318-19), 1939.
6. The last seven were renamed and reconstituted during Akbar's reign from *dhanpati* as king of assignments, *padshah-i-qamash, padshah-i-chang, padshah-i-zar-i-safid, padshah-i-shamsher, padshah-i-taj* and *padshah-i-ghulaman. Ain.,* I, p. 319.
7. The earliest reference to it, as Erskine notes, in Oriental literature is in *Babar-Nama* when Babar sent a set of playing cards (*ganjafa*) to Shah Hasan in Tattah at the latter's repeated requests. *B.N.* (Bev.), f.n. p. 584.
8. *B.N.,* p. 584 ; *Ain.,* I, pp. 318-20 ; *Roe's Embassy* (Edition 1726), p. 293.
9. *Ain.,* I, p. 319.
10. *Ain.,* I, p. 319.
11. *Ibid.,* p. 318.

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followers from one to ten. In the topmost suit of *ashwapati,* for example, the king was shown on horseback with the umbrella (*chhatra*), the standard and other imperial ensigns. The second highest card of the same suit represented a *vizir* on horse back and the rest were with pictures of horses from one to ten.[12] The superiority of suits seems to have been observed in the order given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, viz., first six of these suits were called *bishbar* (powerful) and the six last were *kambar* or weak.[13]

The game continued to be a favourite with the successive emperors, Aurangzab being the only exception. During one of his visits,[14] Thomas Roe found Jahangir immersed in it. The game was equally popular with the common people[15] who displayed several tricks at cards.

Chess

Chess has all along been one of the most common diversions of the Indian people.[16] During the Mughal period the king, the nobles and the commoners all took great delight in playing this game.[17] Akbar is said to have played the game of living chess with slave girls as pieces moving on the chequered pavement of *Pichisi* Court at Fatehpur Sikri.[18] The Mughal aristocrats were especially interested in it, and Manucci, who was a frequent visitor to their palaces, writes that by playing chess "they learn to govern, place and displace, give and take with discretion to the glory and gain of their projects."[19]

The chess table preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Delhi Fort shows that the chess board was divided into 64 squares, eight on each of the four sides. Each player had at his command a little army of 16 men, from the king down to a foot soldier. The game could be played both[21] two-handed and four-handed. Akbar was an expert in both. Sometimes international matches were held and bets offered. Jahangir's courtier Khan-i-Khanan was deputed to combat Shah Shafi of Persia. The game lasted for 3 days, but the poor ambassador lost it and had to carry out the bet that the "loser should bray like an ass".[22]

Chaugan

Chaugan, called polo today, was an all absorbing recreation for the

12. *Ibid.* For later 18th century Mughal cards, see "Ten Ivory Playing Cards", by Ajit Ghose, Calcutta, Painting No. 653, I.A.E.
13. *Ain.,* I, pp. 318-19.
14. *Roe's Embassy* (1926), p. 293.
15. *John Marshall in India,* p. 273 ; *Della Valle,* p. 405 ; *Mandelslo,* p. 66 ; *De Laet,* p. 405 ; *Ovington,* pp. 267-68.
16. "They play chess 4 persons at a time with a pair of dice." *Alberuni's India,* Trans., Edward C. Sachu, Vol. I, p. 183.
17. *Mandelslo,* p. 66.
18. *History of India,* Lane Poole, Vol. IV, p. 37.
19. *Storia,* II, p. 460. For reference see *Badaoni,* II, pp. 25 and 314 ; Tr., II, pp. 13 and 324. Also *Badaoni,* III, pp. 298 and 339, Tr., III, pp. 403 and 467.
20. For picture see *Indian Information,* Oct., 1946.
21. *Ain.,* I, p. 320.
22. *Storia,* II, pp. 460-61.

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Mughal kings[23] and nobles. Ladies of the royal household also sometimes took part in the game.[24] The commoners could be the spectators only and not participants.[25] It appears certain internal and external troubles during the reigns of Babar and Humayun brought about its temporary suspension. Akbar later on revived it.[26] Of all the games he liked it most, and Abul Fazl writes, "occupation of *chaugan* acquired a predominance over other forms of pleasure and the emperor spent most of his time in it."[27] He invented fiery balls (illuminated balls)—a device which made the playing of the game on dark nights possible.[28] All the Mughal emperors showed keen interest in the game and *chaugan* playing fields were marked out and reserved at several places. The most famous of them all were at Fatehpur Sikri and Agra.[29] Two players of outstanding distinction Mir Sharif and Mir Ghiasuddin made a name for themselves during Akbar's reign.[30]

It was the usual practice that not more than ten players, five on each side should take part in the game at a time. But many more were kept on the waiting list, every two of whom replaced the other two in the field after every twenty minutes. The game was played on horse back, each player holding a *chaugan* stick with a crooked end in his hand. The ball was taken hold of by that end and was either slowly taken to the circle by the players or was forcibly hit, the horseman galloping after it to pass it between the posts which was "Equivalent to a goal."[31] The other party would oppose the man hitting the ball and then the two parties "struggled together and there was wrestling between them. It was indeed a wonderful spectacle."[32]

The game of hockey, too, has been referred to and the late Sir Denison Ross had a painting of the reign of Jahangir which shows a game of hockey in progress with polo sticks, while the emperor is watching it.[33]

Boxing

Boxing, too, was a favourite pastime during the Mughal age. According to De Laet, "they enjoy looking at boxing matches and at conjuring." Akbar[34] was especially fond of this sport.[35] He kept a large number of

23. *Badaoni*, II, p. 70 ; Tr., II, p. 69.
24. Quoted in *Humayun Badshah* by S. K. Banerji.
25. *A.N.*, III, p. 173 ; Tr., III, p. 242.
26. *A.N.*, I, p. 219 ; Tr., I, pp. 443-44. "The game of *chaugan* and wolf-running for which Tabriz was famous, stopped due to riots, was revived again." *A.N.*, I, p. 219, Tr., I, p. 443.
27. *T.A.*, II, p. 315.
28. *T.A.*, II, p. 315.
29. *Ain.*, II, p. 180.
30. Abul Fazl (*A.N.*, II, p. 151 ; Tr., II, p. 233) mentions the playground just outside the fort of Agra. *Badaoni* (II, p. 70 ; Tr., II, p. 69) refers to Ghrawali near Agra where Akbar used to play polo. For Fatehpur see *Ain.*, II, p. 180.
31. *Ain.*, I, pp. 309-10 ; *T.A.*, II, p. 315.
32. *T.A.*, II, p. 315.
33. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, 1925.
34. *De Laet*, p. 82.
35. *Monscrate*, p. 198.

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Persian and *Turani* boxers at the court. Manucci also refers to this game.[36] Stone-throwers were also encouraged and kept on regular monthly remuneration.[37]

Races

Horse race[38] was a source of entertainment prevalent among the high class Mughal nobles who took part in the game and "rode their fiery steeds".

Dog racing[39] was also not unknown and emperor Akbar took great delight in it.[40]

Animal Fights

Animal fighting was one of the popular amusements and recreations of the age. The people had to content themselves with the less expensive fighting of goats, rams, cocks, quads, stags,[41] antelopes, dogs and bulls[42] to entertain their friends with.[43] Young boys favoured fight among *bulbuls* and sometimes quails which "make some sport."[44] The king and the nobles amused themselves with costly and dangerous combats between elephants,[45] tigers, deer, *cheetas,* boars,[64] leopards, bulls and other wild beasts.[47] The hazardous fight between a tiger and a bull has also been referred to in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.*[48] Camel fights[49] were an extraordinary sport for which camels were imported from Ajmer, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Gujarat,[50] etc.

The Mughal kings also took delight in seeing men without arms engaged with beasts at their own free will.[51] The volunteers, if successful, had a chance to make their life's fortunes. Those brave men who firmly stood their ground were enlisted among the mansabdars.[52] Convicts condemned to death were sometimes given the option to fight a hungry lion or elephant, especially kept for the purpose. They were supplied with a dagger and, if victorious, their lives were usually spared.[53]

36. *Storia,* I, p. 191.
37. *Ain.,* I, p. 263.
38. *Badaoni,* II, p. 70 ; Tr., II, p. 69. Deccanis (Maharattas) were famous for their horsemanship (*Tuzuk-Lowe,* p. 92 ; *Nicholas Downton in Purchas,* IV, p. 225). Rajputs and Gujaratis have also been praised for their skill in horse-riding. (*Padumavat* (Hindi), p. 285 and Barbosa, I, p. 109).
39. Badaoni, II, p. 70 ; Tr., II, p. 69.
40. *Ibid.,* p. 48 ; Tr., II, p. 84.
41. *Thevenot,* Chap. XXI, p. 38.
42. *Badaoni,* II, p. 392 ; Tr., II, p. 406.
43. *B.N.,* p. 259.
44. *Petermundy,* II, p. 128.
45. Even in *Babarnama* camel and elephant fights have been mentioned at Agra, *B.N.,* p. 631.
46. *Badaoni,* II, p. 392 ; Tr., II, p. 406.
47. *Mandelslo,* p. 43.
48. R. & B., I, p. 157. A beautiful painting No. 640, I.A.E., 17th century shows "Jahangir witnessing a deadly fight between a snake and a spider." This incident actually occured on the emperor's journey from Kashmir, A.D. 1607.
49. For a painting of a camel fight see painting No. 605, I.A.E.
50. *Ain.,* I, (1873), p. 143.
51. *Mandelslo,* p. 43.
52. *Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shahi,* E. & D., VI, pp. 449-50.
53. *Waqyat-i-Jahangiri,* E. & D., VI, p. 347. *Della Valle,* pp. 450-51.

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Betting on animal fights was allowed and the people often indulged in it. The stakes on royal deer combats were fixed for *mansabdars* from Rs. 2/- to eight *muhurs*, according to the status of the opponents, the deer-keeper, and the classes of the deer engaged.

The harmless and cheap fights between goats, rams, cocks, etc., were enjoyed by the common people in an open compound in front of their houses. Cock fighting was very common among the higher middle class. Varthema witnessed a five-hour continuous fight at Tenasserim "so that at the end both remained dead."[55] Spacious grounds were reserved in important cities, like Agra, Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri, etc., for the amusement of the urban population.[56]

A special amphitheatre[57] was prepared under the command of Akbar for animal fighting which was quite visible from the balcony of the royal palace over the Darshani Gate in Agra Fort. The king used to witness and enjoy the animal fights through the "golden windows" of the gallery of his Fort Palace.[58]

Akbar took a personal interest in elephant fights and many a time "did apply himself to this sport and even engaged his royal elephants *Fauha* and *Lauga* in a tough encounter."[59] The fighting elephants would meet each other face to face on the opposite side of a wall, about four feet wide and six feet in height. The wall would give way after some spirited attacks and then there followed a fierce fight between the beasts under the direction of their mahavats.[60]

Ishq Bazi or pigeon flying was primarily a sport of the common folk. Mukundram's reference to it corroborates the view.[61] Nobles, too, enjoyed it and brought excellent pigeons from foreign countries, like Turan and Iran, to be trained for the play.[62] Akbar was very fond of the game.[63] He studied the details of pigeon flying and used to "scatter grain to allure the birds."[64]

54. *Ain.*, I (1873), pp. 218-20.
55. Varthema, p. 75.
56. *Petermundy*, II, p. 50.
57. *Ranking's Historical Researches*, p. 284.
58. *De Laet*, pp. 39-40 ; *Hawkin's in Early Travels*, p. 184 ; for Delhi and Burhanpur *Thevenot*, Pt. III, Chap. XXII, p. 42 and *Petermundy*, II, p 50 respectively.
59. *A.N.*, II, p. 60 ; Tr., II, p. 91. Nizamuddin (*T.A.*, II, p. 223 f.n. 2nd and p. 224) mentions fights between the royal elephants which he names as *'Fatuha'* and *'Baksha'*. For a favourite elephant of Jahangir see painting No. 623, I.A.E., Mughal, 17th century. For the days usually reserved for animal fights refer to *Early Travels*, pp. 108, 184 ; *Roe's Embassy*, p. 107 ; *Petermundy*, II, p. 127 ; *Manrique*, II, p. 162 ; *Mandelslo*, p. 43.
60. *Bernier*, p. 277 ; *Early Travels*, p. 301 ; *Petermundy*, II, p. 127. For the picture see *Storia*, I, p. 208 ; and *Bernier*, p. 276. Also see *Ranking's Historical Researches*, p. 234.
61. *Bengal in the 16th century*, pp. 185-86.
62. *Ain*, I, p. 310.
63. *Ghani*, III, p. 7.
64. *A.N.*, I, p. 312 ; Tr., I, p. 589.

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A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HINDU MERCHANT AND BROKER OF BALASORE

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

During the seventeenth century the foreign companies in India had necessarily to engage the services of Indian brokers in their business operations. Some of these were influential merchants on their own account and were exceptionally rich and naturally they played a very important, sometime dominant, part in the commercial life of the country as a whole, besides assisting the foreign companies in their commercial pursuits. Sometimes it is these Indian merchants—Moslems, banians or Chettis—rather than the Dutch and the English factors who controlled the entire wholesale trade in their respective jurisdictions. Virji Vora (Baharji Borah), the merchant-prince of Surat was reputed to be the richest merchant in the world in the first half of the seventeenth century, having agencies at Ahmadabad, Agra, Burhanpur, Golkonda, in Malabar and on the East Coast and trading with Java, Basra, Gombroon. Similarly in the East Coast there was a family or firm by the name Malay centred at Pulicat and having connections as far south as Negapatam.

An almost similar but less enviable position was held by Khamchand, a Hindu broker and merchant of Balasore in the second half of the seventeenth century. Balasore at that time occupied a position of preeminence in the Bay of Bengal, being the seat of the Chief and his Council. In the English factory records he is referred to as Chimcham (Khemchand) either separately or sometimes along with Chitamund (Chintaman or Chintamani) and some other merchants. Khemchand, Chintaman acted as brokers of the English at Balasore for many years. But Khemchand was the more important of the two, judging from the frequent notices made regarding him in the factory records and was called the "Chief merchant of Ballasore". In 1669 Khemchand entered into a contract with the English to supply goods to them at Balasore. In October 1670 the Hugli factors complained to the Court of Directors: "The Cotton Yarns and Ginghams . . . we have endeavoured this year to redress by drawing their provision out of Chim Chams hands whom we find not fitting to be much longer employed in your business, having been so much exalted by former chiefs who were partakers with him". However, in 1671 and 1672 Khemchand continued to be the chief merchant at Balasore." When Nawab Safi Khan, Governor of Orissa, was succeeded by Safshikan Khan in December 1671, the English naturally tried to secure a *parwana* from the latter regarding their trade privileges. Walter Chavell, the Bay Chief, on his way to Hugli gave a *peshkash* to the new Nawab, but entrusted the task of securing the *parwana* to Joseph Hall, incharge of Balasore factory during Chavell's absence. The *parwana* was procured through the intervention of the Governor of Balasore, Boremul (possibly Khwaja Bhor Mal, referred to in *AN.* as Puran Mal). During this transac-

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tion, three factory brokers and merchants, Hoorechurne[1] (Haricharan), Chimcham (Khemchand), the chief broker and merchant of the English at Balasore, Jurradge Shaw (Suraj Shah) accompanied Boremul together with some gifts for the Nawab (2 cases of wine), the Nawab's Diwan and other officers which smoothed the way.[2]

Of his wealth we can form an idea from the following facts. The new Nawab (called *faujdar* in factory records) Safshikan Khan demanded Rs. 30,000 from Khemchand but for his inability to do so on demand he was imprisoned at Cuttack. He returned to Balasore (2 May, 1672) only after giving security for his paying Rs. 10,000 in 17 days and 20,000 in 3 months. The English however wrote: "Chimcham notwithstanding his present troubles has estate sufficient to indemnify our masters and all others which is sufficient for our proceeding in delivering him this day his share of the 25,000 rupees being Rs. 75,000." Khemchand was similarly mulcted of Rs. 50,000 by Nawab Rashid Khan in 1674.[3] When Malik Kasim became Governor of Balasore, the English factors regarded him with suspicion as he had already earned a notoriety at Hugli. The Bay Chief (Walter Chavell) and the Council feared that he would trouble the merchants of the place, Chimcham (Khemchand), Roojiram (Rajaram), Callian (Kalyan) Ray, Ram Narain (Narayan) and Gangaram and force them to wind up their business so that trade would be shifted to Hugli from Balasore.[4]

In 1673 trade at Balasore was at a low ebb. A famine was raging ; the government officers were making exactions, the Anglo-Dutch war was dislocating trade and the cash position of the English was very weak. Khemchand was unwilling to purchase the articles of investment of the English without advance of ready money. "Chimcham keeps aloof off and seeing we have no money to advance he is unwilling to take off our goods." Large quantities of broad cloth imported from England lay unsold. Khemchand had Rs. 30,000 worth of broad cloth with him. Similarly lead also could not be sold owing to the fact that Emperor Aurangzeb and Nawab Shaista Khan of Bengal, being jealous of the Orissa Rajas and Jamadars (subordinate officers) had prohibited sale of lead and other military stores like brimstone or iron guns except to themselves or without their permission. A portion of the unsold quantities of the Company's lead and broad cloth were bartered to Khemchand and other merchants for ginghams and other Calicoes, but this caused financial loss costing about 20% more than ready sale.

In December 1673, Hall, the Balasore factor, was instructed by the Hugli factors that Malik Kasim, Governor must pay cash for guns purchased from the Company or that Khemchand should buy them for him in order to avoid difficulties in financial adjustments. Khemchand could have as many as he wanted at eight rupees a maund, but another would-be buyer, Raja Mansing for whom Khemchand was acting as broker, would have to pay nine rupees a maund (EF. 1670-77, p. 365).

1. Spelt as Henry Charnock.
2. *E.F.* 1670-77, pp. 338-39.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 377.
4. *Ibid.*

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The credit and influence of Khemchand as a merchant in investment matters and in general was very high. On 30th August 1676, Streynsham Master called for the local merchants including Khemchand, their chief, for consultation re: the investment for that year. They were indifferent whether they dealt with the Company or not as they were usually compelled to take broad cloth and lead as part payment but these could not be easily disposed of. Subsequently, the merchants agreed to supply the cloth required at the prices of two previous years and to take half the purchase-money in European goods (*EF.*, 1670-77, p. 406). Khemchand was ordered to stand security for three whose credit was not high. In 1678 Khemchand and Chintaman refused, to the surprise of the Company's factors, to stand security for those who supplied goods of the investment. In November, 1678 Khemchand and his fellow merchants secured permission to build a warehouse in the English factory at Balasore at their own charge. It was to be used exclusively for the Company's goods ; if, however, it was used for other purposes, the authorities at Hugli were to be informed and their permission was to be taken. In 1679, in a dispute with the Dutch over a house and a piece of land in Balasore, Mr. Edwardes, the local factor was "to get the Congoes (Kanungoes) chaup (*Chap*, stamp) if necessary" through the intervention of Khemchand or Culloan (Kalyan) Ray." In April 1685 Khemchand and Chintaman Shah were employed by the E. I. Company as their merchants to "cleere . . . for pease sake" (intervene in an affair) with the Mughal government.

In spite of growing friction between Khemchand and the E. I. Company's factors due to financial reasons, the former could impose his own terms on the Company in 1682. "We understand Chimcham is mighty hasty and declares as he may not receive imprest in proportion to his late title of Chiefe merchant that he will none".

Khemchand had commercial relations with the Indian Archipelago. In March 1680 a ship of his came to Balasore from Tenasserim with elephants.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the King of Siam sent his factor to Balasore to trade in elephants and lead. This illustrates Orissa's maritime contact with south-east Asia during the period under review. A *gomosta* (agent) of his purchased sometime before 1684 huge quantities of *Cosses* (Cassa, muslin) at Dacca to the great prejudice of the Company's affairs. The Company regarded this as a violation of the bond. Consequently the Balasore Agent was ordered not to "encourage such villains in makeing preparations for Interlopers they haveing engaged by promise and bond to the contrary".

As early as July 1680 Chintaman was severely reprimanded by the Hugli authorities for "boggling" about a debt he owed to the Company. In 1681 the Hugli Council refused to give Chintaman Shah any share in the investment because of his private engagements with Nawab Rasheed Khan (sometime Governor of Orissa, 1674). However Khemchand supplied his associate with the proceeds of his own share hoping that the Bay Chief and the Council would pardon him on his representation and continue to employ him as before.

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In 1685 Chintaman Shah was indebted to the E. I. Company. Having little hopes of recovering the whole amount, the Company thought of attaching and seizing his ships at sea by way of part recovery. When a ship owned jointly by Chintaman and Khemchand arrived in the Balasore Road, it was seized by Captain John Nicholson (16 November, 1686). Probably Khemchand was already dead by this time and there are no further references to him in the factory records though the debt of his poorer partner is referred to as late as 1695.

MAHARAJA ALA SINGH'S RELATIONS WITH THE MARATHAS

(1758-1761 A.D.)

KIRPAL SINGH

Ala Singh had very close contacts with the Marathas. No Sikh Chief has been so frequently mentioned in the Marathi records (especially of the Abdali period) as Ala (Singh) Jat. The scrutiny of some of the Marathi and Persian[1] letters leads us to conclude that Ala Singh was a close friend and ally of the Marathas and had helped them through thick and thin. Long before the Maratha occupation of the Punjab (May 1758), Ala Singh was known to the Marathas as is clear from the Marathi letter dated March-April 1757, the translation of which is given below:—

From Vasudeva Dikshit to Peshwa "Nagar Mal, the representative of Salabat Jang at Delhi, has despatched a pair of messengers that reached Aurangabad after eighteen days and started from Salabat Jang's Camp. Valji, the Chief Messenger, orally gave out the news brought by the pair ; while the Pathan's son (Timur Shah) was carrying away the treasure, Ala Jat, the resident of Sirhind (a place about two miles from Delhi) and Sikhs of the sect of Nanak united together and overpowered the Pathan's son by blocking his way. They completely snatched away his treasure, again attacked and plundered him at Maler Kotla.

ALA SINGH'S INVITATION TO MARATHIS

The friendship of Ala Singh with the Marathas can be traced back to his invitation to the Marathas to expel the Afghans from his country. When

1. *S.P.D.*, Vol. 21, letter No. 116.

2. In August 1757 after the departure of Ahmad Shah Abdali to his country the polities of Delhi had a turn in which Marathas played an important part. The Afghan emperor before his departure appointed Najib, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and he had grown all powerful. The wazir of Alamgir II, being jealous of his power invited Marathas to support his authority. Consequently Delhi was conquered by the Marathas and their brilliant success over Najib led them to the further conquest of the Punjab.

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Lakshmi Narain,[2] Dewan of Abdul Samad Khan, fell out with his master and had taken shelter with Ala Singh the Marathas were ravaging the territory east of the Jumna. The brilliant success of the Marathas over Najib,' the Rohilla leader and Abdali's agent, emboldened the Marathas to conquer the Punjab from Abdali's son, Timur Shah. Ala Singh's deep understanding of the political game, suggested to him at that time that the march of the Marathas to his country would react favourly because in the case of Maratha occupation of the territory he would be free from the Abdali Governor, Abdul Samad Khan, who bore great enemity towards Ala Singh and was besieging him in his fort of Dodan. He, therefore, invited the Marathas to his country.[3] Besides this Abdul Samad Khan had also given the greatest afront to Malhar Rao Holkar as his men had attacked his family at Shahbad. All these events led to the Maratha invasion of the Punjab.[4]

Maratha Invasion of the Punjab

The Maratha invasion of the Punjab began in the month of January 1758 when Kunjpura was conquered and the Maratha army which numbered two lakhs[5] marched towards Sirhind. The close approach of the Marathas greatly alarmed Abdul Samad Khan, who was at that time beseiging Ala Singh in the fort of Dodan (modern Bhawani Garh).[6] He speedily raised the siege and hurried to Sirhind, where he set himself to repairing the fort and digging defensive trenches.

Ala Singh and Sikh's Contribution in the Conquest of Sirhind

Ala Singh played a significant part in the conquest of Sirhind by the Marathas. He not only invited the Marathas to his country but also sent his representatives, Ladha Mal and Biram Dhillan, to receive them on his behalf.[7] The sack of Sirhind, the accursed city which had witnessed ghostly murder of the tenth Guru's sons, was considered to be sacred duty of the Sikhs. Knowing this Adina Beg invited the Sikhs for the conquest of Sirhind and he helped them to conquer Sirhind even before the approach of the Marathas there. The fort of Sirhind was easily captured by the Sikhs and the town was plundered. The Marathas reached on the second day of the

3. *Kagzate Bhagwant Rai* quoted by Karam Singh in Maharaja Ala Singh (Gurmukhi), pages 174-75. It is stated there that when Raghu Nath Rao reached Sarai Vanjara, he sent for the vakils of Ala Singh. When Ladha Mal, Ala Singh's Vakil, came to attend Raghoba, the latter took him aside and asked Ladha Mal why Ala Singh had not come to receive them. They had been invited by him.

4. When the month of Janadiul Awal began (January 11, 1758) news came that when Malhar's family went for the bath at Thanisar and other places, the soldiers of Abdul Samad Khan, governor of Sirhind, besieged them at Shahbad. In the battle many Afghans were slain and wounded, the Marathas captured many horses (1510) *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*.

5. Kunjpura is only a few miles from modern Karnal.

6. J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, page 72.

7. Letter of Ladha Mal and Bika Singh quoted by Karam Singh.

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conquest.[8] On the arrival of the Marathas, the Sikhs mostly retired, leaving the town in the hands of the Marathas. The town was looted and plundered for full eight days.[9]

Abdul Samad Khan in the Maratha Camp and His Flight

After his brave battle with ten thousand men Abdul Samad Khan was defeated and arrested. He was brought before Malhar Rao, who confined him in his own camp. At dead of night Abdul Samad Khan riding a fast horse fled away. Malhar Rao despatched a force to pursue him and he was again arrested and brought back to the Maratha Camp. Subsequently he was taken to Lahore in the Maratha train[10] from where he again fled away towards the country of Sirhind and took shelter with Mohan and Amin Khan, the Bhatti Chief in order to take his long standing revenge against Ala Singh.[11]

Ala Singh's Part in the Battle of Panipat 1761.

The subsequent events took such a turn that Ala Singh's help to the Marathas became one of the most outstanding and conspicuous events during the most contested Indian campaign of Ahmad Shah Abdali (Battle of Panipat 1761 A.D.). Ahmad Shah Abdali could not tolerate the loss of the Punjab and Sirhind territory from his empire. As soon as he was free from his Western frontier he determined to recover his lost possessions. Moreover Najibud Daula, "the righthand man of Abdali in India" was besieged by the Marathas in the fort of Shakartal and he sent secret invitations to Abdali to invade India. Abdali appointed Jehan Khan to reconquer the Punjab[12] from the Marathas. Sambba Je finding himself too weak to confront the Afghans fell back from Lahore which was occupied by Jehan Khan. Sadiq Beg Khan, the Faudar of Sirhind, and Adina Beg's[13] widow and son fled away from their places to Delhi at the report of the advance of the Afghans. Abdali entered Sirhind in November 1759 A.D.[14]

8. *Shah Alam Nawab* by Ghulam Ali, page 56, Vide also *Rattan Singh ; Panth Parkash*, page 331.

و سهرند را که صمد خان بسر کردگی آن محال از حضور شاه درانی مقرر آمد معین بود و از یاوری طالع تقدیر اژلی و در ندک زد و خورد بتصرف آورد و صمد خان را پیش از رسیدن فوروج دکن پیرو دستگیر کرد -

9. *Tazaharia Imadul Mulk* MS. (Persian), page 328. "The Marathas and Sikhs so thoroughly looted the inhabitants of Sirhind high and low that none other male or female had a cloth left on his or her person pulling houses down. They carried off timber and dur of floors." *Tarikh Alamgir Sani*, page 75.

10. "Abdul Samad Khan who was the prisoner in Marathas hand with characteristic double dealings offered to undertake the defence of the frontier against Abdali on behalf of the Marathas" (G. S. Sardesai).

11. *Correspondence regarding Boundary*, page 29. *Dispute* Vol. 4, page 29. *Akhbarte Mutfarka* (MS.). *Ali Ibrahim Khan Tarikhe Shan and Janho* MS., page 19.

12. *Khazane Amru*, page 101.

13. *New History of the Marathas*, page 403.

14. J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, page 81.
New History of the Marathas, pages 409-415, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, No. I, Vol. II, page 261.

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Sadashive Bhau's March Towards North

On hearing of Abdali's invasion of India, his occupation of the Punjab and the death of Dattaji, a brave Maratha general, at the hands of Afghans while defending Delhi, Peshwa Balaji Baji felt greatly enraged. He sent Sadashive Bhau with a large Maratha force to check the advance of Abdali and to reconquer the lost Maratha dominions in the North. Sadashive Bhau came towards Delhi and captured it. Ahmad Shah Abdali at that time was in Rohilla territory, *i.e.* territory between the Jumna and the Ganges. He could do nothing because owing to the heavy rainfall the Jumna was swollen and he had to wait for some other opportunity.

Maratha Conquest of Kunjpura

From Delhi Sadashive Bhau marched towards Kunjpura, a Yusefzei Afghan settlement under Najib Khan.[15] Kunjpura, just in the middle of Delhi and Sirhind, was regarded as a post of strategical importance, covering the Bagi ferry on the road from Sharanpur to Delhi, and commanding the Imperial bridge over the canal between Karnal and the fortified Sarai at Gharaunda, in the direction of Panipat.[16] At Kunjpura the Maratha forces were opposed by Nijabat, Abdul Samad Khan, the Abdali Faudar of Sirhind, and Qutab Shah who had killed Dattaji. Abdul Samad Khan was shot dead, Nijabat Khan died of his severe wounds and Qutab Shah was killed in avengment of the death of Dattaji. The Afghan garrison of 20,000 were put to the sword. The Marathas secured immense booty in this campaign.[17]

Significance of Maratha Occupation of Kunjpura

The Maratha occupation of Kunjpura not only marks the highest triumph of Maratha power but is equally important in the career of Ala Singh. The capture of Kunjpura brought the Marathas nearer to the territory of Ala Singh who became prominent in Maratha politics. Moreover the Maratha compaign at Kunjpura resulted in the death of Abdul Samad Khan, a powerful enemy of Ala Singh. Had he not met his death during the Maratha-Abdali compaign, he would have proved most dangerous to Ala Singh and his territory after the victory of his patron, Ahmad Shah Abdali. The death of Abdul Samad Khan relieved Ala Singh of one of the greatest dangers to his establishment and independence.

15. Najib Khan after serving in the Imperial forces secured for himself a considerable tract of fertile land along with an arm of Jumna as it flowed in a channel now dry, known as the Puran. He plundered the Bazidpur village in the Badavli Pargna of Sarkar Saharanpur and built for himself in the Jumna marshes a strong tower which he named Kunjpura: Heron's Nest. *Griffin Chief and Families of Note,* page 170.

16. *Ibid.,* page 171.

17. J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, page 220. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar,* Vol. 21, letter. *Ali Ibrahim Khan Tarikhe Bhan,* No. 197. *Wa Jahno* MS., page 341.

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Ala Singh's Help Solicited

After the conquest of Kunjpura the Marathas came closer to Ala Singh. The Maratha politics took such a turn that no other option was left for them except to make common cause with Ala Singh against the common enemy, Ahmad Shah Abdali. Despite Sadashive Bhau's personal efforts, Shujud Daula had joined Najib Khan Rohilla and was cordially received in the Abdali Camp.[18] Suraj Mal Jat had been alienated and he had deserted them after the Maratha occupation of Delhi[19] from Kunjpura, Sadashive Bhau[20] marched towards Sirhind. His plan of action was to capture Sirhind (as had been done in Raghunath's campaign in March 1758) to join Ala Singh and other zimindars of the cis-Sutlej territory and to arouse them against Ahmad Shah Abdali as a first step towards driving the foreign invader out of the Punjab. This policy of national defence against the foreigner is clearly stated in the Marathi letter, the translation of which is given below:

"From thither (the lines preceding this give details about the battle of Kunjpura) (he) Bhau went a stage further with a view to subjugate the province of Sirhind by marching Kurukshetra and refreshed the army after persuading the Zimindars, Sikhs and Jats of Province to join him".[21]

But shrewd Ahmad Shah Abdali did not allow this plan of Sadashive Bhau to materialize. The Maratha conquest of Kunjpura greatly enraged him. He crossed the Jumna at Baghpat ghat and came to Sonepat thus cutting Maratha communication with Delhi and South. In order to meet the enemy, Bhau immediately turned back and arrived at Panipat.[22] However Bhau did not abandon the idea of making coalition with Ala Singh and deputed Laxman Appaji Ekbote, a Maratha Envoy in the north to the Ala Singh's territory. He stayed with Ala Singh during the great Maratha disaster of Panipat as is clear from the following Marathi letter addressed to Peshwa by Appaji Ekbote.

"I was deputed by Bhau to Sirhind when misfortune fell to our army, I approached Ala Singh Jat who out of regard for your honour gave me shelter."[23]

Ala Singh's Correspondence with the Peshwa

Though Sadashive Bhau could not meet Ala Singh personally yet Ala Singh by this time had risen to such an eminence that the Peshwa had to open correspondence with him. The Peshwa himself wrote letters to Ala Singh

18. *New History of the Marathas,* Vol. II, page 419.
19. Alied, page 419. "As soon as Delhi was captured Suraj Mal demanded that he should be put in charge of its Government. This Bhau Sahib for the obvious reasons could not do." (G. S. Sardesai).
20. *New History of Marathas,* Vol. II. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar* by S. G. Sardesai, Vol. 21, letter No.
21. *S.P.D.,* Vol. 21, letter No. 197.
22. As soon as Bhau heard this news he fell back and by march arrived at Panipat. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar,* Vol. 21, letter No. 197.
23. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar,* Vol. 27, letter No. 262.

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and Ala Singh also replied as is clear from the following translation of the Marathi letter addressed to the Peshwa by Laxman Appaji Ekbote:

"Your honour had sent some letters to Ala Singh Jat which have been replied to by the Jat. All the details will be known from them."[24]

Food Crises in the Maratha Camp Bebore the Conquest of Kunjpura

The greatest achievement of Ala Singh in the battle of Panipat was to provide food to the Maratha camp which had suffered from food shortage. Ever since the Maratha conquest of Delhi there was a great dearth of food grains and lack of finance in the Maratha camp as is clear from the following Marathi letter:

"There is indeed a great stringency of coin in the camp. Grain is sold 2½ Payalis to the rupee. Cash sufficient to pay a day's wages even is not forthcoming. The Kamavasdars are in a very critical position. Horses have no stamina left in them. Soldiers are starving, loans are not available. These are the sufferings of the camp."[25]

Food Crises After the Conquest of Kunjpura

With the conquest of Kunjpura the food situation of the Maratha camp improved to some extent because the Marathas got vast stores of food grains. But soon food shortage became more acute when Ahmad Shah Abdali crossed the Jumna and cut off the Maratha line of communications. Moreover Ahmad Shah Abdali adopted special measures to complete the economic blockade. Every night a body of 5000 Durrani horsemen advanced as near as they could safely and remained there all the night keeping watch against the entry of food grains into the Maratha camp. Two other bodies of the same strength made half circles around the Maratha encampment, one on the right and the other to the left. These night patrols each with at least five thousand horsemen mounted on powerful Turkey horses and commanded by the practised cavalry leaders like Shah Pasand Khan and Jehan Khan cut off every provision convoy that attempted to steal into under cover of darkness, and even fodder and firewood were also checked and cut off from their camp.[26] This complete economic blockade of the Maratha camp led to starvation to

24. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 27, letter No. 262. Unfortunately the full correspondence, its nature, the subject and contents are not traceable. The Marathas were locked at Panipat. According to G. S. Sardesai great Maratha historian Ahmad Shah Abdali intercepted the Maratha correspondence with the result that no Maratha letters are traceable two months preceding the major action of the battle of Panipat (14 Jan. 1761). On the other hand no Marathi letter is traceable in the Patiala Archives. It appears that all such letters were destroyed during Abdali's plunder of Barnala which took place only a few months after the battle of Panipat.

25. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 27, letter No. 258 (Sept. 1760).

26. J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, page 308. Because of Abdali affair all roads are closed. *S.P.D.*, Vol. 27, letter No. 259.

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such an extent that people began to make flour out of animal bones. Most of the horses died for want of fodder.[27]

Ala Singh's Help

When the Marathas were in that precarious condition, Ala Singh undertook to help them by sending them provisions and food grains. Apparently enough Marathas were there in numbers and they had enough ammunition. Their victory at Kunjpura had greatly enhanced their prestige and power and it was hoped that the Marathas would be victorious. But as it is agreed on all hands, their internal problems, i.e. food shortage and financial stringency mostly brought about their ruin. Ala Singh tried to help them to solve their food crises sending to the Maratha camp convoys of food grains. When Abdali came to know this he sent a punitive expedition and stopped the supply of provisions by Ala Singh. After the Maratha disaster in the battle of Panipat (Jan. 14, 1761), Ala Singh gave shelter to many Maratha fugitives as is clear from the following Marathi letter written by Laxman Appaji Ekbote to the Peshwa:

"It was deputed by the Bhau to Sirhind along with Lakshmi Narain. When misfortune befell our army, Lakshmi Narain being a Hindustani secured a place for himself. With 56 or 60 Maratha sowers, I was left in the Lurch. There was no place at all. A heavy rush followed. So I approached Ala Singh Jat who out of regard for your honour gave me shelter. Up to now I am with the Jat Sardar."[28]

Ala Singh was the greatest ally of the Marathas in the Punjab. He invited the Marathas to his country in order to free his territory from the foreign yoke of Abdali. He helped them in their conquest of Sirhind.[29] In the battle of Panipat, Ala Singh rose to such an eminence that the Peshwa opened correspondence with him.[30] He helped the Marathas with food grains at greatest risk and at a time when the Marathas were in dire need of his help.[31] Even after the Marathas' disaster Ala Singh gave shelter to the Maratha fugitives[32] In short, Ala Singh proved to be a great friend of the Marathas not only at the time of their victory at Sirhind but also at the time of their disaster in the fateful battle of Panipat.

27. *Tarikhe Ahmad* Ms., pages 36-37.
28. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 27, letter No. 262.
29. Kagzate Bhagwant Rai—quoted by Karm Singh Maharaja Ala Singh (Panjabi).
30. *S.P.D.* by Sardesai, Vol. 27, letter No. 262.
31. *Khazane Amra.*
32. *S.P.D.* by Sardesai, Vol. 27, letter No. 262.

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DEOKATES OF SENDURSANA

(An unknown militant nobility, during Mughal period)

D. B. MAHAJAN

INTRODUCTORY

This paper is based on various original and authentic documents, such as *sanads*, letters, *darbārkhrach, yādis* and correspondence of the Vakil of Deokates, stationed at the Peshwa Darbār at Poona. The members of this family have been staying at the village Shendursana, in District of Nanded, in the territory of Hyderabad, of which they were the Patels. These manuscripts, about 26 in number, were handed over to Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, Vice-President of 'Sharadashram' Institute of Yeotmal, by the late Justice Koratkar of Hyderabad, for critical study. It is really surprising that no traces of this great family are found in any book so far written, or published on the Mahratta history, except stray mention of a few names noted in the old Bakhars and diaries of Peshwas etc.

ORIGIN AND PREVIOUS HISTORY

The Deokates belong to the class of shepherds, known as Maratha Dhangars. Those who actually deal with the goats and sheep are known as "Khutekars" while others are styled as "Bandes" or Bandgars". Those who took up to the military life, were more popularly known as "Hatkars".

A definite but indistinct source of this family can be traced during the reign of Akbar. The *Ain-e-Akbari*[1] makes a clear mention, probably of this family, in the following words:—

". . . The former inhabitants (Bairagad-chanda Distt.) now reside near Basim and they are called *Hatkaranas*. They formally commanded 1,000 cavalry and 50,000, infantry. They are in general a refractory and perfidious race". Sêndursanā, the headquarters of Deokates, is near Basim, and there is no other family of Hatkars so prominent as that of Deokates or sometimes called Deokāntes. The writer of the *Ain-e-Akbari,* therefore, might have, in all probability, this Hatkar family of Sardars in his view. That, this family had risen in high esteem and power is evident from the fact that two members of this family, viz. 1. Balwantrao and 2. Bhawanrao Deokante, find place in the trusted Shilledars of great Shivaji. It will not be incorrect to presume that they had attained such military distinction, so as to justify their selection to the military ranks in Shivaji's army. Deokates must have naturally taken some years to attain this honor and that during the time the *Ain-e-Akbari* was written, this Hatkar family was in a position to maintain cavalry and infantry, as described in the *Ain-e-Akbari.*

1. Translation from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin, page 71.

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The manuscripts under scrutiny, reveal the names of the following soldiers, and the part played by each of them, though the narrative is rather disconnected. But the documents do open a new avenue for further researches to be made in the Maratha history.

1. BALWANTRAO BIN-DHARAMOJI, DEOKATE, 1700 A.D.

A very significant reference regarding the army of Hatkars (Marātha Shepherds) has been made by Grant Duff,[2] while describing the historical siege of Ginjee, which lasted till January 1698, in these words: "Ramchandra Pant was particularly partial to the MARATHA DHUNGARS or Shepherds, a great number of whom served among his troops, and many of the ancestors of those who afterwards became great chiefs in the empire, began their career under Ramchandra Pant. "It is to this exact period of history that our valuable manuscripts relate. The *sanad* D/-Friday the 21st November, 1707 issued under the seal of Raja Shahu, reads as follows: . . . . "You (Balwantrao) have come to our *darshan,* as our old loyal servant. You had been with your army and paid respects to late Raje and that you have rendered us help in the battle of *"Chandi"* (Ginjee) and requested for renewing the *sanads* of *"Suragaudki"*[3] for the province of Kadewali, so do we renew the letter conferring upon you the rights of *'suragaudki'* Watan of the eight *Tarfas* in all as follows:—1. Pedgaon, 2. T. Chambhargonde, 3. Asthi, 4. T. Jamkhed, 5. Raothan, 6. Nagar Haweli, 7. T. Madwagan and 8. Ked. So do you and your children enjoy the right . . . ." Grant Duff's reference read in the light of this *sanad,* makes it amply clear that the Hatkar[4] who took leading part in the siege of Ginjee, were none else than Deokates, one of them being Balwantrao, the founder of this family.

2. DHARAMOJI BIN SUBHANJI BALWANTRAO DEOKATE, 1722-1732

In 1722 A.D. this *Sanad* was renewed in the name of Dharamoji by Raja Shahu and it bears two seal stamps, one of Raja Sahu and the other of the Pant Pratinidhi. The same Watan rights of Surgaudki of eight Mahals were renewed with the mention of "Kakasaheb's"* original *sanad.*

In another letter of 1723 A.D. from Raja Shahu addressed to Sena Dhurandhar, Sultanji Rao Nimbalkar, we find a warning given to Nimbalkar Dhurandhar, Sultanjirao Nimabalkar, we find a warning given to Nimbalkar for not disturbing the *"Saramjams"* of this Dharamoji.

2. Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas,* Edn. 1918, Vol. 1, page 309.
3. *"Sur Gaudaki"*, is perhaps the Carnatic name for "Sur Patel", i.e. head patel, as in Maharastra. This means 3 per cent upon their whole revenue exclusive of Surdeshmukhi. The watan was hereditary. There are other rights as detailed in the letter itself. See, Collection of Mss. (See *Grant Duff,* Vol. I, page 376.)
4. Obviously refers to Raje Rajaram Maharaj, King of Satara.
* Raja Rajaram Maharaj of Satara.

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In 1728 A.D. Raja Shahu issued another letter of warning to Senā Dhurandhar Kanhoji Bhonsle, that he should, on no account, disturb and exact money or plunder the Mahals granted as Mokasas to Deokates. These nine Mahals are:—1. Haweli Mahur, 2. Kinwat, 3. Umbarkhed, 4. Tamsa, 5. Shewale, 6. Manate, 7. Nandapur, 8. Kasba Dhanki and 9. K. Hingoli, all situated in and near Berar.

An interesting order D/-25th May 1728, issued by Shahu Maharaj to Peshwa Bajirao I, ordering Sultanji Nimbalkar to return the mare of Dharamoji Deokate, which had gone astray and was suspected to have been removed by the Nimbalkar's men.

3. Sabaji Balawantrao Deokate, 1732 A.D.

Letter D/-5th February 1732, issued by Shahu Maharaj to Senā Dhurandhar Kanhoji Bhonsle, warns him not to create troubles or plunder in the nine Mahals granted as Mokasa to Sabaji. Grant Duff writes[5] that Kanhoji died in the year 1730 A.D. which is evidently incorrect. The present letter addressed to Kanhoji is dated 7-2-1732, when Kanhoji was then definitely alive. Grant Duff's date, therefore, requires correction. This letter also tells us when Kanhoji became *Senā Dhurandhar.*

4. Shetyaji Balwantrao Deokate, 1747-1765

This man appears to be more of a statesman than a soldier. There are several letters of his times, which are written by his Vakil Chintoram, an intelligent and tactful Darbari Brahmin. The Poona letters particularly are of great importance as references are found regarding the movements of heroes who fought the final battle of Panipat.

One of the most important letters[6] is dated 29th December, 1760, scribed by Chintoram, from camp *Rakshasbhuwan.* It throws fresh light on the second marriage of Nanasaheb Peshwa with a nine years girl and settles the fact that this marriage could not be the cause of the ill health of Nanasaheb and his ultimate death, as has been wrongly stated by the eminent historians like Dr. Sardesai[7] and others.

In one of his letters, Chintoram, after offering his *Ashirwads,* writes "Till Saptami we are safe at Poona. Shrimant Rajesaheb has issued strict warning to the Mankaris, Saramjami Sardars, that he would start on the second day of Dashera, and halt at Nagar for eight days, where all of them including Bapuji Naik, Sarlaskar,* and Fattesingh must join with their respective

5. Grant Duff's History, Vol. I, p. 374 and Kale's History of Berar.
6. This letter was first published with comments by Shri W. N. Deshpande, a well-known Marathi writer of Yeotmal, in the 'Vihangam', in 1937 incorporated in his book *Vichar Samiksha.*
7. See Sardesai's Marathi Ryasat Madhyabhag, pages 211 and 235.
* Nimbalkar.

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armies. Failing this, the *saramjams* will be forfeited. Please ride on with your army immediately". Continuing the writer says, "this year, the Delhi Mughal is advancing and there are talks that both will face each other. The Peshwas have now 20,000 Nalbandi army, 8,000 Gardis, 2000 Firangis and 100 cannons ready with them, and they will arrive at Nagar within a fortnight. . . . Vakil of Nizam Ali has arrived. He demands back the Jahgir (taken by Peshwa) last year and expenses at Rs. 15,000 per day. Then only he would help in defeating the Delhi-Pathans and drive them away. Peshwas propose to return the Jahgir worth rupees twenty five lakhs of Balaghat and Naldurgh etc. and would pay Rs. 5000/- per day as daily expenses. The treaty is not yet signed. There are secret writings with Khane Ali at Wasmat . . ." (*Torn.*) It is needless to comment on the importance of this letter for the readers of the Mahratta history.

Another letter describes: "The Pathans and the Jats form about one lakh of horse and they have collected on the other bank of the Jamna. Srimant Bhausaheb is encamping at Gwalior and Malharji Holkarji at Jai-Nagar. There is a distance of 40 Kós between the armies of Bhau and Malharji ; while Mughals are at a distance of 100 Kós.

This letter gives the political news also: "Mahadji Shinde, Tukoji Holkar and Haripant Fadke have gathered near the fort and Moroba Dada, Sakharam Bapu have come down the fort. They all held consultations . . . . Hyder Naik is arrived at Miraj. They are making preparations to obstruct him. Please do come with your army."

There are other letters which are of value in their own ways, they throw light on the social and economic conditions then prevailing and also enlighten us on many complicated problems then existing.

5. Manaji Balwantrao Deokate, 1755

The fifth member of the family, which deserves our attention, is Manaji.

The letter D/-7th Sābāl, from Madhao Rao Peshwa to Janoji Bhonsle, states that Wasmat Pargana, in Sarkar Nanded, was given to Deokates for Mokasa rights and after Khane Alams partition the following villages were allotted to them:—1. Sendursana (place of their present head quarters 2. Chondhi Bk., 3. Lohara Bk., 4. Mansur, 5. Dabha Kd., 6. Waghi, 7. Aswale and 8. Pimpri. Khane Alis' villages were 1. Kasba Wasmat black soil (culturable land) and white land (village site) Hayat Nagar, 2. Pahur and Harala with all rights of Jakat etc."

A letter D/-1755 A.D. from Senasaheb Subha Janoji Bhonsle, addressed to Piraji Naik Nimabalkar, under the orders of Pant Pradhan states that Piraji Naik should not interfere with the Mokasa rights of the Deokates of the villages noted above . . ."

Another letter D/- 6-6-1767 makes it clear that "You (Manaji) came late to the battle of Karnatak (1765-66) . . . Your brothers Dhramaji and Umaji are not sharing the *dardarkharch ;* you recover the dues and remit them to us. The letter is from Madhao Rao Peshwa."

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6. Umaji Hatkar Rao Deokate, 1766

He is mentioned in letters along with Manaji Deokate and was in the battle of Karnatik along with Manaji, in the year 1765-66. *"Hatkarrao"* indicates the class to which he belongs.

7. Bhawanrao Deokate, 1665
Balwantrao Deokate

This Balwantrao is the same who is mentioned as one, who helped Rajaram and Shahu in the siege of Jinjee in 1698. They both are again mentioned,[8] in the list of Sardars of Shiwaji, while Balwantrao alone is mentioned by some writers[9] in the list of Subhedars and Shilledars of Shiwaji.

8. Yesaji alias Yashawantrao
9. Vithoji Dakote, 1794-1800

Both of them are mentioned[10] in the diary of Sawai Madhaorao as having offered "Dresses" on the occasion of Dashera festival worth Rs. 241/- and Rs. 146-8-0 respectively, in the year 1794-95. Yesaji had excellent cavalry[11] (Pagha). In letter dated 28-2-1774, one Deokante is mentioned among the Sardars who are not yet partitioned[12] ; and Dharamaji finds mention in the diary[13] of Raja Shahu, in the year 1725-26.

"Balwantrao" the title

From the names of these persons, it becomes clear that the term "Balwantrao" is not the name of every individual but it is the title affixed after each name. No doubt, originally Balwantrao was the name of a particular individual who was the founder of this family and after his death all the members belonging to his family were styled as "Balwantrao" Deokate. This practice is not uncommon in history. Raje, "Udaram" and "Jadhorao" are instances of this type.

Conclusion

These genuine and authentic documents are of great historical value. Not only they throw fresh light on the events in history in the 16th and 17th century but they add altogether a new chapter to the existing Maratha history. It is really surprising that, with these valuable manuscripts, the family should escape the notice of the scholars and remain in dark so long. The present narrative, though disconnected it may be, is coming for the first time before the readers. The representatives of this family do possess some more records, which, if properly scrutinized and studied, will definitely throw more light on the history of the Marathas. Shri Satwaji Naik of Pusad in Berar, is taking further steps in this direction.

8. *Shaka Karta Shiwaji* by Chitnis, Sane edn. 1924, page 313.
9. *Shiwa Chatrapati Charitra* by Sabhasad, Sane Edn. 1923, page 98.
10. *Sawai Madhaorao's Rojnishi—1794-95* by Parasnis and Wad.
11. Letter dated 28-2-75, published in *Kavyetihas Sangrah*, page 203. Kale and Sardesai Edn.
12. *Kavyetihas Sangraha*, serial No. 469, page 424. (Kale's Edn.).
13. *Shahu Maharajachi Rojnishi*, Vol. I, by Parasnis and Wad.

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SECTION V

MODERN INDIA

from 1765 A.D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. S. K. BHUYAN

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to you for the honour you have bestowed on me by asking me to preside over the Modern History Section at this fifteenth session of the Indian History Congress. I have been a lonely worker trying to unfold the history of an obscure corner of India. Publicity was outside the orbit of my activities as I considered work to be its own publicity ; nor had limelight entered into the sphere of my achievements. But I have been animated throughout my life by a religious zeal to let the world know the great and good things of Assam which forms an integral part of Mother India. I am sure, it is in the way of recognition of my humble labours in the field of history that you have honoured me with the privilege of presiding over your deliberations.

But in taking my stand before you I am seized with a feeling which amounts almost to diffidence. I am not a professed student or a trained teacher of history like many of you assembled here. I had to earn my bread by teaching Shakespeare and Milton. But history has been my beloved pursuit to which I have consecrated all my thoughts and my energy.

Since the Indian History Congress met last at Jaipur we have lost some distinguished workers in the field of Indology. Sri Brajendranath Bandopadhyaya of Calcutta died a few months ago. His was a life of ceaseless devotion to the cause of historical learning as will be known from his numerous papers read at the different sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission, and his contributions to *Bengal: Past and Present,* and the vernacular journals of Bengal, and his history of the Begums of Bengal published in English.

Assam has also her own share of bereavement. Only six weeks ago we lost Dr. Banikanta Kakati, a brilliant product of Calcutta University, a literary critic and philologist of rare acumen, and an interpreter of the social and religious history of Eastern India.

In January 1952, died Srijut Radhakanta Handiqui at the ripe old age of 95. He made liberal donations for promoting the cause of education and learning, and it was through his munificence that the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam obtained a permanent building for the location of its office and library of manuscripts and printed books.

Amongst the notable achievements, mention may be made of Colonel R. H. Phillimore's two volumes of the Historical Records of the Survey of India, packed with valuable information and citations of sources which can be explored by generations of scholars interested in the early phase of British administration in India. Dr. N. K. Sinha has brought out the long-awaited volume of records containing the correspondence between Fort William and India House. Though it is the story of the administration of Governor Verelst,

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1767-69, the records, in the words of the reviewer Dr. P. C. Gupta, are indispensable for writing an adequate history of the Company's early rule in Bengal. The Ministry of Defence are bringing out two volumes of the history of the Indian Armed Forces in World War II.· Though there have been several publications relating to the history of the Indian Army the present series represents a laudable attempt to write a part of that history in a systematic manner under the direct auspices of our countrymen. India is awaiting the result of the project initiated by the Government of India for compiling a history of the Freedom Movement.

The history of the period with which this section is mainly concerned has been dealt with by many distinguished historians both British and Indian. The materials at our disposal are voluminous and almost endless. Correspondence played an important part in the Government of the East India Company on account of the distance between the administrators in India and the authorities at home. It is a good sign that steps have been taken to publish some of these materials which can be used for scientific reconstruction of Indian History by future investigators.

The main trends of the history of this period have been examined by scholars undoubtedly more qualified than myself, and I cannot add a word to them. But I feel that one aspect has not been brought out in a pronounced manner. Now that we are independent we can afford to engage ourselves in self-scrutiny in order that this self-scrutiny may produce a beneficent result in future. We have to answer the question, how was it that a handful of foreign traders could establish their political supremacy in India so rich in resources and man-power? Some will attribute their success to a superior navy and a superior strategy. Though the foreigners could draw upon their naval strength the conflicts were not coastal or maritime ; and foreign strategy was effective because the soil was fertile for its successful implantation. How was it that the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs, Hyderabad and Mysore could not pool their resources together for counteracting the designs of the foreigners, and for establishing a strong popwer to replace that of the tottering Timurids?

The answer leads me to a story in the old history of Assam. King Rajeswar Singha, 1751-69, was sitting in his amusement pavilion watching games, contests and dances in a vast field in front of him. There was a great concourse of people, and the king was seized with the apprehension as to what the assembled crowd could not do if they aimed at any mischief. He expressed his fears to his chief executive Kirti Chandra Barbarua. The shrewd official pointed out that the king's fears were baseless as two men could never be united into one. It was India's incapacity to unite and adopt concerted measures that led to its servitude for nearly 200 years. The effect was marvellous when India offered a united resistance to its foreign masters under the inspiration and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, culminating in the recovery of our long-lost independence in 1947. I will implore historians, scholars, poets, journalists, artists, and all and sundry, who form a part of the great Indian nation, to do all that is in their power in order to foster the

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spirit of unity so that India may never undergo again the consequences of disintegration and divided political ambitions. In the reconstruction of history there should be no mincing of matters and no attempt to wash out our faults ; our blunders and pitfalls should be thoroughly analysed so that their repetition may be averted. I would request them to remember the saying of Confucius: "The inferior man blames others, the superior man blames himself." Periodic introspection is good for the spiritual health of an individual as well as of a nation.

I am one of those who believe in the existence of a divine programme in all human relations and endeavours. India suffered the humiliation of enslavement, and it is a common question as to why a spiritual-minded and civilised nation like the Indians should be subjected to this humiliation. India's heritage is glorious and magnetic. It has enriched the blood of China and of the South-East Asia ; its message of peace and good-will has even in this age of conflicting ideologies elicited the admiration of the great countries of the world. The ocean that had girdled the Indian sub-continent had offered a barrier for its free intercourse with the western world. The West now came to India and saw for itself what India stands for ; and it should be admitted that western scholars were amongst the pioneers to interpret India's culture and civilisation to the rest of mankind. India in her own way has seen for itself what the West has to give. The intense realism of western thought and practice has not failed to influence the Indian mind, and India which had been over-spiritual in the past has imbibed from the West many elements of a practical code of life. The West has not very much assimilated India's ideology till now, though there is a feeling that it is drawing their attention more pointedly as an instrument of peace and international amity. India has thus become complete, its spiritual nature being reinforced by the science and realism of the West. With this over-all completeness India is bound to emerge triumphant in its future undertakings in all spheres. It may be said that the price we paid for this contact was exorbitant. India became impoverished, but it has got a wonderful capacity for recoupment, and its eternal wealth lies in the Himalayas and the monsoons of which it can never be deprived. Besides, during this period of our western contact India has become politically unified by virtue of a common administration and a common language, and independent India has been able to march ahead with the advantages appertaining to a united territory. Let us look into the future and shape it on the basis of what we possess both in strength and in weakness.

The old conception of history has become entirely changed. History was for long a record of the transactions of the rulers ; and in fact an Assamese monarch, King Siva Singha, 1714-44, distinctly instructed his historiographer that "the histories of his predecessors should be compiled, the succession of the Ahom monarchs mentioned in detail, and that the history should only contain the names and transactions of the Swargadeos or kings". Rulers are now regarded as representatives and symbols of the nation, and therefore new elements like the condition of the masses and the progress of art and literature have entered into the texture of historical reconstruction.

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I for myself will not be satisfied by merely giving a picture of the externals of a nation ; and I would ask historians to explore how moral superiority has led to the peace, prosperity and solidarity of a nation, and how moral degradation has been the cause of its downfall and decay. It will be seen that a country has gone to the depth of political ruination because its morals are too low, because selfishness plays an important part in the day-to-day actions of its rulers and nobles, because they cannot subordinate themselves to the interests of their country. A nation may be well-equipped with all the paraphernalia of success in arms, but defeat is sure if its commanders are corrupted at the sight of an ass laden with gold coming from the opposite quarters, if its officials justify iniquities by sophistries and subterfuges, if the people lose confidence in their security, and if their expectations of justice are blurred by apprehensions to the contrary. History will show that the well-being of a nation has been dependent on an all-pervasive moral force, on rigid elimination of unjustness and selfishness in the minutest details of administration.

Of all the countries of the world, India has the greatest opportunities for the enforcement of this moral order. It has been enjoined in its scriptures and classics, in its religious code and the daily worship of the people. The great emperor Asoka engraved moral teachings in his edicts on rocks and pillars. Moral degradation on the part of India will doubtless be a nullification of our glorious heritage and culture. I will, therefore, ask my brother historians to emphasise on this aspect of things so that India may tread on careful grounds in order to avert the tragedies which befell us in the past.

The saints of India have not as yet received the attention they deserve at the hands of our academic historians though their lives and teachings are a very powerful instrument for the strengthening of our moral fervour and for the propagation of the message of peace and brotherhood. Their influence on the life and society of the masses has been deep, enduring and extensive ; and its study will give us a genuine picture of the evolution of Indian rationalism. Monographs on each one of our saints can be compiled on scientific lines for which there are plenty of materials in the shape of contempoprary literature, traditions, relics and monuments. What can be more inspiring than the fact that both Hindus and Muslims quarrelled over the possession of the mortal remains of their master Kabir for performing the funeral obsequies according to their respective customs? Similarly, men and women of different faiths, from the highest to the lowest, sought the blessings of the great Muslim saint Nizamuddin Aulia. Each of our saints, living on the droppings into his begging bowl and clad in the scantiest habiliments, was a monarch in the spiritual sphere, and his life has shed a more beneficent and far-reaching influence upon his age and posterity than that of many an anointed head of the tempopral order.

In our own field of historical activities a lessening of sustained efforts has been clearly perceptible in recent years. As my predecessors have often remarked, and as we have all experienced, historical research is a matter of expense. The results are unremunerative from the economic point of view.

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Living is becoming gradually harder on account of the rise in the price of essential commodities. The historical worker, however earnest he may be, is tempted to abandon his unprofitable chase and take to labours where the needed money may be obtained. The great personalities who are with us till now belong practically to the past ; and there is a marked paucity of devoted workers among the new generation. The Indian History Congress representing the interests of historical research should, in my opinion, take up the question of evolving practical measures which will attract talented young men to the field. Preferments in the hierarchy of academic appointments may come sometimes as a reward for original work ; but this is not always the case. Preferments depend on many factors, and approved capacity for substained work and scientific reconstruction may not always carry weight in selection to higher positions. Of course, love of learning has its own merit ; but, in Shakespeare's words, we must have "our cakes and ale". The Government can come to our rescue directly, or through the numerous Universities, educational institutions and research organisations. Unless something tangible is done in this direction the genuine worker will be tempted to seek fresh woods and pastures new.

The object of the Indian History Congress is to produce an atmosphere in which historical investigations may thrive properly and steadily. Continued application to historical pursuits may appear repelling to people who have neither the time nor the equipment to engage themselves in it. The real historian's work must be supplemented by ancillary workers. They can pave the way for future historians by collecting materials and compiling works which are not purely historical. India has been very earnest and active in the domain of political warfare during the last thirty years ; many great deeds have been done, and many great patriots have worked and died in the cause of India's liberation. The accounts of these events and these patriots have not come out as profusely as they ought to have come. There are still amongst us the stalwart participants and eyewitnesses, and narratives compiled by them will be of immense value to the future historian in spite of the possibility that the narratives will be tinged by sentiments and emotions inseparable from proximity.

We may refer particularly to the history of the greatest period of the national movement, that under Mahatma Gandhi. Several biographies and some reminiscences have come out ; and we wish that some academic historian will compile a history of Mahatma Gandhi and his times so that it may be a distinct work of scientific reconstruction. Amongst the co-workers and disciples of the Mahatma there is a galaxy of talents still living ; and the Indian History Congress should approach them to write out their personal reminiscences in order that the spirit of the great movement with all its attendant details may be preserved and transmitted to posterity.

The great Mahatma himself is believed to be abundantly represented in his writings and in contemporary literature. But his utterances made on different occasions to different individuals and groups and the little incidents of his life occurring in different corners of India have still to be recorded.

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His contemporaries are not immortal, and it will be regrettable if they have to leave the world before they have handed down the story of their contacts with Mahatmaji. As you all know, soon after the Mahaparinirvana of Lord Buddha his eminent disciples gathered together at Rajàgriha and recorded the Master's sayings and instructions and constituted them into the Tripitakas. I have always been wondering as to why the disciples and co-workers of Bapuji could not meet in different places and record all that they had seen and heard in their contacts with the Mahatma. Time is flitting, and there should be no delay. The resources of the sovereign republic of India are certainly more extensive than those of Ajatasatru, king of Magadha, under whose patronage the First Buddhist Council was held. The work undertaken by the Gandhi National Memorial Trust to perpetuate the living presence of Bapuji is epical, historic and unprecedented.

The greatest landmark in the history of modern India is undoubtedly the attainment of our long-lost independence preceded by a non-violent struggle in which India's moral strength was brought to full play under the leadership of the Father of the Nation. The moral outlook thus invigorated has become visible in the idealistic trends of the administration both in its domestic affairs and its foreign relations. It has synchronised with the growing popularity of Buddhism as an easily comprehensible code of correct conduct in thought, speech and action. Buddhism has come back to the land of its nativity after centuries of sojourn in neighbouring lands. The installation of the relics of the two Chief Disciples of Lord Buddha—Arahans Sariputta and Moggallano—at Sanchi Vihara last month bespeaks the fervency of India's love and respect for the message of the Tathagata. We only regret that Buddhism did not stay all the time in India. Just imagine the lessons of peace and brotherhood, of forbearance and love which generations of our countrymen would have learnt and practised, and the sorrows which would have been assuaged if the Indian mind had passed through the simple and matter-of-fact teachings enshrined in the literature of Buddhism. Signs are not wanting to show that the coming centuries will witness the rallying of the progressive mind of the world round the banner of *Ahimsa* and *Metta*—non-violence and love—which the study of Buddhism kindles in the hearts of humanity.

Brother historians, I would venture to draw your attention to the inadequate representation of the subject of Indian History in the curriculum of our University studies. It does not generally find a place in the Intermediate stage ; it is taken up by a limited number of students going up for the B.A. and M.A. Examinations. A large majority of our Indian students can thus obtain the highest degrees of a University with only a smattering of the knowledge of Indian History acquired during their school days. Now the Government of the country is in the hands of our own people, and every citizen must take an intelligent interest in its affairs to ensure its welfare and prosperity. But, how can one do so if he does not possess a critical knowledge of the country's past on which the present is based? In this audience there are many scholars associated with different Universities, and I would

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request them to consider whether Indian History could not be made a compulsory subject for the Intermediate and Degree Examinations in Arts as well as in Science.

I must refer to a regrettable experience which must have fallen to the lot of us all in one shape or other. A historian, after strenuous labour on his part, unearths a fact and writes an account thereof. Another man repeats that fact in a compilation of his own without acknowledging his indebtedness. The second writer sometimes quotes the authorities, cited by the first, without having seen or consulted them for himself. I am told that an eminent Indian scholar gave up the habit of citing references lest a subsequent writer mentions them without first-hand examination. This hesitation to acknowledge one's indebtedness amounts certainly to intellectual dishonesty ; and no credit should ever be given to a performance which bears evidence of this unscholarly and discourteous practice. An author is naturally reluctant to seek the protection of law for remedies against infringement of copyright ; this does not mean that one should take advantage of another man's labours and appropriate the credit to himself.

As a worker in the field of Assam History I cannot resist the temptation of a few words about it. Assam has been an organic part of India from time immemorial. It is mentioned in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas, and the classics and inscriptions of Northern India.

No Asoka pillar has yet been discovered in Assam. There are, however, traces to show that it had once been swayed by the influence of Buddhism. Remote from the main currents of thoughts in Aryavarta, Assam has evolved a code of life in a sort of semi-isolation. The non-Aryan tribes, both inside the state and on its frontiers, have contributed towards the growth of a unique culture and civilisation. Recorded materials are plentiful, specially from the thirteenth century when the Ahoms first conquered the province. The The Assamese chronicles, known as *Buranjis,* throw light not only on the history of Assam but on the history of India as well. There were distinct monographs on the Muslim conquerors of India compiled so early as the seventeenth century. Many phases of Indian History come out in the diplomatic letters exchanged between Assam and the Mogul courts. Some of these sources have been published ; but a voluminous mass of materials is still to be published for which workers and money are urgently needed.

The story of Assam of the modern period is mostly of the same tenure as that of other parts of India. The disintegration of the Mogul empire after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb had its repercussions in Assam. King Rudra Singha, 1696-1714, after having brought the neighbouring states within his hegemony wrote letters to the Rajas of Hindusthan seeking their co-operation in his plan to invade Mogul India. In one such letter the Assam king wrote—"Reports have been received that owing to the hostile conduct of the Moguls the religion of the Vedas is not receiving any protection. If you are interested in the counteraction of this situation then you should consult your nobles and supporters and inform me of your resources and the extent to which you can help me." The Hindu Rajas wrote back that they would

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support the patriotic enterprise of the king of Assam as they had become tired of saluting the Moguls. Rudra Singha collected an army of four lacs, and halted for sometime at Gauhati to perfect his preparations ; but he died there in September 1714, just on the eve of marching into Bengal.

His successor Siva Singha was not able to push forward the unfulfilled scheme of his ambitious father. About the year 1756, the French merchant and soldier J. B. Chevalier who had gone to Assam on a trading excursion was prevented from leaving his boat, and was made to return to Bengal without setting his foot on the soil of Assam.

Peace reigned in Assam up to the year 1769, and no European, not even the great geographer Major James Rennell was allowed to enter the kingdom.

Assam's relations with the East India Company commenced from the year 1771 when the Court of Directors first accepted the desirability of establishing a commercial intercourse and instructed the Government of Fort William to adopt the necessary measures. The relations continued till the year 1826 when Assam passed into the hands of the Company by the treaty of Yandabo, concluded on the termination of the war with the Burmese who had acquired possession of the country four years earlier.

The people of Assam were grateful to the British for having relieved them of the oppressions and ravages of the preceding period. But when they found that the British had firmly entrenched themselves in Assam having first entered it for the purpose of expelling the Burmese, they took steps, though abortively, to get rid of their new masters. "The inhabitants of Upper Assam," wrote David Scott, the first Commissioner, "are far from being reconciled to our rule, and it may be expected that the higher classes will continue to cherish hopes and engage in schemes for the re-establishment of the ancient form of Government under a native prince." Things happened as expected. There were several uprisings which were however suppressed, and the principal leaders executed or sentenced to banishment. In May 1831, Scott urged that "by establishing a native prince an end will be put to the plots and intrigues, and we shall without loss of revenue avoid the odium necessarily attached to the exclusion of the royal family, the depression of the nobles, the neglect of the national religion and the disgust occasioned by frequent executions for criminal offences of a popular character". Raja Purandar Singha was in consequence installed as a tributory ruler of Upper Assam, but he was deposed in 1838 for his inability to fully pay up the stipulated amount.

During the Sepoy Mutiny, the dispossessed princes and nobles again raised their heads and rallied round Purandar Singha's grandson Kandarpeswar Singha, whom they now planned to set up on the throne. The plot was soon detected ; the prince was put under detention and sent down to Bengal as an externee. Maniram Dewan who had encouraged the plot by despatching emissaries and espistles from Calcutta was arrested and hanged together with the prince's local adviser and friend Mahes Chandra Sarma Barua. Other accomplices were sentenced to transportation or imprisonment.

From the transfer of the Company's territories to the Crown in 1858

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Assam enjoyed the fruits of peaceful administration though there were sporadic manifestations of discontent here and there. The Assamese put their heart and soul into the national movement under leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The movement permeated the masses, and women also gallantly participated in the common effort for gaining the independence of the country.

The most notable feature in the history of Assam is the fact that it had enjoyed sovereignity while the rest of India was subjected to foreign domination, and Assam was one of the last provinces to be occupied by the British. Assam was, therefore able to develop itself on its own national lines. The nobles patronised literature, art and religion, and the political leaders evolved and perfected measures for the successful resistance of foreign invaders. Assam's cultural life and its social and political outlook were based on intense realism ; and the manner in which its people devised methods of utilising their resources to the full advantage was an achievement of great significance. It is desirable that the versatility and vigour of the Assamese people which came into being in consequence of their long-continued independence, and which is so extensively represented in their literature and their economic and social systems should be the subject of special investigation at the hands of our historians, and it will be soon realised that the way in which Assam solved its political problems will be a source of inspiration and guidance to the rest of India.

Assam has also got its own quota of historians. Dr. John Peter Wade and Dr. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton were interested in Assam when it was still independent. After British occupation, Assam's principal historians were Capt. Pemberton, Robinson, Johnstone, Mackenzie, Col. Shakespeare, and Gait, besides a number of writers whose contributions are mostly buried in the pages of oriental journals. Amongst the Assamese historians mention may be made of Kasinath Tamuli Phukan, Maniram Dewan, Harakanta Barua and Gunabhiram Barua, and a number of workers who are still on the stage, the most outstanding compilations in recent years being Srijut Benudhar Sharma's *Life of Maniram Dewan* and Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua's *Cultural History of Assam*. Srijut Krishna Kanta Handiqui's book on the Jaina classic *Jasastilaka* is a remarkable contribution on the history of medieval India.

There are several institutions in Assam for the avowed purpose of promoting historical studies. The Assam Government Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies had collected a large number of manuscripts, transcripts and rare books on Assam, and has brought out several old chronicles or Buranjis as well as constructive historical compilations. The Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, or the Assam Research Society, possesses a valuable collection of old Assamese manuscripts ; it also publishes a journal which is appreciated in learned circles in India. The old relics of Assam are permanently housed in the spacious halls and corridors of the Assam Provincial Museum. A number of teachers and students are engaged in historical research under the auspices of the new University of Gauhati. These four institutions are situated at Gauhati. At Shillong, the capital of the State, good

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work is being done by the Shillong Historical Society which holds occasional discourses on historical subjects.

I hope to be excused for the length of my reference to Assam, but I crave your indulgence because I feel that Assam has so many good things and they are so little known.

In conclusion, I would request all historians to realise the part they can effectively play in the rehabilitation of India. The destiny of our country should not be left to the hands of politicians alone. Historians are trained in estimating the unrefutable logic of geography, and the operation of the law of cause and effect. They can take a detached view of situations, and can predict the shape of things to come. This training and this detachment should be harnessed for the correct evaluation of problems, the real character of which cannot always be gauged by politicians who are absorbed too deeply in the discovery of immediate solutions and remedies.

Let the aim and purpose of historians be extended towards a wider horizon ; and instead of merely providing materials for teaching and discussion in class-rooms let them also plant milestones to record our achievements, guide-posts to direct us on the road to our destination, and signs of caution to warn us against impending catastrophes.

GENESIS OF THE *DIWANI* GRANT OF 1765

DR. KALI KINKAR DATTA

The year 1765 marked a turning-point in the history of the Bengal *subah* and also of India as a whole. In the month of August of this year Shah Alam II, the unfortunate and shadowy Emperor of Delhi, made a grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English East India Company. Shah Alam's *firman* of the 12th August, 1765, granting the *Diwani* stated: "that whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the *Diwani* of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, ... as a free gift and *altamgau*, without the association of any other person . . . . . it is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the twenty-six lacs of Rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nawab Najm-uddaula Bahadur, and regularly remit the same to the royal *sarkar ;* and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large Army, for the protection of the provinces of Bengal etc., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said Provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lacs of Rupees to the royal *sarkar*, and providing for the expenses of the *Nizamat*. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omras, high in rank,

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the great Officers, etc., have the said office in possession of the said Company from generation to generation, for ever and ever."

The language of the *Firman* was more or less conventional. It need not lead one to think that the *Diwani* was a voluntary gift of the Mughal Emperor. In the first place, this transaction was a logical sequel to the growing helplessness of Shah Alam II in the face of various hostile forces. Driven from pillar to post and post to pillar by the adverse influences of cruel destiny and also his personal failings, he found even Delhi too hot for him, chiefly due to the malignant hostility of the Wazir Imadulmulk. His three attempts in 1759, 1760 and 1761 to bring Bengal and Bihar under his influence by undoing the verdict of Plassey ended in smoke. The battle of Buxar (23rd October, 1764) confirmed the verdict of Plassey. It resulted in the defeat of three of the important rulers of northern India, Shah Alam II, Shujauddaulah and Mir Qasim. Immediately after it, Shah Alam II, not quite happy on his virtual dependence on Shujauddaulah and with his usual vacillation, threw himself almost at the mercy of the English and entered into negotiations with them which after Clive's return to India in May, 1765, drove him to make the *Diwani* grant. As for the new Nawab of Bengal, Najmuddaulah, he had already been reduced to a figure-head according to the terms of the treaty of 20th February, 1765, between himself and the Calcutta Council. The *Diwani* was a logical step after it and supplied a legal cloak to the *de facto* authority of the English in Bengal.

It must also be noted that the *Diwani* was a natural concomitant of the eclipse of Mughal rule throughout India, in a sense the culmination of an idea, which had originated a few years back in consequence of it. Already before 1759 an officer was made by the Delhi Emperor to invest the English East India Company with the duty of collecting the revenues of Bengal. Clive wrote in his letter to Pitt, dated the 7th January, 1759: ". . . . . application has been made to me, from the Court of Delhi, to take charge of collecting this payment, the person entrusted with which is styled the King's Diwan . . . . . But this high office I have been obliged to decline for the present, as I am unwilling to occasion any jealousy on the part of the Suba (Nawab of Bengal), especially as I see no likelihood of the Company's providing us with a sufficient force to support properly so considerable an employ, and which would open a way for securing the Subaship for ourselves".[1]

Again in 1761, Emperor Shah Alam II made an offer of the *Diwani* to the English, "on condition of their being answerable for the royal revenues" from Bengal. But the Council in Calcutta did not accept it then. They thought as follows: "It would be a source of perpetual contest and illwill with the Nabob but lest such an appointment might at any time hereafter be thought advantageous we will for the present defer coming to any resolution thereon and only write the King that we shall soon send our Requests in form".[2] The Council in Calcutta informed Major Carnac on the 6th July,

1. Malcom, *Life of Clive*, Vol. II, pp. 126-128.
2. *Public Consultations, 4th July 1761.*

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1761, that "with regard to the Dewannee of these provinces, ... it would be a source of continual jealousies between the Nabob and the Company, we do not think it advisable to sue for it at this time".[3] Mir Qasim, in fact, was opposed to the acceptance of *Diwani* by the Company and he was assured by the Governor in Calcutta that he will "never deviate from the treaty (with him) and will always be ready to assist him."[4]

The Court of Directors approved of the Calcutta Council's view, with regard to Shah Alam's *Diwani* offer of 1761, and wrote to them: "Your refusal of the *Dewani* of Bengal offered by the King, was certainly right, and we are well satisfied with the just and prudent reasons you give for declining that offer."

But the situation had completely changed after the battle of Buxar and the Calcutta Council's treaty of the 20th February, 1765, with Nawab Najmuddaulah. The Company, in fact, now wanted the *Diwani*. The Select Committee in Calcutta wrote to Lord Clive, its President and Governor, on the 21st June, 1765: "And this My Lord would appear to us the most favourable occasion that may ever occur for obtaining Sunnuds from the King for the Dewanny of Bengal a point of great consequence to the Company much desired and strongly solicited by General Carnac, but without effect, a price being expected and demanded that was thought by the Governor and Council more than equivalent to the advantage. Times are since altered, the King is now dependent on our Bounty, his whole hopes of protection and even subsistence rest upon us. It cannot therefore be supposed he will prove obstinate in denying Request of little consequence to him in his present circumstances, but advantageous to us his greatest benefactors, we may say his only Friends. We therefore beg leave to recommend this as one of the most important Points to be negotiated." The negotiations were carried on by Shitab Ray and Muniruddaulah,[5] then the two good friends of the English in Bengal and Bihar and resulted ultimately in securing for them the coveted *Diwani* with its enormous advantages. The Select Committee in Bengal wrote to the Court of Directors on the 8th September, 1766: "It was in the prosecution of our plan, of giving permanency to your influence, that we obtained from the King a grant of the Dewanny ; and with the same view we entered into an agreement with the Nabob, the consequences of which are that the revenues of the three provinces being now entirely under our direction, we no longer depend, for the support of our military establishment, on the bounty of the Subah."

3. *Vansittart's Narrative,* Vol. I, p. 263.
4. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 118.
5. Letters from Shah Alam II to the Company's Governor, dated August 2 and August 11, 1765. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 423-424.

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THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS AND THE SECOND OUDH LOAN

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

It was because the East India Company's finances were very much embarrassed during the war with Nepal that Lord Hastings had to ask repeatedly for monetary loans from the ruler of Oudh. The first loan of a crore of rupees was treated more or less as a willing offer on the part of the Nawab, but the second loan for another crore was, according to the testimony of the British Resident at Lucknow, Col. Baillie, nothing but an "abominable extortion".[1] This charge of extortion levelled by the Resident became the subject matter of an acrimonious controversy in India and in England. This question has usually been superficially passed over by historians, although it has an important bearing on the development of British policy towards Oudh.

From the huge mass of evidence available to us, it is possible to form an idea of the truth of the accusation made by Col. Baillie. The position taken up by him may be thus summed up:—

1. Even the first loan was given by the Nawab in 1814 with great reluctance and at his "earnest entreaty"[2] and "solicitation".[3]

2. The second loan of 1815 was forced, and that he was "the instrument of extortion, the thumb-screw employed in compelling his victim to comply with his cruel demand."[4] During the enquiry[5] conducted by a House of Commons Committee, Col. Baillie said in his reply to the question—*"Did it appear to you that the Nawab gave the loan unwillingly?"*, "The loan of so much money by a Musulman, whose religion does not allow him to take interest for money lent, must have been given with reluctance."

Col. Baillie questioned the veracity of Lord Hasting's own SUMMARY of his administration (published in 1823) and said that his evidence given in 1822 could have had no reference to the aforesaid SUMMARY. Besides, there was discrepancy, he said, between the SUMMARY and the official papers. Col. Baillie urged that so far was the Nawab from coming forward with the offer of the second loan that he could never have dreamt of such a demand being made upon him. In fact, the second loan was obtained after "a protracted, painful and vexatious negotiation,"[6] begun rather reluctantly by the Resident under orders of the Governor General.[7] The Nawab, according to the Resident, had told him, "As far as a crore of rupees, I shall certainly furnish by way of loan, but beyond that sum is

1. *Oude Papers*
2. Letter from Col. Baillie to Mr. Ricketts, Secretary to Government, dated Lucknow, Jan. 10, 1815.
3. Letter from Col. Baillie to Joseph Dart, Esq., 1823.
4. Col. Baillie's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons.
5. This was occasioned by a petition to the House of Commons in the session of 1822.
6. Letter from Col. Baillie to Mr. Ricketts.
7. Letter from Mr. Ricketts to Col. Baillie.

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impossible."[8] Col. Baillie stated that the first loan was negotiated in three days, whereas more than a month was spent over the talks in connection with the second loan.[9]

Furthermore, Col. Baillie revealed that the Nawab could be prevailed upon with difficulty to give in the first instance fifty lakhs only. It was under incessant pressure that the Nawab agreed to pay a full crore. Lord Hastings himself conveyed his thanks to Col. Baillie for the zeal which he had displayed during the loan negotiations.[10]

Again, Col. Baillie alleged that the Nawab had asked for a bond and a pledge that no further demands should be made to him. The exact words of the Nawab were said to be these, "It is impossible for me to give any more, and I trust that I shall be exempted from all future demands."[11] This request of the Nawab, Col. Baillie said, was strongly objected to by the Governor General.[12]

Lastly, Col. Baillie ridiculed the idea that the Nawab had any ulterior motive in offering loans to the Governor General.

On a critical examination of the evidence of Col. Baillie, it would appear that he was guilty of gross exaggeration. Having been dismissed from his post by the Governor General, he bore enmity to the latter and had reason to defame him. But, the facts show that the second loan was not so voluntary as the first one had been. In any case, it is clear that the second loan was not obtained with ease. Had it been easily secured, Lord Hastings would not have expressed his special appreciation of Col. Baillie's labours in this connection. But, the allegations of force and compulsion are not borne out by the official documents. On the other hand, the following things are worthy of note in this connection. Firstly, the Nawab never expressed his resentment on this account, and Col. Baillie's statement is not corroborated by documents. Secondly, the Nawab, in fact, repeatedly offered to fulfil the wishes of the Governor General whom he called "my respected uncle." Thirdly, the Nawab assured the latter that his "Jan Mal" (life and property) were at his Lordship's command.[13] In short, the Nawab's attitude was always characterised by the utmost humility and courtesy which were a familiar feature of Lucknow culture.

It is also not unlikely that the Nawab paid the loans as a price for his emancipation from the irksome control of the haughty and dictatorial Resident who exercised absolute power over him. The abrupt dismissal of Col. Baillie by Lord Hastings is otherwise inexplicable to a great extent. Col. Baillie had reason to suspect that his removal may have been inspired by the desire to placate the Nawab. Col. Baillie's vendetta against the Governor General was thus a direct consequence of his own removal from Lucknow where he had played the role of an autocrat. His lip sympathy for the Nawab

8. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.
9. *Oude Papers,* p. 1033.
10. Letter from the Secretary to Government, March 20, 1815.
11. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.
12. Letter from the Secretary to Government to Col. Baillie.
13. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.

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towards whom his own conduct is known to have been extremely arbitrary and highhanded is therefore hardly convincing.

About the moral aspect of the Oudh loan transactions, however, there can be no two opinions. That the Oudh ruler was shamelessly exploited is clear. His show of willingness was a pretence alone. He knew he was powerless to resist the demands of the Governor General, and so he had to pay with good grace and oriental humility. These loans, therefore, throw a lurid light on the manner in which the Company exercised its suzerainty rights in Oudh. The supporters of Lord Hastings could always urge, as one actually did during the India House debate on February 8, 1826, "If the Governor General extorted the loans from the Vizier, he had done so from patriotic motives, and for the advantage of his country." The plea of expediency clinches the issue.

THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE FINANCIAL DISTRESS OF JHANSI STATE DURING THE YEARS 1831 AND 1841

G. C. TAMBE

The extreme bankruptcy of Jhansi State during the years 1831 to 1841 has baffled students of history in probing down the root cause of it. Parasnis and others who followed him put the whole blame at the door of Ramachandra Rao, his mother Sakhoobai and his uncle Raghunath Rao who succeeded him in 1836 and died two years after.

Before studying the root cause of it, it would be well to note briefly what was the economic condition of Jhansi till 1830. When the Peshwa entered the subsidiary system of Lord Welleslay, Jhansi was governed by very able and universally respected ruler Sheorao Hari. For his safety and security, he sought the protection of the East India Company against the excursions of Scindhiya's refractory generals. His rule of Jhansi till 1815 was very prosperous. Having had the misfortune of losing his eldest son Rao Krishnarao in 1812 who left behind a son aged six and a daughter aged five, he carried on the Government just as before. Before his death in 1815 Sheorao Bhau appopinted Gopalrao Balkrishna as a Regent with full powers. He was careful enough to exclude his daughter-in-law Sakhoobai, the widow of his late son, from any power in the administration. He similarly excluded his two younger sons Raghunathrao aged twelve and Gangadhar Rao aged three from any power and settled a reasonable estate for their maintenance and upkeep. Gopalrao Balkrishna ruled very ably and honestly till 1825 when he died. He was succeeded in the Regency by Naro Bhikaji who ruled till 1827 when Ramchandrarao coming of age was invested with full ruling powers. Ramchandrarao was very happy in the selection of his Minister Naro Gopal, the eldest son of the late Regent. Up to this year the condition of Jhansi was financially and economically very sound. Sir William Sleeman

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in his *Rambles and Recollections* writes about the prosperous condition of Jhansi in very glowing terms. On page 221, Chapter 30 he says, "I have always considered Jhansi among the Native States of Bundelkhand, a kind of oasis in the desert, the only one in which a man can accumulate property with confidence of being permitted by its rulers freely to display and enjoy it." At another place in the same book he says, "that the Rajas of Jhansi had hitherto been served by the most respectable, able and honourable men in the country while the other chiefs of Bundelkhand got no man of this class to do their work for them, that this was the only Court in Bundelkhand in which such men could be seen simply because it was the only one in which they could feel themselves secure while the other chiefs confiscated the property on the pretence of embezzlement, the wealth they acquired however soon its appearing and its possessor being obliged either to conceal or to go out of the country to enjoy it. Such rulers thus found their courts and capitals deprived of all these men of wealth and respectability who adorned the courts of princes in other countries and embellished not merely their capitals but the face of their dominion in general with their chateaus and other works of ornament and utility."

It would be interesting to inquire what sort of government prevailed in the neighbouring States of Bundelkhand during that period. Most of the territory of Bundelkhand, including that ruled by the Maratha Brahmans, was peopled by Powar Rajputs ruled by rulers of the same class. The efficiency and disinterested public service rendered by Chhatrasal during his long and prosperous reign greatly degenarated after his death. If the torch of good government and progress were not kept persistently bright by the Brahman rulers of Jhansi, Jalaun and Saugor brigandage and loot must have had no check. To compare small things with great the condition of Bundelkhand at this time was something like the Arab States of Spain in the dark age of Europe. Let us select the two prominent neighbouring States of Jhansi, *viz.* Orchha, commonly called Tehri and Datia as a specimen of what was going on in other less prominent ones. Orchha was ruled by Raja Vikramajit blessed with a long lease of life. He parted with his powers in his old age and empowered his only son and heir Raja Bahadur with the conduct of State affairs. This avaricious young man, believing that his Minister Khanju Purohit must have accumulated sufficient wealth during his five years of tenure, with concurrence of his father, employed one feudal Lord named Murhamsing to assassinate him and entrusted the assasin with the seals of office of the deceased. The Raja confiscated all the property of Khanju Purohit amounting to four lacs and resumed the whole estate held by the family. Raja Bahadur soon died. Though Vikramajit boasted himself as a devout Hindu and no qualms of conscience due to the murder of a Brahman even though he lost his son and heir by way of retribution. Avarice was the dominant impulse which drowned all finer and higher impulses. When Murhamsing held office of the Minister for some years and when the octagenerarian Raja found that the Minister must have acquired sufficient wealth, the dominant impulse asserted itself and he employed one Gambhir

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Singh, another feudal dependant, to assassinate him. This done, Gambhir Singh was rewarded with the seals of office of his victim. This Gambhir Singh, the most atrocious villain, according to Sleeman, employed the Police force of the State to plunder travellers on high roads. In the year 1833 his employees robbed four men who were carrying treasure to the amount of ten thousand rupees from Saugor to Jhansi through Tehri territory and desired to murder them. But by the sagacity of the party and a lucky accident they escaped and made their way back to Saugor and complained to the Magistrate. The minister discovered the nature of their burden as they lodged at Tehri on their way and sent after them a party of soldiers with order to put them in the bed of the rivulet that separated the territory of Orchha from that of Jhansi. One of the treasure party discovered their object and on reaching the bank of the rivulet in deep grass jungle he threw down his bundle, dashed unperceived through the grass and reached a party of travellers whom he saw ascending the hill about half a mile in advance. The henchmen of the minister when they found that one had escaped were afraid to murder the others but took their treasure. In spite of great obstacle and with much danger to the families of three of these men who resided in Tehri the Magistrate of Saugor brought the crime home to the minister and the Raja anxious to avail himself of the occasion to fill his coffers got him assassinated. The Raja was then about eighty of age and his minister was strong athletic and brave man. One fine morning while he was sitting with him in private conversation, the Raja pretended that he had forgotten to drink the Charanamrit (चरणामृत) of his palace gods and begged the minister to go and fetch it from the Pooja room where it stood by the side of his family gods. Gambhir Singh always remained armed like the members of the Sikh Sect of 'NIHANGS'. But the Raja knew that he would not carry arms into the Pooja room, where his assassin Bihari was already posted. As the minister prostrated himself before taking the Charanamrit (चरणामृत) away, the axe at one stroke separated his head from his trunk. Bihari was soon rewarded with seals of the office of his victim. He was also permitted to place his brother in command of the forces and to make another brother a chamberlain. Thus Bihari hoped to retain the office of minister longer than any of his predecessors. Gambhir Sing's sister's husband and his brother Jhujar Sing after his murder made off but were soon pursued and put to death. The widows were all of them put into prison and all their property and estate confiscated. The minister's property amounted to three lacs of rupees. The Raja represented with boast to the Governor General's representative in Bundelkhand of this act of retributive justice and pretended it was executed merely as a punishment for the robbery. But it was with infinite difficulty that the merchants could recover from him any share of plundered property out of the confiscated. The Raja pretended that according to British rules the chief in whose boundary robbery might have been committed was obliged to make good the property. On inspection it was found that the robbery was perpetrated on the very boundary line and in spite of pride in erring persons spite against Janshi, the Raja was

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made to pay half of the plundered treasure. Vikramajit died of ripe old age. The sanguinary widow of Raja Bahadur had the genius to invent that the late Raja must have been killed by the black magic of the minister. The successor of Vikramajit was his younger brother Mathura Das who was without any self-assertion and was therefore a mere tool in the hands of Raja Bahadur's widow and was made to avenge the death of his brother. During the progress of the obsequies of Vikramajit, Behari and his three brothers and above fifty of his relatives were murdered. Widows of the four brothers were the only mebers left alive, one of them had a son four months' old and another one of two years. The children were snatched from the mother's breast immediately after the assassination of the husbands and threatened with instant death unless the mothers pointed out all the ornaments and other property. They did so and the spoilers having got the property to the amount of 150,000 rupees and been assured that there was no more, threw the children over the high wall by which they were dashed to pieces. The poor widows were tendered to four sweepers. But the sweepers rang true to the Hindu *dharma* and would not suffer any of the members of their caste to take the widows of such high caste and status as wives notwithstanding the tempting offer of rupees five hundred as a present and village in rent free tenure.'' (Sir W. H. Sleeman). This is an outstanding example of high culture displayed by the lowest caste in contrast to the blood thirsty avarice of the then members of the royal family.

If we come to examine the affairs in Datia, another neighbour of Jhansi, we are not presented with any better outlook or condition. Datia was ruled by Raja Parekshat. His minister was Ganesh about whom Sleeman says that he was a very great knave and encouraged the residence upon his master's dominion, of all kinds of thieves and robbers who brought back from distant districts every season vast quantities of booty which they shared with him. The chief himself was a mild old man who would not suffer violence to be offered to any of his nobles though he would not perhaps quarrel with his minister for making addition to his revenue from without by affording sanctuary to such kinds of people. As in Tehri so here, the pick-pockets constituted the entire population of several villages and carried on their depradations northwards to the banks of the Indus and southwards to Bombay and Madras. All this nefarious practice did not exclude thugs from getting sanctuary and protection from chiefs and other feudal barons. The very able paper contributed by Mr. H. L. Gupta to the proceedings of the History Congress for the year 1948 at Delhi, clearly shows this. The measures for the suppression of thugs began in 1823 when Mr. S. C. Smith, Agent to the Governor General in Bundelkhand with Saugor as his headquarter, selected Captain Sleeman to assist him in the work. The thugs infested eastern part of Rajputna, Jhansi, Banda Hamirpur, Allahabad, Manipur, Etawa, Kanpur, Fatechpur, Mirzapur. In the Central Provinces as then called, Gomheria, Rehli, Karali, Rahatgarh, Narsingpur, Chhindwara, Kamptee, Jubbulpore and several others were places. The States in which the thugs carried on their nefarious trade were Gwalior, Indore, Jhansi, Datia, Orchha, Tehri and

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many small States and estates in Bundelkhand. Sleeman was armed with extraordinary powers for seizing and bringing them to trial and condign punishment.

The rulers of Jhansi from 1770 onwards had established a tradition of good government in which Raja Ramchandrarao was brought up. As soon as he was invested with full powers to rule Jhansi on his attaining majority in 1827 he championed the cause of eradicating the menace of thugs from his territories. We have a letter preserved in the National Archives, (Foreign Department 1834, Political Consultation, 15th August, 1834, No. 40-41). In this we meet with the following matter: "Your Lordship expresses your concern at having the disorderly state of my territories. The real state of the case is as follows: 'From the day of my birth my grand-father Sheorao Bhau having consigned me to the care of British Government, departed his life. From that time to the present I have experience of the kindness of the British Government. Doubtless therefore your Lordship is grieved to hear the present state of my territories. In reply to that part of your Lordship's letter in which it is remarked that there is no objection to one State affording an asylum to refugees from another provided that these last are not encouraged on, countenanced in schemes of hostility against the State from which they have fled. I have to observe that I have been guilty of no acts of oppression towards the fugitives from my dominions which should have rendered it necessary for them to flee into foreign territory but the fact is that the greater part of the Jamindars and Jagirdars of my state are nobles connected with and dependant on the Rajas of Orchha and Datia and were instigated by these Chieftains to demand an increase of allowance and to rebel against me. The Chieftains although perfectly aware of the sentiments of the British Government have not only afforded any asylum to the rebels but have also permitted them to concert and mature hostile measures against their sovereign. The insurgents have plundered and burnt villages in the Jhansi territory and driven off thousands of cattle and not content with this have also captured Mahajans and carried them into territories of Orchha and Datia and compelled them to ransom themselves which facts I have learnt from the injured parties themselves.

(1) The Raja of Orchha has afforded aid to the Jagirdar of Tuklowli and wrote to the Dewan Doorjan Sing of Pulera in the territory of Orchha to afford every aid to the Jagirdar of Tuklowli. This has been afterwards acknowledged by the Chief of Orchha.

(2) The Tuklowli Jagirdar captured the Mahajans of Ranipura in my territory and through the agency of Panchamsing, Jagirdar of Alipura, a dependant of Orchha exacted a lump sum from them. . . . . The Dhumna people also broke out into and plundered the granaries of the villages of Jhansi and carried off the grain into the territory of the aforesaid Raja from whom they received countenance and assistance. Moreover the Mahajans and other subjects of my Raj were induced by fear of the rebels to transport their property into the Orchha and Datia territory for the purpose of placing it under the charge of their friends there which property was also

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seized by the Rajas. . . . . The Raja of Datia notwithstanding his being a security for the peaceable behaviour of the Powars of Oodgaon, Jignee and Noner, which agreement is under the seal of the former Raja Shatrujeet, has instigated these persons to revolt. A force was deputed by me to reduce the fort of Jignee upon which the Raja of Datia sent Parbatsing of Bilhree and Dileep Singh of Jeeganeh to me with a written engagement for which Ganesh Das, the mukhtar of Datia, was security and requested that the troops might be re-called from Jignee. . . . . No part of this engagement has been fulfilled by the Raja. On the contrary he has instigated still greater outrages and hundreds of villages have been plundered. Being thus reduced to the extremity I was compelled to send a fresh force against the insurgents who resisted my troops. To chastise their insolence the fort of Noner was invested and taken by me. Many subjects of Orchha and Datia assisted in the defence of the fort, and were killed and wounded. The latter of whom had their wounds dressed in Orchha and Datia. This is a matter of notoriety."

Taking these facts into consideration let us look at what Sir W. Sleeman has said about the 'Bhuniavat' in Chap. 33, page 247 of his *Rambles and Recollections*. He says, "In the year 1832 Powar barons of the estates of Noner, Jignee, Oodgaon and Bilhari in Jhansi had some cause of dissatisfaction with their Chief and this they presented to Lord William Bentinck as he passed through the province in December. His Lordship told them that these were questions of internal administration which they must settle amongst themselves as the Supreme Government would not interfere they had therefore, only one way of settling the dispute and that was to raise the standard of Bhumiavat. This word has now after one hundred years has been forgotten in Bundelcund. It was very much like flames of the Commune in Paris in the year 1871. This they did and though the Jhansi Chief had a military force of twelve thousand men they burnt down every town and village in the territory that did not come into their terms and the Chief had possession of only two, Jhansi the capital and the large commercial town of Mau. This continued till the year 1833, and Jhansi inhabitants were reduced to great distress and did not recover from their calamity for ten years. Jhansi which lent considerable sums to the neighbouring States was reduced to the necessity of borrowing large sums from them for their current expenses and had even to mortgage good portion of lands to Gwalior and other creditors. This cost the Jhansi Chief at least twenty lakhs and to the subjects double the sum."

Borrowing became a vicious circle and the Jhansi State under the good rulers succeeded in paying off the debts to the extent of 49 lacs 64 thousand out of the fifty lacs that Gangadhar Rao in 1843, when he came to rule Jhansi with full powers, found himself saddled with. The British Government assumed temporary control, released the various lands mortgaged as a security for debts from various creditors and then in 1842-43 restored them to Gangadharrao.

In a letter dated the 3rd April, 1834 (Foreign Department Political Consultation 12th June, 1834), Mr. R. Cavandish, Resident, Gwalior, writes to

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Mr. W. H. Macnaughten, Secretary to the Governor General at Fort William: "Unless disturbances in Jhansi principality be put down they will extend to Chanderi and probably encourage H. H. Baizabai Shinde to risk her person and fate in that part of Shindia's dominions and hence it is incumbent on the British Government to interfere to put down the nuisance in Jhansi principality or to become guarantee that Baizabai shall not avail herself and profit by it." Another letter dated 22nd April 1834 written by Mr. R. Cavandish from Gwalior to Mr. Tilghman: "This Court is continually bringing to my notice the state of anarchy and confusion in the Jhansi principality which is now beginning to extend itself to Chanderi and has been remarked on by some late British traveller. . . . .

(3) It is but just however to the ruler of Jhansi to declare that in my opinion he will not be able to settle matters with his nobles till the Rajas of Datia and Tehri be called to account for allowing their relations the Powars to assist their brethren in the Jhansi country.

(4) Only a few days ago the ruler of Datia confined in irons some of his secretaries because when deputed to Jhansi as arbitrators to bring about settlement, their decision was in favour of Jhansi ruler. The Rani of Datia a Powar was displeased with the decision against her relations, the Powars in Jhansi principality and prevailed on her Lord to confine in irons all the relatives of the Chief Secretary and otherwise disgrace their wives and daughters."

Foreign Department Political Consultation 18th March 1831: Mr. F. C. Smyth, A.G.G., writes from Sohagpur to Mr. K. T. Princep, Secretary to the Governor General, Headquarters:

"Sir,

On the 8th December 1930 I had the honour to annex for the information of the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General copy of correspondence relating to the contemplated arrest of 108 thugs as ascertained to be living within Jhansi, Datia and other dependent states of Bundelcund.

It is with great regret that I have now to state that owing to the treachery and connivance of the jagirdar of Khyrooa, a dependent of Jhansi state, nearly the whole of the gang have escaped and hence departed on an expedition towards Jaipur. . . . . .

It is now however too late to countermand the movement but it would be satisfactory if you would have the goodness to apprize me in what light His Lordship views the measure in order that we may in future case act accordingly.

5. It is extremely vaxatious that all the pains we had taken and they have not been trifling to arrest this gang should be defeated by the machinations of an accomplice holding the single village of Khyroora in jagir and that the lives of many travellers should be thus emperilled but I trust Mr. Ainslie will induce the Subhedar of Jhansi to punish in such manner as will effictually check this disposition to harbour outlaws and will make him produce men whom he has screened from pursuits of Justice."

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Sir W. H. Sleeman writes on the 7th January 1831 to Mr. S. C. Smyth, A.G.G., Bundelcund:

"Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that in consequence of some delay in the departure of the guard and of the absence of the Jhansi, Datia and other native chiefs of Bundelcund who had gone to pay their respects to the Governor General at Banda and of the determination of the relation of Datia Chief who holds the village Khyrooa under the Jhansi jagirdar at nominal rent and with nominal allegiance to protect every murderer that may take shelter under his jurisdiction nearly the whole of the men named in the list, I had the honour to forward to you on the 12th December 1930 have, I fear, been enabled for the present to escape and it will now be difficult to secure them. I do not however despair of having the principal leaders if I am provided with means and authority to pursue them.

2. Of these leaders Sorjuna, Chotu and Tejna were openly screened from my guard and the Jhansi people by the holder above mentioned, Khyrooa, Doolarsingh and he should, humbly submit, be made to produce them under the penalty of forfeiting his village to his immediate lord the Jhansi Chief. For Sorjun has twice broken prison and is one of their most notorious and unfluencial leaders. Doolarsingh can at any time produce them if he feels secure, as he is known to derive revenue from the employment of these bandits employed in plunder of the surrounding country. His expulsion from his estate would be not only advantages to the country but agreeable to the native chiefs in his vicinity. He has now a camel and a pony which Sorjuna lately gave him—a part of the booty he acquired lately in an expedition to the South near Amraoti."

W. H. Sleeman further to (Foreign Department P. C. 1831, 18th March No 17): "Perhaps however a Khareeta to the Raja of Jhansi praising him for his zeal and exertion might be sent with very beneficial effect," writes (*Ibid* No. 18 to F. C. Smyth, 17th February 1831):

"I have parties now on the roads to Banda, Jhansi, Nasirabad after gangs known to be on the roads and full confident of securing a great many more of the principle thugs that composed them.

2. The parties of Sipahees under the Soobadar of Rustoom-Khan of the 71st. Regiment detached by me to Jhansi has been more successful than I expected owing to the ability and prudence of that officer and the zealous co-operation and assistance of Rao Ramchandra Rao, Chief of Jhansi who has not only given every assistance in the seizure of the men found in his charge but endeavoured to write the surrounding chiefs to render exertion and furnished escorts from his own followers for the apprehended murderers to Saugor. Could the other chiefs be induced to forego the pecuniary advantages they now derive from the murders perpetrated by these wretches and cooperate in their prevention as cordially as the Jhansi Chief is now doing, Supreme Government would soon be able to relieve society from the most dreadful scourge.

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3. For this purpose it would be of infinite advantage to confer upon Rao Ramchandra Rao of Jhansi some distinguishing marks of the Governor General's approbation and to visit the chief of Khyrooa with some equally distinguished displeasure of His Lordship for it is by such conduct of their that the evil has grown to its present awaful magnitude and it is to an opposite line of conduct on the part of the native chiefs that we have chiefly to look for its dimimution or removal."

The Jhansi Chief was at his wits end in bringing the Khyrooa and Belehree Chiefs to book. These Powar Rajputs marched in several thousands and the Jhansi people and the authorities could neither obtain peace or revenue without marching a force against them. Their other villages under Datia Raja whom they fear were a great refuge and shelter to them because the Datia Chief being their relative shielded them and countenanced their depredatory measures. All these robbers robbed the surrounding country and divided the spoils. It will thus be seen that the Jhansi Chiefs and rulers tried their utmost to bring peace and prosperity to their subjects but their efforts were defeated by their feudal dependants who were related by blood and kinship to the other Rajas who countenanced their depredatory activities.

This compelled the rulers of Jhansi to borrow money even to conduct the ordinary day to day affairs of government. The creditors from outside the State knowing of the local disturbances insisted on having security in lands before they advanced money. The State had, therefore, to mortgage large portion of land to these creditors and thus the debt swelled to the extent of fifty lacs of rupees when Gangadhar Rao was given powers in 1842.

The rulers of Jhansi were a set of conscientious rulers having high standards of government who always kept the interest of their subjects uppermost. Ramchandra Rao, Raghunath Rao II and his brother Gangadhar Rao uniformly acted in tradition of good government handed down to them by Sheorao Bhau and his nominee Gopalrao Balkrishna Amberdekar.

DID HAIDAR ALI TURN A DEFEATIST IN 1782?

D. S. Achuta Rau

Col. Mark Wilks wrote the first comprehensive history of Mysore.[1] His account is based mainly on English records and on some of the local accounts and oral information. He had little or no access to Marathi, French, Dutch, Portuguese and such other sources as have been brought to light in recent times. Naturally his account is often one-sided. A few inconsistencies and inaccuracies are visible in his account particularly in his treatment of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. He has spread certain erroneous views about Haider Ali in his eager desire to glorify British arms and the achievements of his countrymen. Such a misrepresentation of facts is often set at naught by a study of the orignal sources both indigenous and foreign.

1. *Historical Sketches of the South,* 3 Vols. 1809-1817.

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The years 1780-82 were eventful years in the annals of India. The principal Indian powers indignant with the political faithlessness and intrigues of the English East India Company and awakened to the danger of their growing political and territorial ambitions, sank their differences and united for a common cause, namely the annihilation of the British Power in India. The confederates drew up a plan of warfare which had for its aim an attack on English possessions simultaneously in every part of India. While Haidar Ali on his part endeavoured faithfully to carry out with vigour and determination the plan of the confederacy by invading the South attacking Madras and reducing the affairs of the Government of Madras to a critical position, the other coalitionist powers from whom he expected co-operation for the success of the enterprise had been prevented by their unexampled hesitancy and duplicity from pursuing the general plan.[2] Though ultimately the Nizam, the Maratha chieftains, chiefly Sindhia and Bhonsle were won over and neutralised and Nana Fadnavis rendered inactive and helpless by the diplomacy of Warren Hastings and Haidar Ali was left alone to wage the war, he was not one who would abandon himself to despair or think of a compromise. But Col. Mark Milks attributed to Haidar Ali a confession which is hardly consistent with his real attitude. Wilks writes, "It was about this time[3] that Haidar being very much indisposed left entirely with his Minister Purnaiah and addressed to him in the following words: 'I have committed a great error. I shall pay dear for my arrogance. Between me and the English there were perhaps mutual grounds of dissatisfaction but no sufficient cause for war and I might have made them my friends in spite of Mohammad Ali, the most treacherous of men. The defeat of many Baillies and Braithwaites will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea and I must be weary of war in which I can gain nothing by fighting. . . . . I ought to have reflected that no man of commonsense will trust a Maratha and that they themselves do not expect to be trusted. I have been accused of idle expectation of a French Force from Europe, but supposing it to arrive and to be successful here.[4] . . . . .' " This statement attributed to Haidar Ali by Wilks must be considered a later invention and a hearsay recorded more than a quarter of a century later. It hardly finds any corroboration in contemporary accounts. It glorifies the superiority of British arms and depicts Haidar Ali as a defeatist and is intended to impress how even such a formidable adversary as Haidar Ali realised his folly in entering into hostilities with the English and soon realised the value of friendship with that nation. This observation of Wilks has unfortunately found currency in almost all later writings on Indian History whose authors had to solely depend upon the accounts of Wilks and Bowring for the History of Mysore and it has done incalculable harm to the career

2. Forrest—*Bombay Dairies*, Vol. I, pp. 459-64 ; *Calendar of the Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 101, 116, 138, 189 and 203.

3. December 1781 or January 1782.

4. Wilks, Vol. II, pp. 373-74—Actually a French Squadron early in 1782 under the command of Admiral Suffren appeared in Indian waters and in the month of February next Du Chemin came with 2,000 men under his command.

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and personality of Haidar Ali, one of the greatest of statesmen and soldiers of eighteenth century. Haidar Ali was not a defeatist as Wilks' account would lead us to believe. He was a man of strong determination and unswerving purpose, a bold and enterprising general, skilful in tactics and fertile in resources and full of courage and never desponding in defeat. He strove his utmost till his death for the success of his undertaking though deserted by his allies. He even spurned the treaty of Salbai and the terms offered by General Goddard through his envoy and told the latter, "I have not entered the Carnatic and made war these two years for the purpose of going out as I came and if I choose to do so, there would be no need of waiting for your orders ; rather than do that I will stay for two more years and I care not for the expenses."[5] Earlier when he became aware of the diplomacy of Warren Hastings to divide the allies Haidar Ali despatched his envoys to Poona exhorting Nana Fadnavis not to come to terms with the English and assuring brighter prospects for his own affairs in the south.[6] It redounds to the credit of Nana Fadnavis that when General Goddard was sent to him by Warren Hastings to secure the ratification of the treaty of Salbai concluded with Sindhia, he refused to come to terms and explained to Goddard "the sincere regard and friendship subsisting betwixt the Shrimant Pradhan and Nawab Haidar Ali Khan is more conspicuous and shining than the splendour of the sun. Therefore it is the wish of that friend whose heart is the residence of regard to settle the terms of a firm and a lasting alliance. . . . ."[7] Such was the lasting alliance of Nana and Haidar Ali and the latter had still confidence in his allies. The following lines from *Haidar-Nama,* a contemporary account in Kannada, one of the most reliable sources for the history of Haidar Ali, reveals the true mind of Haidar Ali and at the same time his indefatigable will in carrying out his enterprise without harbouring any idea of surrendering his cause. "Soon[8] Haidar Ali convened a council of war and consulted his principal generals the best means of exterminating the English. He told them that it is not possible in spite of numerous defeats inflicted on the English to put down their powers by engaging them in one place for they have various places to draw resources like Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and above all England. If it is our intention to put down the English we should cause a great war in Europe between that nation and the French. The Kings of Khandahar and Iran should be set up against Bengal and the Marathas against Bombay. Thereafter with a big army and with the help of the French and by the joint action of all of us they should be engaged in all places simultaneously so that one cannot come to the help of the other. The whole country should be plundered by our army in such a manner as to cut off their supplies entirely and thus to reduce them to starvation. Then alone will this country

5. Forrest—*Selection from Letters, Despatches of the Foreign Department of Government of India,* Vol. III, p. 393.
6. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol. VI, pp. 157, 180, 238.
7. Forrest—*Bombay Daires,* Vol. I—Letter from Nana Fadnavis to Brigadier General Goddard. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol. VI, p. 5, letter No. 7.
8. January 1782.

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come into our possession."[9] Determined thus, says the author of *Haidar-Nama,* Haidar Ali sent his trusted official Appajee Ram with large sums of money to muster 50,000 cavalry for the overthrow of the English.[10] What Wilks quotes as the confession of Haidar Ali revealing the futility of his war against the English, made in the presence of Purnaiah might be a distortion of the above account preserved in *Haidar-Nama.* It is probable that Purnaiah who was the head of the commissariate service under Haidar Ali was one of those who were present and listened to the exhortations of his master in the war council and after the restoration of Mysore to the former ruling dynasty in 1799, Purnaiah, in his advancing age might have recalled the vague memories of Haidar Ali's utterances and conveyed the same in a more or less different spirit to Col. Mark Wilks to flatter the paramount power and to convey the idea that Tipu Sultan was a more inveterate foe of the English than his father Haidar Ali.

ASSAM IN 1838

(An eye-witness account based on Captain Francis Jenkeen's Diary)

PROFESSOR K. N. DUTT

Assam came under British rule as a result of the Treaty of Yandaboo in February, 1826, after she had been distracted by civil war and foreign invasions during the preceding few decades. The death blow to the Ahom Monarchy that had been ruling in Assam in full sovereignty while the British carved out their Empire in India in the eighteenth century was given by the Burmese invasions which began in the latter part of the second decade of the nineteenth century. The British came as deliverers of the unhappy people of Assam from Burmese atrocities and soon realised the value of their conquests in Assam to the security of the North East Frontier of their empire. It was not till 1874 that Assam was constituted into a separate province of the British Empire in India under a Chief Commissioner. Till then Assam was administered as a division of Bengal under a Commissioner who also held the office of Agent to the Governor General of India on the North East Frontier.

David Scott was the first to hold this office as Commissioner of Assam. In 1834 Captain Francis Jenkins became Commissioner of Assam and Agent to the Governor General of India on the North East Frontier. Earlier in 1833 the British authorities had restored Upper Assam to Purandar Singha, a prince of the Ahom royal family, in order to appease any discontent that might be felt by the old ruling houses at the change of authority.

Purandar Singha stipulated to pay to the British an annual tribute of Rs. 50,000/-, but the installation of a Native Prince in Upper Assam, however desirable in view of apprehensions, not quite unfounded, of possible dis-

9. *Haidar-Nama*—Manuscript Folio 76-77.
10. *Ibid*—Folio 77.

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affection of the old nobility, did not prove a success. In the face of the inevitable changes taking place in the spirit and form of the new administration in the British administered area of Lower or Western Assam, and the general desire of the people all over Assam for peace and orderly government after a long period of internal disorders and insecurity, it became extremely difficult for Purandar Singha to re-establish 'Ahom rule' in the territories restored to him and rule over it efficiently to the satisfaction of the people.

The greatest transformation that had been affected by the British in the field of administration was in respect of Land Settlement and Revenue Assessment. The old *'Khel'* system and levy of capitation tax on the *'pykes'* were being replaced by the *'Mouzawari'* system and assessment of holdings in land. Purander Singha imperfectly tried to introduce the same system into his territory, while he introduced the mouza system of Land Settlement, the capitation tax was not done away with. The advantages of the *'Ryotwari'* system in the British administered areas were soon perceived by the people of Purandar's territory. This as well as inadequacy of protection given to the people in the border areas against depredation by tribal raiders, such as the Duflas, Singphos, and Nagas, led to great disertions of villages in Purandar's territory and emigration of large bodies of people to British territory. Complaints of maladministration and insecurity of life and property in Upper Assam continued to pour into the ears of the British Agent and ultimately the administration of the districts of Upper Assam was resumed by the British in September 1838 with an offer of pension to Purandar Singha and his family.

Before, however, resumption was decided upon, Captain Francis Jenkins, then Commissioner of Assam and Agent to the Governor General of India on the N. E. Frontier, undertook a tour into Upper Assam visiting important places and persons in Purandar's territory in order to gain first-hand knowledge of the state of the country. This tour commenced on the 20th of January 1838 and ended on the 14th March when Captain Jenkins left Jorhat, the capital of Purandar Singha. The diary of the tour recorded by Capt. Jenkins himself from day to-day (preserved in the Records of the Assam Secretariat from which a typescript copy was made for the Library of the D.H.A.S.), bristles with information of various kinds on the state of the country and people of Assam in 1838, just a little over a decade after its annexation by the British. The first stage of the tour from January 20th to 29th refers to Captain Jenkins' march through that part of the district of Darrang on the north bank of the Brahmaputra which land had been made over to Purandar Singha extending up to the site of present North Lakhimpur. In the corresponding journal of the tour of these areas we notice the following important facts:

(1) The soil of Darrang was very fertile and the vegetation rich wherever there was cultivation ; (2) due to insufficiency of guards posted by the Raja in the borders the people were exposed to frequent raids by tribes inhabiting the low ranges of the Himalayas to the North, there was

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insecurity of life and property, the inhabitants being subjected to blackmail and extortion by tribal raiders, and also, not infrequently to extortion by the revenue farmers of the Raja ; (3) large crowds of people gathered round Jenkins and complained to him about their sufferings due to the prevalent maladministration ; (4) large and once populous villages were deserted and the Raja taxed those who were still living for those who were dead or had deserted ; (5) the Raja's chief attention was on raising the revenue to enable him to pay the tribute to the British.

It is interesting to note that even at that remote date some Kanyas' Marwaries and Bengalees had received employments under the Raja as revenue farmers or *mouzadars*. A Kanya whom Jenkins met at Rungasallee and who was placed in charge of the mouza Goomeree said to Jenkins, "I have come from one end of India to the other and I never saw a country like this. The sand produces gold, the jungles gold, alluding to lac and moonga silk, and the hills gold meaning munjeet, and the soil grows everything." Jenkins writes "The Kanya estimates the Marwaree merchants at Jorehauth at 60 individuals but repeatedly observed they were so entirely dissatisfied with the Raja's Government that they were all thinking of leaving and were only waiting to see if any new station was to be established by us in Upper Assam when they would remove to it." Captain Jenkins also noted in his diary the exports and imports of the places where he halted and states, "There is a duty on everything that is sold except rice, of one anna in the rupee."

At another place Jenkins writes as follows: "In the afternoon I rode out to the north to the end of the cultivation which was considerably more extensive than I had imagined. On the way back and when at a distance from any of the Rajah's followers, I was met by some Bengalees settled here bartering salt who presented petition against the manner in which the business of the court is carried on and complaining of oppression on the part of the subordinate officers who execute the decrees of the court and likewise, of paying double duties, that is on both articles of barter, those paid and those received, which they say is contrary to the practice in our time."

As he proceeded towards Narayanpur on the north bank Jenkins made the following observations: "Our march was through the cultivation at first of Colabaree and then through an apparent forest with a few huts here and there ; at intervals the forest was all *barree* land full of moonga and other useful trees and we came along many old village bunds and by the side of many tanks now overgrown with weeds. We are now encamped in a small patch of rice ground by the side of a still splendid tank. No part of Assam can have a richer soil but the state of depopulation is very melancholy and if something is not done immediately to arrest the progress of the Duflas this bank stands the chance of being totally abandoned to these barbarians. I have little hope the Raja will be capable of making any exertion to save the country, his management appears to be solely intent on raising the largest possible present revenue without any advertance to future consequences.

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Reaching Lakhimpore, the most north-easterly point of his intinerary, Capt. Jenkins wrote as follows: "Lakhimpore was once a very extensive place and under us give a revenue of 11,000 rupees, but it has fallen off greatly. Mr. Bruce who is now with me was once settled here after our conquest of the country and his bungalow was about ½ mile to the west of my encampment, and was then, he says, in the middle of very flourishing villages, but all that spot is now overgrown with jungles and all the land about it to the westward. An up-country man now resident here, Gopal Singh, says the emigration of the people chiefly took place on Purandar's being set up, and his persisting in taxing those who remained for those who had fled." Further on he observes: "Up to this the country on the north bank is settled by mouzas, which arrangement the Raja, apparently following our system, carried into effect two years ago, breaking up all the Khels. But the Raja has not in reality made much change in the old custom, for instead of taxing every man as we do according to the land he cultivates, he still taxes every pyke, each ordinary pyke paying a poll tax of 3 rupees and receiving 2 pooras of land in return so that the old objectionable system of capitation still prevailing, the abuses of taxing the living capable cultivator for the dead and deserted and taxing the sick infants, the aged and destitute, whether they have cultivation or are capable of cultivating have not been touched and are under the pretence of the necessity of paying the Company's tribute made more grinding than ever." The real motive of the Raja, it was reported by one man, in forming the mouzas was merely another shift to raise money, having on this occassion received great presents from all the Kheldars, he brought forward the mouzadars each of whom on appointment had to pay a high present.

While crossing over to the south bank of the Brahmaputra Capt. Jenkins passed through the island of Majuli in the direction of Rungpore. About this strip of land in the Brahmaputra Capt. Jenkins wrote: "The land appears extremely fertile and as it's the chief seat of all the priests of Assam, its fertility might have been implied from their having selected it without a visit and witnessing its fertility of soil. The bamboos especially appear to attain here a vast size which is always good proof of the richness of the land. The villages appear however anything but thriving and to be half deserted and we just now are more at a loss for any accommodation and supplies than we have been in the whole march." As he proceeded through heavy Nul and grass jungles in the south bank for miles together he noticed a man in the midst of a heavy jungle tending *monga* worms. "All the trees," he noted, "were the Soomalloo on which they feed and no doubt all along this bank were once flourshing villages but no vestige now remains of them but these trees. The desertion is all set down to the Mans and the Singphos who accompanied them."

From January 30th to February 20th 1838 Captain Jenkins toured in the south bank of Raja Purandar's territory visiting among other places Majuli, Rungpore, Ghergaon, Jeypore, Barhat and Jorhat. The diary of the tour of this period bristles with observations covering wide range of subject—the topography of the country, its resources in fertile soil, salt and oil springs,

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coalfields and tea plants, its social and economic system disintegrating under the impact of the new ideas of land tenure and revenue assessment introduced by the British in the neighbouring area of Lower Assam directly under their control. The description of the places where he halted or through which he passed and the references to the numerous highways, buildings and fortifications which he found in a neglected condition, bear testimony to the magnitude of the devastation wrought by the Burmese invaders twenty years ago so that there were miles of jungles covering wide tracts where once thrived large populous villages with a thriving population divided into Khels or groups according to their profession or appointed task in the society. The apparent inability of Raja Purandar Singh to rehabilitate the country and bring peace and contentment to the people was not a little due to the evil effects of this destruction which brought in its train desertion of villages by large groups of people, abandonment of cultivation, dislocation of trade and general impoverishment of the country side. How could the Raja raise a revenue from this misery stricken kingdom sufficient to pay the tribute of Rs. 50,000/- and carry on the administration?

Rungpore on the banks of the Dikhon river, the last capital of the independent Ahom kings, had already become a city of ruins. The palace in the fort had become a miserable mass of mint ; the fort wall were of brick but hardly a vestige standing remains. West of the fort was the Rungghar—a hall of audience and a stand to witness spectacles from a place of two stories both vaulted. Jenkins notes that it was thought to be an unequalled building by the Assamese whose relics, he says, of brick and mortar are most scanty and show that they had little skill in architecture. Jenkins had, of course, no knowledge of the great stone temples and palaces and ruined cities of old since brought to light in Tezpur and other places in Assam.

He mentions the great tanks called *sagars* or seas such as Jay Sagar, Goree Sagar, Athai Sagar, Sirish Sagar, Luchmi Sagar and Messagur, and the great temples raised on their banks which are still the pride of the district of Sibsagar in Assam. Jenkins remarks, 'these tanks were made without any purpose whatsoever but to immortalize the Rajahs or Ranees—now forgotten who caused them to be dug.' The Jay Sagar on which Jenkins and his party encamped is not the largest, and it was said to cover 300 pooras (300 English acres), the surface is still uncovered and the water good. Jenkins further remarks, 'To dedicate these tanks to their gods and make to themselves names for ever appears to have been the only possible objects in making so many tanks of such enormous size so near each other—and whilst we regret that so much labour was expended on such useless purposes, we are lost in astonishment at the immense population which there must have been in Assam to allow the whole of these great works to have been so readily undertaken.' Then he refers to a line of fortifications (said to be called Seetamanigarh and to have been erected by Jey Dhaj Singh against the Mahomedans) which extended from the hills to the river. It was an immense *bund* with bastions to the west and south, know not on what occasion erected but these enormous lines of fortifications are constantly to be met with in the province and are

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more stupendous works than the tanks by far." Jenkins also gives a description of the forts, palaces and temples in Ghergaon, the older capital of the Ahom kings, not far from Rungpore. Jenkins entered the fort by the southern entrance which was still marked by three handsome Hindusthanee arched gateways still entire with two small courts between the surrounding wall as far as he could observe was also nearly entire. In the centre of the fort are the remains of the palace, a three-storied building arising out of a raised arcaded platform. The building is said to have been erected by Jeydhan Sing. These are similar gateways as those by which Jenkins entered at each front of the square. The only other remaining building is a much smaller one but on nearly the same design at one angle of the palace which is called the Rajah's temple, but it is not of Brahminical construction and the religious ceremonies performed there are said to have been those of the ancient Ahom dynasty. Jenkins wrote: 'The latter building has partly fallen in and the palace is in great down through all the vaults and cut them in various directions.' "Ghergaon appears", writes Jenkins, "to have been a much better site for a town than Rungpore—the lands about it are evidently much higher, the whole country immediately around being now a forest jungle showing that the land is not here subject to heavy inundations."

Writing about the great highways which he saw on all directions Jenkins says, "It is greatly to be lamented these roads were not restored when we held the country as it is vain to expect anything to be done by the Raja towards their restoration. He will plead inability to spend a farthing of money upon them."

Commenting on the quality of the soil of the south bank Jenkins wrote, 'The soil of the south bank is totally distinct from that of all the north bank of the Raja's territory we have passed over. That was a light soil and not withstanding 3 months of continued draught, the surface was still soft and capable of receiving the plough and ploughing had very generally commenced, on this bank the soil is a stiff white clay as hard as iron and cracked everywhere into minute cubes.'

People here complained to Jenkins that they were taxed for the dead and the deserted and amongst others by the Rajah's elephant grass cutters, who are fined in double taxation if they do not cut grass, and if they do they say they starve—their tax is as the others Rs. 3/- a pyke. 'Now the personal taxes are taken off in our country', writes Jenkins, 'and the people so lightly taxed by the Barsenaputtee and those so well paid who are employed on our tea plantations and by our officers and the missionaries at Sadiya, it will not be practicable for the Raja to maintain the pyke system much longer in his country and the change which must take place will involve him in further difficulties.' In fact, Purandar Singha had to face the problems created by a changing economy affecting the whole fiscal and revenue system of his country.

Commenting on the lack of encouragement and protection to the people inhabiting the tract of country between the Disang and the Dihing rivers against Naga aggressions Jenkins writes, "The Raja now neither for his own

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consumption and use or for any purpose of his own lays out any money, everything he wants is provided for by service pykes ; the whole of his establishment are paid in the same manner either by a revision of revenue or by an allotment of pyke service. No cash is even therefore recirculated through the country from the Rajah's treasury, but there is an incessant demand of silver currency to pay the tribute of our Government, and as every possible obstacle is thrown in the way of trade and very little exists beyond a barter of products for salt and opium, it seems therefore loss to imagine that a scarcity of currency is gradually taking place and that the present taxation is likewise progressively increasing in burden. The only great source of recirculation of coin that I perceive is through our sepoys stationed at Bishmuth and Sadiya. The only other source was through the Kanyas merchants who however took more to barter than cash payments."

From February 21st to March 14th, 1838, Capt. Jenkins stayed at Jorhat, the seat of Government of Purandar Singha. As he moved up to Jorhat at every hamlet he was met by the people saying they could not remain in the country without his doing something to keep them in it and their complaints were not stopped even by the presence of the heir-apparent and the Raja's people. When the Raja visited Capt. Jenkins they had very little discourse on the state of the country, the Raja observing, however, that it was in the Agent's power to preserve the country and if he did nothing it would be ruined, alluding of course to the tribute as being the cause of the distress of the people.

Besides, the Raja and the heir-apparent, the saring Raja, many of the members of the old royal families including old queens and princesses, and dignitaries of the State such as the Burra Gohain, Barpatra Gohain and Burgohain, high personages such as the Garmur Goswami and tribal chiefs, paid visits to the Agent during his stay at Jorhat. Most of them complained either of their poverty or insufficiency of grants and pensions they received from the Raj, or of other evil effects of the Raja's Government. From all the complaints or representations that Jenkins received from various sources, he could form the idea that all was not well with the Raja's Govt. and that the Raja was not being backed by the nobility and lacked able, honest and efficient counsellors. About Munuram, the famous Maniram Dewan who afterwards became a martyr to the cause of independence of the country during the days of the Sepoy Mutiny, Jenkins wrote, "'he was waited upon by Munuram, the Rajah's late Revenue Sheristadar and ours. I say "late" because he has officially given in his resignation, but is supposed to be still the Raja's great adviser. I took the opportunity of being alone for a while to tell him he had got a very bad name throughout the country. He immediately replied, 'If you enquire you will know who is to blame for the state of the country.' Notwithstanding his, my information leads me to have little doubt but that he is the Raja's councellor in a very crooked line of Policy."

About the state of the country round about Jorhat Jenkins wrote, "There is no sign of prosperity in any of the villages. No extension of the Bharrus or of the plantations. All the villages round here have a good number of betel-nut trees, but all are of full growth or approaching to decay and I do

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not observe anywhere a single young tree growing up to supply those which must soon perish. The neglecting to raise young betel plants is one of the surest sign we have that the people do not consider themselves comfortable. I have never met on this frontier so many beggars at any place as at this, a great number of these unfortunate beings are disabled by diseases of all sorts and from being crippled from their birth in their hands and feet. We have, I think, very few such in Kamrup, but here the population indulges to a much greater excess in opium and to this may possibly be attributed the greater proportion of disease and much of their unhealthiness and a good deal of their poverty although no doubt the comparative greater amount of misery is owing to the greater pressure on the people of the Raja's Govt. The Raja has unfortunately set himself up as a very strict Hindu to the great benefit of the Brahmins and injury to the lower classes who are the great sufferers from the change of Govt." Further on he writes, "No class of people but appear discontented at the present state of things, and so little has he (the Rajah) conciliated any that I cannot discover that he has any confidential persons around him by whom I could give him any advice or offer him any propositions. I have found a great difficulty in communicating with the Raja from his having apparently no respectable men in his confidence." Later, however, the Raja called on Capt. Jenkins again and he (the Raja) talked of the country and said he could trust no one and after some further observations Jenkins told him his courts were ill-regulated and had been the cause of great grievance to the people. Purandar Singh, however, denied the allegations.

That Purandar Singh was a man of good intentions and even high minded can be gathered from other sources. The records of the period following the resumption contain a good number of representations and claims preferred by Purandar Singh and his successors for restoration of their lost territories in whole or in part and for establishing the justness of their claims. A careful and critical scrutiny of all available records will lead to a correct appraisal of the situation in which Purandar Singh found himself.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE TIME OF LORD ELGIN I

SHRIMATI BRIJ SAIGAL

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin I, particular care was taken to implement the policy laid down in the Educational Despatch of 1854[1] in which great stress was also laid upon the importance of *female education* in India.[2]

The East India Company did not consider seriously, at least till 1850, the problem of female education and no funds were allotted for that purpose because there was a danger that the Indian communities might object to the intrusion of Western knowledge into the privacy of home life, and would never

1. Report of the Indian Educational Commission (1882).
2. *Calcutta Review* (1860), pp. 401-26.

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submit their women-folk to the equalising and emancipating influence of "Public Instruction". It was only in 1849, that a member of the Bengal Government, Mr. Bethune, was bold enough to associate his name with a school founded for Hindu females in Calcutta and it was greatly to Lord Dalhousie's credit that, in his impetuous way, he over-rode his timid advisers and not only supported "Bethune" but approved cordially the actual recognition of the school by the Bengal Government.[3] Female education was thus instituted in response to a now-existent demand. Unfortunately, however, the cause of female education in India did not meet with much success ; and for this the fundamental basis of Indian national life as well as the timid and fumbling way Government went about the task in the beginning were both responsible.

Even during Lord Elgin's reign, the two weak points in the educational systems of India, were the Normal schools and the girls schools. It is true that the Government dealing with so vast a population and so extensive a territory, could not do every thing that wisdom and benevolence suggested at once, though it took steps to promote education in India so far as the state of finances permitted,[4] and, early in the year 1862, the grant of half-a-million pounds was announced[5] by Mr. Laing[6] for Education, Science, and Art. Of this amount, Rs. 38,75,163 was allotted for Education in the Civil Budget for 1862-63.[7] But, in the case of female education, however, there was an additional difficulty, namely, the danger of increasing gulf between the sexes.

The great educational tripod instead of resting on the three legs of English, Vernacular, and female education, tottered uneasily on the first alone, and Lord Elgin was asked to speed up the supply of the other two, that is, the Normal schools and the useful, but too restricted, female schools. While there was no difficulty in the case of the Vernacular boys school, the obstacles in the way of effective action by Government in the matter of female education were numerous. Only indirectly, by grants-in-aid, by the earnest encouragement of high officials and especially their wives, and, above all, by the direct and personal labours of enlightened Indians, could progress be secured.[8] The idea of Government officials and their wives visiting illiterate females which was introduced by Lady Frere proved successful in Bombay and later on in Punjab also. There was not an English lady in India, however great her family cares, and however slight her knowledge of the dialect of her district, who did not help towards the cause of female education by visiting illitrate females every day. After having taken the trouble of procuring a teacher for the school a weekly visit was deemed to be sufficient.[9] The work of Capt. Elphinstone amongst the Sikhs of Jullendur and of Mr. F. Cooper amongst

3. Home-Dept., *Ed-Progs.*, March 1850.
4. Financial Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 196, No. 26, 1862.
5. Home Dept., *Financial Progs.*, No. 2390, April 11, 1862.
6. Financial Member of the Governor-General-in-Council.
7. *Financial Progs.*, Accounts, Loans, Estimates, and Supplies etc., No. 41 A., April 11, 1862.
8. Report on the Female Education in India 1862-63.
9. (*a*) Report on the progress of female education in Bombay Presidency (1863).
   (*b*) *Times of India*, Aug. 1, 1863.

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the Mohammadans of Delhi was conspicuous. Among the small band of educational workers, the names of Captain Hall of Lahore, Major Cripps of Ferozepore, Colonel Voyal of Rohtak and Mr. Jacomb of Goorgaun deserve to be prominently mentioned.[10]

Female Education in Bengal

In Bengal, female education progressed steadily, and there was a considerable increase in the number of girls' schools. In one year, that is, from 1862 to 1863, the number of schools rose to 35 instead of 15 and that of scholars from 530 to 1183. Even more satisfactory than the increase in itself was Mr. Atkinson's[11] assurance that it was entirely the result of Indian effort and could be traced directly to the growing influence of the young men who had received the full advantages of a high University education in the different colleges throughout the country. All this was largely due to the services of the Educational Department of the Bengal Presidency, and was one of the most promising features of educational progress in the Presidency of Bengal.[12]

The establishment of women's Normal classes for the training of female teachers at each district in Bengal was also strongly recommended[13] and a proposal was made which greatly stressed the need of setting up a Normal school at Dacca for the training of Indian school mistresses,[14] on a scale of Rs. 75 per mensem or Rs. 900 per annum.[15] The establishment of the school was sanctioned by Lord Elgin in January 1863[16] and later on approved by Sir C. Wood, the Secretary of State for India.[17]

In the Central Division of Bengal, considerable amount of money was required to carry on with efficiency the task of educating females as reported by Mr. Woodrow.[18] He stated that the pupils were not getting on very fast, month after month intelligent girls continued to read the first few pages of some elementary primer and the managers were said to be satisfied with that and seemed to think that progress was not to be expected from girls. But conditions were more favourable in the South-East Division of Bengal. Mr. Martin[19] reported that in some of his schools there were pupils whose ages ranged from twelve to forty-five years. In the Dacca school, there were twenty married women and one widow and the Patna female school was conducted by an educated Brahmin lady and attended by 61 pupils. Mr. Robinson[20] reported that in the North-East Division of Bengal, girls were making very satisfactory progress.

10. (*a*) D.P.I., Punjab to the Govt. of Punjab, Oct., 1863.
(*b*) *Friend of India*, Oct., 29, 1863.
11. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.
12. Report of the D.P.I., Bengal on the progress of female education in Bengal. 1862-63.
13. Home—*Ed. Progs.*, No. 51, Jan. 28, 1863.
14. D.P.I., Bengal to Bengal Govt., No. 2884 ; Dec. 16, 1862.
15. Letter No. 820 ; Oct. 27, 1862, from Inspector of Schools, South-East Division, Bengal.
16. G. G's Ed. Desp. to Secy. of State ; No. 2 ; Jan. 30, 1863.
17. Ed. Despatch from Secy. of State ; No. 5 ; March 30, 1863.
18. Inspector of Schools, Central Division, Bengal.
19. Inspector of Schools, South-East Division, Bengal.
20. Inspector of Schools, North-East Division, Bengal.

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Female Education in the Punjab

The degraded condition of women in the Punjab had long been a matter of concern to the Government of that Province. There, as elsewhere in India, the chief obstruction in the way of any reform was the objection of Indians to the imparting of education to their women-folk. Sir Robert Montgomery[21] determined not to let this difficulty deter him from striving to do something for the elevation of such a large portion of the population. In February 1863, he held an educational Darbar at Lahore, and invited Sirdars and various Indian leaders to assist him in the work he proposed to them and also urged them to help him in the formulation of plans. That appeal produced results and Sir R. Montgomery states, that the Chiefs responded heartily to his suggestions ; "they formed," he says, "committees at Lahore and Amritsar and decided that 30 family priests in the former and 40 in the latter city, should each, for Rs. 10 a month, teach at least one female from his own or his client's family. The moment the pupil acquired a certain amount of proficiency, they were to take the place of the priest and become the Governess not only in their own family, but in those of respectable people of a lower grade also. The scheme started with 70 Governesses and it so effectually influenced the citizens of Punjab and obtained their confidence, that, by the end of the year 1863, there were in Lahore 1465, and in Amritsar 2371 girls under instruction, and, in all, 454 girls' schools, and 7645 female scholars in the Punjab." It was hoped that, beginning with the upper classes, the stream of female education would gradually permeate through the several strata of Indian society. The education given was mainly confined to reading and writing in such languages as pupils desired. Some well-known schools were the "Hyat Bibi's School" and "Omar Bibi's School," which had English ladies as Head Mistresses. Another girls' school was the "Ghulam Mustafa Basti Sheikh School" where the teacher was an intelligent and respectable old man.[23]

Amongst the most active supporters of female education was Baba Khem Singh, a lineal descendent of the great Baba Nanak, who called a meeting of Sikhs at Lahore, and brought home to them the necessity of educating their daughters, and it was chiefly owing to his influence that 75 girls schools were established in the districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Gujrat. The Lt.-Governor of the Punjab remarked, "by judiciously assisting the efforts spontaneously made by the people under their chief representatives, I do not despair to witness the gradual progress of a great social reformation, and the question of female education hand in hand with male education."[24]

Female Education in the North-West Frontier

In the N.-W. Province of Agra and Oudh, the progress of female education was largely due to the efforts of an Indian gentleman, Thakur Kalyan

21. Lt.-Governor of the Punjab.
22. Letter from the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab to the Secy., Govt. of India, in Feb. 1863.
23. Capt. Fuller's Report on Female Education in the Punjab, 1862-63.
24. Lieut-Governor's Report on the Progress of Female Education in the Punjab: 1863, in June, 1864.

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Singh of Agra College, who trained a batch of Indian ladies belonging to the families of his kinsmen. These ladies established 17 schools each attended by 18 girls or more.[25] Mr. Kempson[26] urged the English ladies to establish small Women's Normal classes at each station in the N.-W. Province.

Female Education in Bombay

A Scottish Ladies Association for promoting female education in India was established in Bombay. Many Indians came forward and subscribed to the funds of this Association which supported many schools in Bombay. A sum of more than Rs. 40,000 was also subscribed towards the fund initiated by Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee for the purpose of establishing a school for the instruction of Parsees and other Indian females.[27]

INDIGO IN NORTH BIHAR AND MAHATMA GANDHI

Hari Ranjan Ghosal

The last phase of the European indigo industry in North Bihar forms an exceedingly important and interesting chapter in the political and economic history of our country in view of the indigo rising in Champaran during the First World War, and of the part played by Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the movement. In fact, Champaran was the first field of activity in India for the hero of South Africa, the first laboratory of experiment, so to say, for his political ideas. Although it is a comparatively recent affair, the details of European indigo plantation in North Bihar early in the present century are but imperfectly known. Nor are many things known about Gandhiji's "Satyagraha" in Champaran, because most of the details in connection with it can be found only in papers which were till lately entirely confidential.

A fairly informative account of European indigo factories in North Bihar, and their brief history, have been given by Minden Wilson in his *History of Behar*, a work which was published in 1880. The book has long been out of print. However, from this account, as also from references in the records of Muzaffarpur Collectorate, we can know a good deal about Tirhut indigo. Early in the last century there were in North Bihar, besides numerous factories owned by English planters, *kuthis* (*kothis*) of Dutch, French, German, Portuguese and American adventurers. The indigo rising of 1859-60 in Nadia and Jessore, and the publication of Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nil Darpan* and of the *Report of the Indigo Commission* (1860), greatly checked the

25. Report of D.P.I. on Education in N.W. Province, 1862-63.
26. Director of Public Instruction, North-West Province.
27. D.P.I., Bombay to Govt. of Bombay, July 1863. (*b*) *Times of India*, dated Aug. 1, 1863.

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oppression on the part of the European planters in Bengal. But in the comparatively distant region of North Bihar much of the oppression survived. After 1895 indigo plantation disappeared rapidly in Bengal ; for Indian indigo, made after the old manner, could by no means compete with the synthetic dye, which soon captured the world market. Nevertheless its production did not altogether cease in North Bihar, where quite a good number of indigo factories remained. Some of the factories, however, took to sugar plantation.[1] But North Bihar soil was more suitable for indigo than for sugar.[2] The outbreak of the Great War in 1914 again created some demand for Indian indigo. And some of the factories, which had abandoned indigo cultivation, reverted to it.[3]

There were at the beginning of the present century a fairly large number of indigo factories in the four districts of Tirhut. Champaran had the greatest number of *kothis,* and the three largest indigo concerns in this district were: Motihari, Pipra and Turkaulia. The more important among the rest were: Majhaulia, Sirnic, Sikri, Dhokraha, Olha, Belwa, Madhubani and Chautarva. Of these Madhubani and Dhokraha had given up indigo cultivation at the beginning of the century, but started it again in 1916 and 1915 respectively.[4] To what extent the introduction of the synthetic dye affected the cultivation of indigo in Champaran will be evident from the following statement. According to the Settlement Report of Champaran for the years 1892-98, the total area under indigo in the district was 95,000 acres.[5] Settlement operations for the two years 1913-14 and 1914-15 showed that the land under indigo was 8,800 acres[6]—an extraordinary drop indeed! During the next two years, however, there was a noticeable increase.

For the growing of indigo three systems had been in existence in North Bihar: (1) *Zirat ;* (2) *Tin-kathia ;* and (3) *Khushki.*[7] Under the first system indigo was cultivated by means of hired labour on lands owned by the factories. In Champaran the European planters had generally obtained leases of lands from the Bettiah Raj and other zemindars. In some cases the leases had existed for a long time past ; but in the case of others they were comparatively recent. Under the second system the ryots cultivated indigo in three *katthas* per *bigha* of their holdings. The seeds were supplied by the factories, and labour was supplied free by the ryots, who had to cut the crop and load it on carts.[8] It was carried to the factory where it was manufactured by hired labour. Under the third system the ryot took advances from the factory, cultivated indigo on his land and sold it at a particular rate.[9] Of the three, the *Tin-Kathia* was the most widely prevalent, and was usually accompanied

1. The *Bihari,* 21 July, 1917.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. The *Express,* 2 Aug., 1917.
5. The *Statesman,* 19 July, 1917.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Letter from M. K. Gandhi to Chief Secretary, Bihar, 20 May, 1917.
9. *Ibid.*

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by *sattas* (agreements) varying from seven and twelve to twenty years.[10] The ryots were generally more free under the *Khushki* system than under the other two, and made larger profits. As Mr. Granville, manager of the Madhubani factory, stated before the Champaran Enquiry Committee in 1917, the ryots had made from 12 to 25 rupees per *bigha* under the *Khuski* system in the preceding year.[11]

There is no doubt that indigo was a source of considerable mischief in Champaran, and the ryots were by no means well-disposed towards it. The survey settlement of the district immediately before the Champaran *satyagraha* revealed some of the deplorable conditions under which the ryots had been growing the crop. Before that, in 1909, a special enquiry had been made into the agrarian conditions in Champaran prior to that date by one Mr. Gourlay, who also had pointed out some of the mischiefs attending indigo cultivation.[12] Raj Kumar Sukul stated before the Enquiry Committee in July, 1917, that the oppression of the indigo factory had on one occassion driven some 200 cultivators to Nepal wherefrom they never returned.[13] Yet so great was the influence of the planters that the Government practically did nothing to check these oppressions.

There had long been heart-burning amongst the people on account of indigo. But matters went on smoothly until it was opened in the Bihar Council in 1916 and attracted the attention of the public.[14] Early in that year there was some trouble between Raj Kumar Sukul and the manager of the Belwa concern which resulted in the conviction of the former for a short period.[15] After being released, Raj Kumar apprroached Babu Brij Kishore Prasad, a Vakeel of Darbhanga, with some other tenants, and Brij Kishore Babu took up their cause.[16] Babu Harbans Sahay, who had been a teacher in Bettiah Raj H. E. School, and Pir Muhammad, a resident of Bettiah, soon joined them. Shortly thereafter Babu Brij Kishore Prasad approached Gandhiji and introduced Sukul to him at the Lucknow session of the Congress.[17] The miseries of the Champaran ryots on account of indigo were related before Gandhiji, who at last agreed to come down to the district to have a first hand knowledge of the state of affairs.

Gandhiji came to Motihari on 15 April, 1917. The District Magistrate of Champaran served him a notice under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, asking him to leave the district at once. In his reply, dated 16 April, Gandhiji wrote:

"I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave the district, but if it so pleases the authorities I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience."

This bold stand on the part of the hero of South Africa had remarkable

10. *Ibid ;* the *Statesman,* 19 July, 1917.
11. The *Pioneer,* 1 Aug., 1917.
12. The *Statesman* of 22 July, 1917.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Report of Commissioner, Tirhut Division, May, 1917.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*

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effects on the general masses of the people. All sorts of rumour began to be spread about the District Magistrate being compelled to beg pardon of Gandhiji.[18] It had its effects also on the planters. In a letter to the Commissioner of Tirhut, dated 28 April, 1917, Mr. H. E. Cox, Secretary of the Bihar Planters' Association, wrote that the Champaran planters protested "most strongly against Mr. Gandhi being allowed to tour the district at the present time with the ostensible object of making enquiries into the relations existing between landlords and tenants." There were also a few cases of violence in some factories as an indirect effect of it.[19]

Immediately after arrival Gandhiji started his unofficial enquiry into the relations of the tenants and the planters. He was assisted in this work by a band of young and enthusiastic men, viz. Babu Brij Kishore Prasad, Babu Rajendra Prasad, then a Vakeel of the Patna High Court, Babu Kripalani, Professor of History in G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur, Babu Ramnavami Prasad, Vakeel, Muzaffarpur, Babu Anugraha Narain Singh, Vakeel, Patna High Court, Babu Bindhyabasini Prasad, Vakeel, Gorakhpur, Babu Dharani Dhur, Vakeel, Darbhanga, and Babu Shibnandan Roy of Chapra.[20] Pir Muhammad was meanwhile exciting public opinion on the subject of publishing articles in Hindi papers,[21] and Sukul was moving among the cultivators of Champaran.[22]

Gandhiji came to Bettiah on 23 April, 1917. He usually stayed in a *dharamsala,* where people from the villages of different factories poured in from early morning.[23] The young workers went on taking the statements of these villagers. These were put up before Gandhiji, who carefully went through them and made notes on his own.[24] Daily he wrote 20 to 30 letters to the leaders of India.[25] He visited a number of factories and carried on correspondence with, or personally, met several of the planters. In a short time his influence increased so much among the people that he came to be compared with Sri Ram Chandra "who had come to rescue them from the planter *rakshasas.*"[26] The public authorities and the planters apprehended a serious breach of peace which, however, was avoided because Gandhiji's was a peaceful mission. His object was no doubt to drive the planters away from Champaran, if possible ; if not, to compel them to submit to a number of reforms conducive to the well-being of the ryots. In case the Government did not accede to his demands, he intended dividing the whole district into unions, each union being placed under two volunteers, who would work under the guidance of a central association, to be set up at Bettiah.[27]

18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Letter from S.D.O., Bettiah, to District Magistrate, Motihari ; 23 April, 1917.
23. Report of Commissioner, Tirhut Division, May, 1917.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*

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After completing his unofficial enquiry Gandhiji sent a long letter to the Chief Secretary, Bihar Government, on 20 May, 1917. The letter contains a graphic account of the kinds of oppression which the ryots of Champaran suffered in the hands of the European planters. About four thousand ryots had been examined by him and their statements taken, and many judgments of courts had been studied in this connection.

Gandhiji wrote that the *Tin-Kathia* system caused the greatest hardship. The ryots had always fought against it and only yielded to force. They had never received adequate consideration for their service. After the introduction of the synthetic dye into the market, the planters had naturally to suffer losses. As a remedy against these they had devised the *Tawan* system, under which the ryots were made to pay in lease-hold lands *tawan*, i.e. damages to the extent of 100 rupees per *bigha* in consideration of being relieved from the obligation of growing indigo. In some cases the damages had taken the form of *Sharahbeshi Sattas*, under which the ryots had to submit to an enhancement of rent in lieu of indigo cultivation in the leasehold lands of the planters. Besides these and inadequate wages, detaining the ploughs of the ryots for use in the factory lands, impounding of the ryots' cattle, illegal fines and illegal exactions by the factory servants were not uncommon. Moreover, *abwabs* were exacted, often amounting at least to the rents paid by the ryots.[28] Mr. J. W. Sweeny, Settlement Officer of Champaran, related before the Champaran Enqiury Committee that he had heard of "motor ride" abwabs, i.e. when a planter bought a car, an abwab was levied on the ryots.[29] According to Gandhiji, the conditions of the Champaran ryots were "much worse than those of the coolies of South Africa.[30]

Under the pressure of Gandhiji's demand the Government of Bihar had to appoint an enquiry committee to examine and report on the agrarian conditions in Champaran. The Committee consisted of Messrs F. J. Sly, President, L. C. Adami, G. Rainy, Raja Harihar Prasad Narain Singh of Banaili, D. J. Reid, M. K. Gandhi, and E. L. Tanner, Secretary. It commenced its sittings in the hostel buildings of the Raj School, Bettiah, on 19 July, 1917.[31] A large number of witnesses, official and non-official, were examined. The Committee mostly subscribed to the views of Gandhiji and made drastic recommendations in its report to improve the state of affairs in the district. These recommendations were substantially accepted by the Government. In November, 1917, a proclamation was issued by the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar which, among other things, ordered:[32]

1. That the *Tin-Kathia* system be abolished and considered illegal ;
2. That no contract would make any tenant liable for growing indigo in any particular plot or plots of his *jote ;*
3. That in those factories where *Sharahbeshi* did not prevail, the other

28. The *Pioneer*, 1 Aug., 1917.
29. The *Statesman*, 19 July, 1917.
30. Letter to Chief Secretary, 20 May, 1917.
31. The *Statesman*, 10 July, 1917.
32. Letter from Secretary, Planters' Association, to Commissioner, Tirhut Division, 16 Nov., 1917.

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conditions obtaining would be abolished, and *Sarahbeshi* would be assessed after reductions to the extent of 25 per cent.[33]

The Planters' Association strongly protested against the above order and sent over coloured accounts of lawlessness prevailing in Champaran since the promulgation of the proclamation. After all, the planters had to sumbit ; and Gandhiji's mission was fulfilled.

The Champaran *Satyagraha*, and the Government action in consequence of it, operated not only as a check on the oppressive conduct of the European planters but also as a discouragement to the carrying on of indigo cultivation. Some of the factories abandoned it altogether ; while the others reduced it to a great extent. Some took to sugar plantation, and several others remained content with cultivating *zirat* lands with other food crops. Faint traces of indigo cultivation in a few of the North Bihar factories could be found as late as 1937-38. And the planters still yielded great influence on the areas under their jurisdiction. But the coming of the Congress to power for the first time in 1937 created an unfavourable atmosphere for them. All the factories which had once manufactured indigo were sold away in a few years.

BRITISH WISHES FOR POSSESSION OF ORISSA THROUGH DIPLOMACY

BHABANI CHARAN RAY

After the battle of Plassey with Sirajuddaula in the year 1757 the English prepared the ground for stepping into the assumption of power over Bengal. According to the treaty of 1751 between Aliverdi Khan and Janoji, the Nawab of Bengal was paying the chouth to the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur up to 1759.[1] With the grant of the two districts of Burdwan[2] and Midnapur from the Nawab of Bengal in 1760, the English were not only near to the boundary of the Maratha dominion of Orissa but began to think seriously whether they could acquire such a province through any means. It is perhaps the growing power and influence over the weak Nawab, facing financial troubles in the State that went a long way in the disocontinuance of the chouth to the Marathas by the Nawab.

Such non-payment of chouth to the Bhonsle Raja was vehemently resented by Sheo Bhatt, the Governor of Orissa who repeatedly put forth his claim for the collection of chouth.[3] On some occasions he plundered the frontier of Bengal and threatened to lead an expedition[4] into Bengal if the Nawab did not

33. Letter from Manager, Sirnie Factory, to Commissioner, Tirhut Division, 27 Nov., 1917.

1. *Longs Selections* No. 390.
2. *C.P.C.*, Vol. I, No. 1447—Burdwan was granted to the Company for the expense of the troops.
3. *C.P.C.*, Vol. I, Nos. 1099, 1169, 2012.
4. *C.P.C.*, Vol. I, Nos. 1001, 1082.

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pay off the chouth. By this time the English who had not yet acquired full control over Bengal, were anxious to secure possession of at least some part or whole of Orissa through the help of the Nawab of Bengal. Because it was inexpedient to declare directly a war against the Maratha Subadar of Orissa, the only way the English wished to adopt was to persuade[5] the Nawab to lead an expedition against Cuttack, the success of which they were confident. The expense for such expedition that would be a charge of about one lakh[6] of rupees per month was to be borne by the Nawab. Considering the inability of the Nawab to meet such a heavy expense the English were willing to meet such amount, provided the Nawab was willing to assign to the Company a part of Orissa Province between Jaleswar and Cuttack as might defray the expenses of the expedition and keep a force there for the defence of that frontier. It is only the unwillingness of Mir Qasim to shoulder the heavy financial burden in undertaking an expedition against Orissa that prevented the British from giving effect to their desires.

The importance of Orissa was deeply felt by the English soon after they were *defacto* ruler of Bengal after receiving the grant of *Dewany* of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa* from the Mughal Emperor in the year 1765. The interruption of free communication between Bengal and Madras, the possibility of the French and other European powers to be landed in the province of Cuttack to render help to the Marathas and the desire to protect the Northern Circar and the Bengal border from the frequent raids of the Marathas convinced the English that nothing short of the annexation of Orissa to Bengal would bring a continuity between Bengal and Madras and help them in consolidating their possessions in the east coast of India (P. 162, Vol. IV, The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of Marques Wellesley, Martin. Also P. 503, Vol. III *ditto*).

Soon after the attempt for obtaining possession of Orissa through Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal failed fresh attempts were made by the

5. PP. 1068, part II, Bengal and Madras Paper 1746-85—*C.P.C.*, Vol. I, No. 1325.
6. PP. 1068, part II, Bengal and Madras Paper 1746-85.

* G. W. Forest in his footnote of page 2 of *Selections from State papers of the Governor General of India* (Warren Hastings) explains that Orissa of the Grant corresponds to what is the district of Midnapur. But Midnapur even did not form a part of Orissa when the treaty was made between Aliverdi and Janoji in the year 1751 (p. 361, *Riyazus-s-Salatin* by Ghulan Hussain Salim trans. by Maulavi Abdul Salam, Calcutta 1902). By the treaty of 1751 it is a shallow river (pp. LXXXIV-LXXXV, *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan* by James Rennels, London 1788) known as Sonamukia (p. 113, *Seir Mutaqherin* by Sayyid Ghulam Hussain, pub. Cambray and Co., Vol. II ; see also p. 153, *Indian Historical Records Commission Nineteenth Session*, Trivandrum 1942) which formed the demarcating line between the boundary of Bengal and Orissa. It appears as the demarcating line in the treaty slightly differed from the previous boundary line between the provinces of Bengal and Orissa and perhaps certain lands previously forming part of Orissa were in time incorporated in Bengal, the Marathas did not lose the opportunities of carrying their raids into such disputed lands. It is the Marathas' plunder over a few disputed lands (*C.P.C.*, Vol. I, No. 1351) and the claim over Midnapur (*C.P.C.*, Vol. I, No. 1082) probably for making it a half-way house for their raid into Bengal and Bihar (p. 114, *Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of Mughal Empire*, J. Sarkar) which induced the English to accept the, *Dewany* of Orissa not only to get the grant of Midnapur from the Nawab confirmed by the Mughal Emperor who was supposed to have enjoyed full sovereign power over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa found no objection in granting the *Dewany* of Orissa to English which was also in accord with the terms of treaty of Aliverdi with the Marathas in 1751.

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English for the achievement of the same object. Considering the political condition of India Clive was not confident to fulfil his desire by war. He was under the impression that Orissa was "at present of little or no advantage to Janoji". The financial condition of the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur was not satisfactory. Therefore if payment of an annual tribute would be offered to Janoji he will not be unwilling to agree to the proposal. On the basis of this defective assumption he entertained the belief of obtaining the possession of Orissa through negotiation or diplomacy but not by war. In 1766 A.D. Thomas Motte was sent to Nagpur "to sound the officers of Janoji's court whether he would not cede the province of Orissa for an annual tribute." Clive in a despatch to the Directors of East India Company recommended that an amount of 16 lakhs[7] should be paid to the Marathas on condition that Company would be the Zamindar of Balasore and Cuttack. But still he was not in favour of making payment of chouth conditional to the cession of Orissa to the English. He said "the grant of them must come from with his own consent and if that cannot be obtained, we must settle the chouth upon the most moderate terms."[8] Clive expected that Orissa could be obtained from the hands of the Marathas through a firm alliance and friendly relation. When Sheo Bhatt, the Maratha Subadar of Orissa, rebelled against Janoji's order, Clive, in order to win the good will of the Raja sent a force for the suppression of Sheo Bhatt. Such a conciliatory British policy encouraged Janoji to enter into negotiation in respect of the cession of Orissa. Verelst, the successor of Clive, who wished to proceed further on the plan chalked out by Clive made a proposal for the payment of chouth conditional upon the Marathas ceding Orissa to the English. In the negotiation the treaty of 1751 between Aliverdi and Janoji was very ingenuously and shrewdly interpreted in order to serve the best interest of the English. It was said that the payment of 12 lakhs of rupees as chouth was agreed upon by Aliverdi not only for Orissa but for all the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. If the Marathas wished to get 12[9] lakhs as chouth, logically they had to cede Orissa to the English. Such proposal and even a proposal for payment of 13 lakhs[10] of rupees on the part of English for securing the possession of Orissa did not receive the approval of Janoji. Lastly Verelst in his much anxiety for Orissa offered the Marathas three years'[11] chouth in ready money if the Marathas would leave Orissa. Janoji expressed his willingness to agree to the Verelst's terms provided such agreement received the sign and seal[12] of the King of England. But he did not proceed any further in this matter. After a great deal of fruitless negotiations for purchasing Orissa the English in their resentment decided to stop the payment of chouth to the Marathas. Indeed the British refusal to the payment of the chouth was nothing but a reaction against the Marathas' refusal to cede Orissa.

7. PP. 30, *British relation with Nagpur State in the 18th Century*, C. W. Wills.
8. Talboys Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, pp. 346-7.
9. PP. 31, *British relation with Nagpur State in the 18th Century*, C. W. Wills.
10. *C.P.C.*, Vol. II, No. 712.
11. *C.P.C.*, Vol. II, No. 1153.
12. *C.P.C.*, Vol. II, No. 1166.

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Even such a situation never brought the two parties into an open rupture. The Marathas were not confident of victory in a war against the powerful English. However the Marathas did not fail to be profited by raid into the ill-defined borderland of Bengal (*C.P.C.*, Vol. II, No. 775—*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, 189, 1148) and put the English to harassment, who deprived them of their legitimate chouth. Even from the nature of relation they retained with the English, they derived certain trade privileges[13] in Bengal and the privilege[14] for going to the places of pilgrimage like Benares and Gaya. When the British were victorious in some battle the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur was offering help* to them and arranged to cultivate close friendship[15] and when the English faced a battle, they adopted all the means to exact money from them through some way or other. Considering the division in the Maratha confederacy, the growing strength of the English, the distressing financial condition of the Nagpur State the Bhonsle's policy till the year 1803 was probably best suited to the situation and the only way to save Orissa from the greedy eyes of the English neighbour.

The English did not intend a war with the Marathas till 1803 because the then political condition neither allowed them to declare a war earlier nor they lost all hopes to secure the possession of Orissa through diplomacy. The war with Tipoo, the war with the French and overestimation of the power and strength of the Raja of Nagpur and the shrewd and friendly attitude of the Raja of Nagpur towards the English by permitting the English to move troops[16] and send Dāks[17] through Orissa, did not allow the English to enrage themselves in war with the Marathas till the coming of Wellesley to India.

Warren Hastings who came to India in 1774 A.D. was so much absorbed in his plan to curb down the power of Tipoo that he found little time to proceed in negotiation any further in regard to the possession of Orissa. His policy was based on the theory of permanent alliance with the Nagpur State. In order to detach the Bhonsle from the general confederacy against the English he sent to them Anderson in 1781 for negotiation. After a great deal of discussion Warren Hastings agreed to propitiate the hunger of the Marathas for money by paying 13 lakhs to Chimanji on condition that the latter's army was to quit Orissa and to help the British force for the suppression of the enemy.

When Cornwallis arrived at India in 1786 he found that Madhoji had already made a full sumbission[18] to Nane Pharnavis after paying a visit to Poona and thus the Raja of Nagpur was entirely dependant on the Poona Government. Considering that the proposal of buying Orissa from the Marathas was not possible nor the proposition for paying an annual tribute brought the desired result, Cornwallis adopted a new method of diplomacy

13. *C.P.C.*, Vol. II, No. 352.
14. *C.P.C.*, Vol. II, No. 1671.
* *C.P.C.*, Vol. I, 1920, 1913.
15. *C.P.C.*, Vol. II, No. 2481. Congratulation to the English for Victory at Buxar.
16. Colonel Pearse's *March through Orissa*.
17. *C.P.C.*, Vol. I, Nos. 879, 919, 2275, 2324.
18. *Grant Duff*, II, pp. 192-3.

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of exchange of territory for Orissa which he perhaps thought to be better suited to the parties concerned in the changed situation. This time the matter was not to be brought directly into discussion between the Bhonsle and the English, as in case of previous negotiation for purchase of Orissa but indirectly to be placed before the Peshwa, who might press the Raja of Nagpur for the cession of Orissa. In his anxiety to exchange Salsette for Orissa, Cornwallis writes to Malet.[19] "It will be proper on every occasion to discourage all hopes in Poona Minister of our entering into any negotiation for the surrender of Salsette to the Peshwa until they are inclined to begin as a preliminary with an offer of some liberal equivalent for it should any opening occur in any future amongst the Maratha chiefs to enable them to make propositions in the name of Raja of Berar for ceding on certain conditions the district of Cuttack to the Company. I shall be very glad to receive this. As the district is much more valuable than Salsette I would willingly pay in ready money whatever sum might upon a fair investigation be found to be reasonable value of the difference between the two possessions."

It is not the fact that he was willing to cede only Salsette to the Marathas in exchange for Orissa but he was ready to spare many things to the Marathas on the Malabar[20] coast. He proposed to take advice of Nana in this matter and expressed his desire of making liberal[21] presents to any of the ministers who would render assistance in the direction of the execution of his plan.

The second plan for the possession of Orissa was a desire to exchange Tellichery[22] for Orissa. The settlement of Tellichery was of no gain to the Company either from political or commercial point of view. Cornwallis had a desire to relinquish it for a more profitable province like Cuttack. When a desultory proposition from Poona to obtain that province was brought to the ear of Cornwallis he instructed Malet to find out opportunity to sound the surrender of Tellichery from the English to the Marathas in lieu of Orissa.

His third plan was to encourage a spirit of pilgrimage among the Hindus of Hindusthan and the Deccan for the achievement of the same object. The Marathas like other Hindus intending to pay visits to the religious places like Benares and Gaya were imposed duties by the British Government. An idea which struck to the mind of Cornwalis in this matter was that in case the Marathas were granted particular privileges or exemption from all government duties in respect of their pilgrimages to Benares and Gaya and Jagannath[23] when ceded the Marathas would probably be not quite unwilling to cede Orissa to the British.

Such plans as referred to above were so delicate in nature and hang in such slender thread that Cornwallis in order to avoid the show of too much anxiety before the Marathas was unwilling to take initiative to place such proposal before the Peshwa or the Poona Government. Naturally he had to

19. P. 366, Vol. I, *Cornwallis*, Charles Ross, London 1859.
20. P. 429, Vol. I, *Cornwallis*, Charles Ross.
21. P. 410, Vol. I, *Cornwallis*, Charles Ross.
22. Pp. 436-37, Vol. I, *Cornwallis*, Charles Ross.
23. P. 410, Vol. I, *Cornwallis*, Charles Ross. P. 7, Vol. V, *Poona Residency Correspondence 1781-1820*, Y. M. Kale.

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wait till such proposals were first taken up by the Poona Government for discussion. Again he wished to obtain Orissa more from pressure of Peshwa on Bhonsle than from Bhonsle himself. But the problem was if the Raja of Nagpur had to cede Orissa, how and in what manner he was to be compensated. Any compensation agreeable to Peshwa might not be approved by the Bhonsle. Although Peshwa was the chief of the Marathas still he did not enjoy such power to force Bhonsle to do a thing, if he out of his own accord for the sake of the Poona Government was willing to sacrifice such a province. The consequence of such attempts were sure to lead one to disappointment. His hopes were shattered to the ground. Any practical politician would have desisted himself from indulging in such abortive plans.

Even Richard Wellesley who took office of Governor General in 1798 did not in the early part of his administration lose faith in securing the possession of Orissa through diplomacy. In 1800, April 16 Colonel Kirk Patrick, Secretary to Government, writes to Resident at Nagpur "the principal of these objects consists in the acquisition of the Company of the province of Cuttack for an equivalent in money or otherwise."

When Cornwallis sent a proposal to the Raja of Nagpur to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the English, he never forgot to refer to certain part of Orissa as security for the payment of subsidy of troops. He says "In[24] the event, however, the Raja's being disposed to receive subsidiary force from the Company his Lordship thinks it necessary to apprise you that he would readily accept a security for the payment of subsidy of the troops and ever prefer to any other arrangement on assignment of such part of the province of Cuttack as should be adequate to the purpose and should place under the management of the Company such a tract of territory as should establish the continuity of their dominions from Bengal to Northern Circar.

Such proposal was not accepted by the Raja of Nagpur. Thus* all attempts to obtain the possession of Orissa failed. It is only in the war of 1803 that the long-felt desire of securing the possession of Orissa was fulfilled by the English.

24. P. 48, *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. V, 1781-1820, Y. M. Kale.

* Vinkajee's (*Brother of Raghuji II*) desire to obtain Orissa with the help of English from his brother was not utterly rejected. That shows the English awaited a chance to see if such a situation would ultimately help them in establishing supremacy over Orissa (p. 25, Vol. V, *Poona Residency Correspondence 1781-1820*, Y. M. Kale.)

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THE POSTAL SYSTEM UNDER THE MARATHAS
(1761 TO 1772)

S. N. JOSHI

INTRODUCTORY

Even during the modern historical period man's requirements were limited as compared with the present day's. As the village was practically autonomous with the Patil or the headman as the Raja, and as one's acquaintance did not extend beyond one's village or province, the character of the postal arrangements, as they existed during the period under reference considerably differed from those at present. The postal system, then current, was temporary, limited and varying. There were three different postal systems then current, viz., (1) Governmental, (2) Bankers', (3) Vatani or village post. The Government even as it then existed, required postal arrangements in a greater proportion than those required by the banker or the village panchayat. Government's Dak was extensive or otherwise, in accordance with the scope of the activities of a particular State and was managed by the Government through its regular or hired postal servants. The traders and bankers had dealings with distant places and their postal system was controlled and organised by them for their use only. The Vatani or village post was managed and controlled by the hereditary village vatandar, viz. the Rābatā Mahār, only for the village panchayat and not for the villagers. So we find that the dak arrangements either of the Government or of the banker or the village panchayat were not intended for the ordinary citizens in the province. The common man, if required, was forced to employ his own means to convey his own messages or news. Of these three systems information worth noting has been available only about the arrangements made by the Government and for the sake of convinience, we are dealing with reference to particular times only, those of Mādhavarāo I, though references to the immediately preceding period are not wanting.

2. THE JASUD SYSTEM

The postal system in the period under reference was not named as tapāl or postal system but was known as Jāsud System. The word Dāk, however, occurs so frequently that, that would, from one point of view, suggest itself as the most appropriate name. But strictly speaking the word Dāk was intended for a particular occasion and for particular locality so that the arrangements would stop as soon as the occasion ended. The "Jāsud System" is, therefore, a better name to describe the then postal system than Dāk ; Dāk is more appropriate for the temporary or occasional postal arrangements. The word Tappā (Stage) is rarely used in this connection.

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3. Various Descriptive terms

Various distinctive terms were used in connection with the postal system for the various kinds of messengers. The following is the list of such words used in various documents. Kāsid, Jāsud, Harkārā, Dhālāit, Phad-Nāik, Khijmatgār, Raut, Sāndaniswār, Pyāda, Jilib, Rasângidār, Khāsbārdār, Kāgadi, Vārtāhar, Duta, Grihastha, Mānus, Jodi, Sabnis, Mirdhā, Jathedār Ajurdār and Mujrad etc., were some other terms used for the messengers of their officers. Other terms that occur in the documents are Vākichi Kāsid Jodi, Maye Akhabār, Maveti Jodi, Labe Karāri, Vāyadevale Jāsud (i.e. messengers engaged on contract basis), Ināmi Jāsud.

4. The Harakara

Though the Harakārā, the Jāsud and the Kāsid performed the same functions, viz., that of conveying news, the office of the Harakārā was of a higher status. He was generally a Brāhman and had a pair of Jāsuds entrusted to his charge. There were Harakārās in charge of Jāsuds at the courts of the Nizām, Hyder and the Moghul Emperor. The Harakārā at the Moghul court at Delhi was styled as the Head-Harakārā and enjoyed the title of 'Rājā'. The Head Harakārā had under him subordinate Harakārās working in the different Subās. These Harakārās were classified[1] as *'Uttama'* or first-class, *'Madhyama'* or second-class and *'Kanishta'* or third-class. Those who possessed[1] 8 attributes [i.e. (*i*) *knowledge of five languages* such as Marāthi, Persian, Kannad, Telugu and Tāmil, (*ii*) *knowledge of six scripts,* viz., Bālbodha and Modi of Marāthi and Drāvadi (i.e. Tāmil), Telugu and Kannad, (*iii*) *Proficiency in assuming various disguises,* (*iv*) *physical fitness,* (*v*) *knowledge of music,* (*vi*) *astrology,* (*vii*) *Sanskrit scholarship,* (*viii*) *Some knowledge of Vedic rituals* and (*ix*) *courage*] were considered to be first-class Harkārās ; those who possessed 11 attributes [i.e. (*i*) knowledge of three scripts, (*ii*) five languages, (*iii*) physical fitness, (*iv*) proficiency in assuming various disguises, (*v*) courage] were put in the second class. From this it is clear that in the case of second class Harakārās knowledge of music, astrology and Vedic ritual was not considered to be of importance ; those who possessed seven attributes [viz. (*i*) knowledge of three languages, (*ii*) knowledge of one script, (*iii*) proficiency in assuming different disguises, (*iv*) physical strength, (*v*) cleverness.] All this description will bear out the importance of the office of the Harkārā. Besides their remuneration the Harakārās received clothes from the Government on special occasions.

Harakārās, in the service of the Government, are described as Sardars and yet they did not fight shy of gathering news either by appointing persons for that purpose at various places in foreign territory or doing the same job by themselves. Although the Harkārā was thus an important officer of the Government, the word is also found to be used in its literal sense as the person

1. *Journal, B.I.S. Mandal,* Vol. 13, p. 127.

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doing all miscellaneous household jobs. In the monthly expenditure incurred by Raghunathrao at Anandvalli (Chāudas near Nasik) Rs. 75/- are given for Harakārā Brāhmins and there is mention of 13 servants in all, including cooks, Khatpates, (the person to do every odd job), Rakhtavān, bullock drivers etc. (*P.D.* 19: 113). Similarly Vaidya Daftar (*Supplementary* Vol. 1:13) while recording those employed with the Sachiv, mention has been made of Shāgirdas and Harakārās as also of a Jāsud.

5. Three important Types

To describe every term mentioned above the present paper would extend its limits. We, therefore, intend to describe herein only three main types of Jāsudas, viz. (*i*) Kacheri Jāsudas, i.e. those attached to a particular office or Department. (*ii*) Jāsuds employed by Government in their Jāsud-Khāna, or special Postal Department and (*iii*) Professional Jāsuds. All types were foot-messengers and generally worked in pairs. Besides these there were the Rāuts who used horses, and the Sutar-Swārs, Sāndani-Swārs or Sānds who used camels. While there were Jāsuds who moved on land, there were also messengers who went by ships (Ghalbat or Tarānda) in the coastal territory. As in the army, the Jāsuds may also be described as the Shiledār-Jāsuds and the Bārgir-Jāsuds. The Shiledār-Jāsuds were regularly in Government service, and the Bārgir-Jāsuds only occasionally served as such. These latter were called Jathyatil Jāsud (that is), Jāsuds supplied by the Jāsud Naik or Jathedār, i.e., the contractor. The messenger delivering letters from the Kacheri (Government office) has been called Rasāngidār.

6. The Jasud

The word 'Jāsud' comes from the Arabic word 'Jāsus' which originally means a spy. Even in the *Rāj-Vyavahāra Kosha* of Shivāji the Jāsud is defined as *Chāra-Nāyaka*[2] or leader of spies. But in the Marāthi documents, the word 'Jāsud' is not used merely in the sense of one bringing secret news, but in the sense of one who carried letters. Bāridār Jāsuds were those who acted as messengers by turns. Then, the Wāknis had his own Jāsud, who is known as Wānke Kadil Kāsid, i.e. a messenger who brought the news for the Wāknis. The Jāsud has occasionally been referred to as mere 'Kāgadi' (Kāghazi), i.e., one who brought in the 'papers' or letters. Different Jāsuds often travelled by different routes and brought the same news. So there are references about the same news being received from different Jāsuds, as singly (*ekeri*) or doubly (*duheri*). The Jāsud was such an important institution in historical times, that when a new officer was appointed, Jāsuds and Dhālāits were, as a matter of course, included in his retinue along with Rakhawāldārs, Potdārs, fighting horsemen, Topchis, Rakhtvāns etc. Jāsuds were appointed in the army and in the retinues of

2. *Raja Vyavuhara Kosha*, Stanza 16., *P.D.* 19-133: *V.D.* Supp, 1-131.

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Sardārs, Vakils (ambassadors) and Revenue clerks. Sardārs had 10 pairs of Jāsuds, in their retinue and it was a general rule that he should never be at least without a pair. But if the occasion demanded it, not only was he instructed to send that pair but even to engage new Jāsuds and Kāsids after fixing their remuneration and period of service. Expense was often of no question. In one document Rs. 1800 have been recorded as one month's Dāk expenditure.[3]

8. The Jasud's Daily March and Emoluments

In historical times the words used to show distance did not include the mile. Distance was counted by Kosas, Yojanas or Gāons (villages). The Jāsud walked six miles (3 kosas) per hour and about 13 to 14 kosas per day. This is the most usual rate of the walking speed of the Jāsud. The maximum distance travelled by a Jāsud in a day is recorded to be 45 Kosas. This happened when a pair of Kāsids came to Rāghoba Dādā from Sakhārām Bāpu, and for this remarkable feat it has been noted that Rs. 20/- were paid to the Jāsuds as reward. Some Jāsuds completed in four days' time, the journey from Poona to Nasik (Anandvalli, that is Chawadas) and back, and received a reward of Rs. 50/-. Just as the Jāsuds were rewarded for quick marches, they were rewarded with clothes, cash, gold armlets etc., for bringing letters through difficulties, as also for bringing quickly good news like the conquest of a fort, victory in a battle, birth of a son, etc. The messenger who brought the news that the Maratha flag hoisted on Guram Konda on the Pratipada day in Diwali in 1770 was rewarded with a golden armlet. The rewards were necessary—not only for paying the messenger but also for the subsequent movements consequential on receiving the letter. It was customary to write on the letter the place from where it was sent and the time of the despatch of the letter, as also the date and the time of receipt. The name of the messenger and the category to which he belonged was also written. The Jāsud received compensation if he was hurt in the way or looted. Generally, every department had its guards, for mention is to be found in the letters of Jāsuds attached to the Paga (cavalry), to the artillery etc., and of the emoluments they received. The Jāsud received Rs. 3/- to Rs. 6/- per month as pay. The routes by which the Jāsuds went and their stops have not been always noted. Such lists were available with respect to pilgrimages undertaken and these show the distance between different stoppages, and the number of those stages. But it was not that the Jāsuds adopted those very stages. Some references indicate only the days taken by the Jāsud. On certain occasions the Kosas covered too have been recorded. But it is the references to the days taken for a journey that are larger in number. It is seen that occasionally the same journey has taken a different number of days. For example, journey from Kashi to Poona had taken one month five days on one occasion and twenty-five days on another. Delhi to Nasik took twenty-

3. *S.P.D.*, 29:280.

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eight days, Satara to Poona one and one and a half days, Delhi to Calcutta fifteen days and Poona to Delhi nineteen days. It is recorded at one place that the Jāsuds were promised Rs. 50/-, 40/- or Rs. 30/-, as reward if they reached Delhi from Poona in 16, 17 and 18 days respectively but no reward was to be paid if they took 19 days. On certain occasions, distances have been mentioned not in the number of the days taken, but in the number of stoppages, such as Saswad to Hyderabad (Dn.) 22 stages, Satara to Sangola, 4 stages, etc., etc.

9. The Dangers the Messengers had to face

Though it was a general rule that no authority inside or outside a state should ordinarily obstruct in any way or put under restraint Vakils (ambassadors), traders, bankers and messengers, it was not observed in war time. The life of a Jāsud was always in danger in such times. Efforts were made to prevent him from getting real news. Jāsuds of the enemy were won over or their letters intercepted and read through influence of one's own messengers. Jāsuds were obstructed, put under restraint, looted and even killed on the way. They also had to face dangers from highway robbers and Thugs. If after such encounters, the Jāsud remained alive he returned and either came back to the battle-field with a band of soldiers or wended his way by another route. The Jāsud of the enemy, if discovered, were arrested and killed. Sometimes the Jāsud and the Thaili he carried was subjected to insult. When a Thaili and a letter was sent to Nanjraja, somebody was made to pass urine on that Thaili and the Jāsud was about to be killed by the cannon but he escaped and brought back news about this insult.[4] Subhana, the Harakārā sent by Hyder and Narasinhabhat, the Brahmin priest accompanying him were placed in confinement on the Sinhagad Fort. When certain messengers from Raghoba Dada were arrested at Aurangabad, instructions were issued that their letters should be taken away, that no communication should be allowed to be sent to Nasik and that no banker should write in his letter any news about the Nawab or the Darabar. It was in such difficulties that the Jāsuds had to work.

The Jāsud had to assume different disguises.[5]

10. Dak

When arrangements were made to convey letters by stages, that arrangement was specially referred to as Dāk. This was done in special cases like those of a war. Generally the distance of one stage from the next one was 5 Kosas, and the maximum was 10 Kosas. After these arrangements letters and bags of letters had to be conveyed without any delay. Not only was there the daily Dāk, but instances are on record when letters were received four

4. *B.I.S. Mandal Quarterly*, Year 26, Issue I, p. 24.
5. *S.P.D.*, 20:245, says that they should go disguised as Fakirs Gosavis or Bairagis. The disguise was not only in dress. Sometimes the Jāsud made it appear to the enemy that he belonged to his camp. (*Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha 4*, p. 1705).

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times a day. These postal stages or Dāk Chaukis were fixed in the territory that was safe and under one's control. When the messenger reached the final stoppage in the Dāk system, the letters he carried were despatched by the hired Kasids. This Dāk was generally conveyed on foot, but horsemen were occasionally employed. After the war etc. ended, the Dāk arrangements were discontinued. After Dāk arrangements had been made, a list of the stages and routes had to be sent to the headquarters.

II. Thaili and Lakhota

Thaili and Lakhota are different terms and may indicate a distinction between the ranks of the addressees. Thus *Peshwa Daftar* Vol. 20: 293 states: "(The messengers) were despatched on their way with a letter in a thaili for Hyder and with a letter in a Lakhota (envelope) for Morarrao Ghorpade". A thaili was a bag of cloth or silk which might contain either a Lakhota or an unsealed letter. A letter to a superior person was sent through such small bags. The use of a thaili was intended as a compliment to the addressee, or occasionally as a formal affair. That is why one document states: "No formal thailis are required for the 'Mukhya' or his lieutenants. A letter sent in a Lakhota and received privately will do". Such Thailies, Lakhotas, letters and articles were conveyed in a big Thaili called Thaila because of its large size. Such a thaili seems to be indicated in Haripant Phadke's letter,[6] which states: "while Shrimant Dada and myself were in the tent of the Shrimant (the Peshwa) Lakhotas were received, out of which those for the Sarkar were taken out. I took out those meant for me." Similarly it has been stated in another document that the letters received had been given to their respective addressees. This means that when a messenger arrived at a military camp he brought several letters, often in a Thaila, which were subsequently distributed to the proper parties.

News-Letters

Chiti, Khat, Kagad, Patra, and *Ruka* are words indicative of letters long or short. *Chitti* is a note on a small piece of paper which generally did not require to be folded. When loose sheets of paper or sheets stuck one below the other in order were sent, the number of such sheets was shown in writing at the top of the letter. Every messenger had generally an oral message. This was done for two reasons. The oral message conveyed what was not considered proper to commit to paper ; and in cases where a letter had been robbed or lost, the messenger had to give its substance. Sometimes the messenger brought out an oral message but took away a written reply.

The profession of a Jāsud was thus an important one in historical times, and persons of various communities were employed in it. As already stated, this survey is limited to a short period, but is sufficient to suggest an important line of study.

6. *Peshwe Daftar,* Vol. 39:100.

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List of Jasuds

1. Ābāji.
2. Āppāji.
3. Appāji Kāṅdekar.
4. Bābāji.
5. Bachāji.
6. Bahināji.
7. Bahirji Morya.
8. Bahirji Khijmatgār.
9. Bāji Bodke.
10. Bāji Manakeshwar.
11. Bālāji Narasinha.
12. Bālāji Pānduranga-Rasāngidār.
13. Bayāji Gujaji.
14. Bhagawant Shivrām Rasāngidār
15. Bhavāni Khijmatgār.
16. Bhiku Mirdhā.
17. Bhivji.
18. Bhivji.
19. Bumappā Madedar Rasāngidār.
20. Chimāji.
21. Dāvalji.
22. Devaji.
23. Dharmā Kākadya.
24. Dhondāji.
25. Dilāvar Bhāldār.
26. Gangārām.
27. Godu Nādarā.
28. Govindā Khijmatgār.
29. Haibati Bhaulā.
30. Hanagu.
31. Imām.
32. Kālaseti Khijmatgār.
33. Karim.
34. Keshav Kālā.
35. Khandu.
36. Khandoji Dhotre.
37. Laxman.
38. Laxman Āpāji Rasāngidār.
39. Mahādu Bhosale.
40. Mahamud Dhālāit.
41. Malhārji.
42. Māloji.
43. Mānkoji.
44. Mānku.
45. Mānku Labada.
46. Mhasāji Bābāji.
47. Mayāji Trimbakji.
48. Nāgo Shinde Rasāngi.
49. Nāroji.
50. Narasingarāo Udhav.
51. Nazar Mahammad.
52. Nimbāji.
53. Pirāji.
54. Peerkhān Palasi.
55. Ranoji Bhoitā.
56. Rānoji Ghātagā.
57. Rāmaji Pyāda.
58. Rānū Pomana.
59. Rānoji Trimbakji.
60. Roopāji.
61. Saidāji.
62. Sakhoji.
63. Sākharoji.
64. Sambhū Jādhav.
65. Sambhāji Sooryavanshi.
66. Savaji.
67. Sayāji.
68. Shāhāji.
69. Shankarājipant Gadre.
70. Sidhoji.
71. Sidoji.
72. Sivāji.
73. Somāji.
74. Subāji Ikhe.
75. Sukhalāl Kāsid.
76. Subhānā Jorā.
77. Subhānji Rājapure Modhavekar.
78. Trimbak Viththal.
79. Trimbakji Mundā Khijmatgār.
80. Udāji Pawār.
81. Umāji Jivāji.
82. Yamāji Khijmatgār.
83. Yesāji.
84. Yesu.
85. Visājirām Barve, Rasāngi.

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HARAKARAS

1. Keshavarao.
2. Krishnarao.
3. Satu.
4. Subhā.

SANDANISWARS

1. Alibeg.
2. Dhasikhān.
3. Kalyān.
4. Kāsambeg.
5. Lālkhān.
6. Murād.
7. Pirā.
8. Rostumkhān.
9. Sekh Ali Fettemahamad.
10. Sekh Ismāl.
11. Sekh Nyāmat.

JATHEDARS OR NAIK

1. Abāji.
2. Bajāji Nāik.
3. Banāji Nāik.
4. Bhavānji Nāik.
5. Bhikāji.
6. Bayāji.
7. Jivāji.
8. Keroji Nāik.
9. Karnoji Nāik.
10. Kachoji.
11. Kanoji Nāik.
12. Lingoji Nāik.
13. Mukundaji Nāik.
14. Rāmāji Nāik.
15. Rāimal.
16. Trimbakji Nāik.
17. Wāghuji.
18. Yesāji Bhikāji.

SIDELIGHT ON THE LIFE OF CHATRAPATI RAMRAJA UNDER NANA PHADNIS

(1768-1777)

P. L. SASWADKAR

Chatrapati Ramraja was formally crowned by Peshwa Madhavrao I on 23rd March, 1763. The tutelage in which Tarabai constantly kept Ramraja, was too irksome to him. Under Madhavrao I his life was made tolerable. The affairs of the fort were, however, managed by Nana Phadnis, who received the Phadnisi of the fort on 3rd August, 1768.[1] Nana appointed Baburao Krishna Apte, the Phadnis of Bodhan, as his agent to manage the affairs of the fort and of the Chatrapati. Baburao managed the fort and Sadashiv Anant Abhyankar managed those in the city below.[2] Baburao was a loyal and faithful servant of the Peshwa—whose faithfulness was even extolled by Haripant Phadke and Nana Phadnis.[3] He was in charge of the fort till

1. *M.P.S.*, 444.
2. *S.B.*, 49.
3. *S.P.*, II, 349, 379.

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1797, when he was arrested by the Chatrapati Shahu II as per Peshwa Bajirao's instructions.[4]

The task which Baburao had undertaken was no easy one. It was an arduous task and full of risks. Early in July 1751, Anandrao Jadhav, the Killedar of the fort was executed by Tarabai for attempting to release Ramraja.[5] Baburao had to incur the displeasure of many persons. In his letter to Nana Phadnis, he writes, "This place is most dangerous. I have incurred everybody's displeasure."[6] In spite of conspiracies and offers of bribes, Baburao remained firm to his station and did his duty.[7] From the correspondence of Baburao and Nana Phadnis consisting of nearly 600 letters, we can visualise the atmosphere on the fort of Satara during Ramraja's reign, and it also throws much light on the characters of the Raja, Nana Phadnis and Baburao Apte.

Baburao was the confidant of Nana Phadnis. The relation between them was nearer than master and servant. In one of his letters, Baburao writes, "I am not your servant. You are like my father. Otherwise you would not have written confidential matters so often."[8] Nana always took care to keep his income above the bribes and used to encourage and pre-warn him during dangers.[9] Many a times Baburao indulged in Vedantic thoughts when Nana waked him up to his duty.[10] Of the other information in the state, regarding the campaigns in the north and south, regarding court intrigues, and regarding the pretender etc., Nana always kept him informed.[11] In his letter of 5th July, 1774, Nana commends his selfless service to the Peshwa, and adds, "It is good you are quite alert in everything ; you say that even the sun may rise in the west, but I shall not fall a prey to a bribe. I shall lay down my life for the cause of the Peshwa." Nana further remarks, "The sacrifice of your life may very well make good your life. But the state will suffer. Leave out thoughts of Karma in Vedanta."[12]

Baburao could not work in harmony with his colleagues. He always fell with Nagogi Shinde and Kushaba, his colleagues. Peshwa Madhavrao I had asked him to work in harmony with Nagogi Shinde and warned him against disagreement and discord with him.[13] Nagogi was later transferred to the fort of Purandhar.[14] And about Kushaba Nana instructed Baburao to show outwardly goodness to him, but to be always careful about him.[15] Baburao was always alert and cautious. Most secret messeges from Nana were delivered to him orally through confident persons.[16] Baburao once refused to

4. *S.B.*, 68.
5. *P.D.*, 6:500, *M.R.*, 201.
6. *M.D.*, 87/5/206.
7. *M.D.*, 87/1/23, 223, 245.
8. *M.D.*, 87/5/157.
9. *M.D.*, 87/1/211.
10. *M.D.*, 87/1/50.
11. *M.D.*, 87/1/225, 229, 234.
12. *S.H.*, II, 370.
13. *S.H.*, 320.
14. *S.H.*, 370.
15. *M.D.*, 87/1/78.
16. *M.D.*, 87/1/121.

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comply with one letter of Nana, because it was not sent along with the state messenger.[17] Many a times Nana remonstrated with Baburao for overlooking important matters—but only mildly.[18]

Since the death of Shahu, for nearly fifty years, the atmosphere on the fort of Satara, was full of suspense, intrigues and conspiracies which were being hatched day and night. There were plots on the lives of Ramraja and Baburao, and plots to release the Raja. In 1751, Tarabai had executed the Killedar Anandrao Jadhav for attempting to release the Raja.[19] The plotters were mainly Vishnu Narhari and others—the secretaries of the queens of Shahu, and the servants of the queens of Ramraja and his bastards.[20] Sitting in Poona, Nana Phadnis had brought to light many conspiracies. During the uneasy days after the murder of Narayanrao Peshwa in 1773, the guarding of the Satara fort was given much importance by the Poona court. Haripant Phadke asked Baburao to get the fort well-equipped soon and not to yield to the persuasion of Raghunathrao.[21] The Chatrapati was in the city. Nana asked Baburao to remove the Chatrapati to the fort immediately, and further asked Baburao to be very cautious and send a complete list of ammunition and provisions to him.[22] Wrote Nana to Baburao, "It is heard that attempts are made to bribe you. But you have remained firm. As you are not accepting their offers, the king's servants are plotting to murder you. Greed may do anything. Keep perfect 'bandobast'. Though you have written that all the possible care has been taken ; still we must be cautious. Request the Maharaja, therefore, to remove the servants and his bastards who are plotting on his life to bring another boy in his place. In this way, get them removed by the Raja himself. Appoint new and reliable persons in their places. I will send some from Poona. Keep a strict watch on persons going from Vishnu Narhari to the queen. Be careful on the Dasara Day. Whenever you will go to the Vada (i.e. palace) go with an armed escort of at least with 25 persons." Baburao took care accordingly.[23]

On 28th September 1774, Nana sent a warning to Baburao against secret plots aiming at his life and capturing the persons of the Chatrapati.[24] On 5th March 1775, Nana wrote, "During the Holi festival a plan is hatched to do away with you and release the Raja. Take care of Raja's Khanjads (i.e. bastards) and the queen's servants. Perform the festival on the fort only."[25]

When the pretender of Sadashivrao Bhau rose in 1776 Nana became very anxious about the security of the Satara fort because the fort of Sinhgad had fallen to the pretender by treachery. Writes Nana on 7th October 1776:

17. *M.D.*, 87/1/120.
18. *M.D.*, 87/1/209.
19. *P.D.*, 6-500.
20. *M.D.*, 87/1/290.
21. *S.H.*, II, 349.
22. *S.H.*, II, 348.
23. *M.D.*, 87/1/223.
24. *S.H.*, II, 383.
25. *M.D.*, 87/1/290.

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"The pretender is getting strong. Your fort is very important because the Chatrapati is there. They might arrest you and keep you in confinement and release the Raja. Sinhgad has fallen by treachery. Drive out all 'Kokanes' (men form Konkan) from the fort and recruit all persons from Desha. Be careful, alert and on guard. The times are strange."[26] Again on 11th March, 1777, Nana wrote: "Vishnu Narhari told me that the Raja and the queen want to adopt a son. The real thing is, on the ruse of adoption ceremony, they want to call 100-150 persons for meal on the fort and kill you. Kanhoji Mohite is in the conspiracy. Please don't speak it anywhere. Keep perfect secrecy,"[27] Vishnu Narhari, Khondoji Nambaji etc., even made attempt on Nana's life in April 1776. They were immediately arrested and chained in the fort of Sinhgad.[28]. In 1797 Chatrapati Shahu II treacherously at last arrested Baburao Apte who yielded after a skirmish.[29]

In the fort of Satara Chatrapati Ramraja was entirely at the mercy of the Peshwa. "Ensure my position, and I shall comply with anything you do. You can manage the state any way you deem it,"[30] such was the undertaking given by him to the Peshwa at the beginning of his reign. He was not to leave the fort or the city except by the permission of the Peshwa. Whenever the Raja fell ill, for change of climate he was allowed to come down and special soldiers were sent from Poona for the extra *bandobast*—as were sent in February 1777.[31]

The Raja had no freedom of correspondence. The letters in the name of Chatrapati to all other states were to be written from Poona and sent to Satara only for the Royal Seal.[32] Even that seal had been forged by Raghunathrao Peshwa in 1763.[33] The gardens and the pastures required for the Raja were sanctioned by the Peshwa.[34] For the singing establishment of the Chatrapati Rs. 80/- per every two months were sanctioned by the Peshwa.[35] The personnel of the fort was appointed with the strict instructions from Poona.[36], [37]

Usually there were about 700 persons on the fort.[38] The expenses of the fort annually were Rs. 10,000.[39] Nana Phadnis had instructed Baburao to carry on all ceremonies strictly according to the traditions from Shahu.[40] In January 1777, the Peshwa had taken forced loans from the merchants in Satara, about which Nana wrote to Baburao, "Please tell the merchants that we are doing this for the state of the Chatrapati. The same is happening

26. *M.D.*, 87/1/278, 279.
27. *M.D.*, 87/1/8.
28. *N.P.S.*, 45.
29. *S.B.*, 68.
30. *M.R.*, 271.
31. *S.H.*, II, 317, 329.
32. *M.D.*, 87/1/11.
33. *R.B.*, 40.
34. *P.Dy.*, 76.
35. *P.Dy.*, 78.
36. *S.H.*, 316.
37. *M.D.*, 87/1/278.
38. *M.D.*, 87/1/217.
39. *M.D.*, 87/1/93, 87/5/144.
40. *M.D.*, 87/1/169.

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in Poona. You have done your business all your life under the protection of the state. Now in emergency, you must pay something voluntarily to the state."[41] The expenses for the marriages in the royal family were all sanctioned from Poona.[42] Nana always suggested curtailments.[43]

That the Raja was weak and vacillating at the beginning of his reign was certain. But that must mostly be attributed to his long period of exile, his neglected education, his acceptance at the beginning and later on denial by his grand-mother, the attempts on his life, the conspiracies for his release, and the intrigues of his queens and bastards. His entire dependence moreover, on the Peshwa must have given him constant worry. He did oppose the Peshwa at the beginning, but experience and years made him wise and later he kept his mind clear and paid compliments to the Peshwa. He respected and admired Nana Phadnis and Sakharambapu Bokil. Nana used to send fruit, medicines and the doctors from Poona whenever the Chatrapati was not well.[44] Articles were always exchanged between the two on festivals and holidays.[45] In April 1777, Nana ordered Baburao to spend Rs. 500/- for giving alms in order that the Raja's health may improve.[46] Horses, elephants, bow and arrows etc., were sent by Nana from Poona whenever required by the Raja.[47]

The Raja, however, was not devoid of self-respect and honour. He respected all the Peshwas except Raghunathrao. When Nana Phadnis asked him to adopt a son, through Baburao, he replied, "I am not old. I still hope to get a son. . . . . Who else is there to look after me than the Peshwa? I suffered imprisonment of my (grand)mother Tarabai for the sake of Nana Saheb. The son of Narayanrao (i.e. Sawai Madhavrao) is like my own son."[48] In 1763 Gopalrao Patwardhan, Yamaji Shivdeo and Nagpurkar Bhonsale had gone over to the Neizam as they were displeased with Raghunathrao Peshwa. Gopalrao looted Poona. Yamaji Shivdeo and his son Gamaji looted Satara and besieged the fort. The Raja sent the message to Gamaji which shows his self-respect. "You have sided the Mughals (i.e. the Neizam). You desire that the Mughal may succeed. I shall never come down."[49] In 1773 Raghunathrao was on the campaign against the Neizam. Avoiding to go personally he sent Mahipatrao Trimbak and Amritrao to Satara to get the robes of Peshwaship for him. After securing the robes, he struck a new seal not in Ramraja's name but in the name of Sahu I.[50] Ramraja felt this as a serious affront and violation. This, and his admiration for Nana Phadnis could be seen from Baburao's letter of the 23rd September, 1774. Writes Baburao: "The Raja called me and asked me to send the

41. *M.D.*, 87/1/275.
42. *M.D.*, 87/1/192, 209.
43. *M.D.*, 87/1/13, 16.
44. *M.D.*, 87/1/135.
45. *M.D.*, 87/1/101, 123.
46. *M.D.*, 87/1/70.
47. *M.D.*, 87/1/13.
48. *S.H.*, II, 373.
49. *R.B.*, 33.
50. *R.B.*, 40, *S.H.*, II, 382.

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following message to you. 'We have heard that some people are plotting against your life. Be very careful. Don't believe in anybody. Bhavanrao, Vishnu Narhar, Moroba and Bajaba are all in conspiracy'." The Raja himself told me these names and got a letter written to you by me. Confidentially the Raja told me alone: "You too take care. I care much for Nana because Peshwai (Peshwa's state) entirely depends on him." I replied, "When you are caring for us, there is nothing to worry about." He was very much pleased. The Raja is very anxious about you and has even asked me to be careful and told me that I too must beware of enemies. About himself he said, "I don't care for my life." In order that this may be known to you, I have sent a special messenger. Please keep some 50 Marathas always for your protection. God cares for you as you have protected Brahmanism. But sometimes clouds come, which, however, will be blown by the wind of God's favour. The Raja has ordered this letter to be torn and not to let anybody else know of it. When I asked him on what ground he said so and whence he heard of it, he replied, "There is none who could be relied upon. Be careful as they will betray you. Under my very Person—when I was living—they broke my seal. All were then there, but nobody felt it. Narayanrao's murder too is not avenged. Nana Phadnis has proved faithful to the Peshwa's bread. I must care much for him."[51]

When the Raja fell ill in February 1777, Nana asked Baburao to keep him informed of the Raja's health.[52] Further he added that he was searching a suitable person for Raja's adoption.[53] He instructed Baburao to tell the Chatrapati to give up the thought of third marriage as it might endanger the future of the newly wed girl."[54] On March 11, 1777, Nana wrote, "Vishnu Narhari told me that the Raja has grown weak and that both desire to have the adoption done early. The real thing is they want to play a mischief. If the Raja is better, just call 4 Bramhins and two-three Marathas and quietly carry out the adoption. When settled, I shall write to you."[55]

The adoption of the Raja became an intense anxiety for Nana. Because the security of Sawai Madhavrao and of the state was the chief motive of his life. After Sawai Madhavrao's death he almost felt himself dead.[56] Nana intensely desired that the adoption should take place earlier before the Raja's death. Because Nana did not want the turmoil of succession wars after his death for fear of the security of the state. Secondly, the adopted son must be of Peshwa's (Nana's) approval.[57] Thirdly, he, with many others, believed that the robes of Peshwaship given by Ramraja to Sawai Madhavrao had not proved good or auspicious to the Peshwa. As such, he wanted to give the robes again to the Peshwa from the hands of the new Chatrapati (who might be adopted).[58] All means were, therefore, attempted. Baburao was

51. *S.H.*, II, 382.
52. *M.D.*, 87/1/50.
53. *M.D.*, 87/1/50.
54. *M.D.*, 87/1/51.
55. *M.D.*, 87/1/8.
56. *M.D.*, 87/1/249.
57. *M.D.*, 87/1/51.
58. *M.D.*, 87/1/6, 7.

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asked to speak secretly and carefully to the queen.[59] When Nana advised Ramraja through Baburao to adopt a son, the Raja replied that he was yet young, and hoped to get children, even by marrying another wife, if necessary. He was, however, determined to support the Peshwa's policy in any case.[60] On 9th May, 1774, Baburao wrote to Nana, "For persuading the Raja for adoption all means were tried—even those of temptations. But the Raja insists on a personal talk either with you or Sakharambapu. It doesn't look nice on your part to force the Raja for adoption. Please give us instructions. We will talk to him and persuade him. If you don't want to displease the Raja now, let us know accordingly."[61] A proposal was even made by Nana to persuade the Raja through his personal barber by offering him some land and 500 Rupees. But Baburao objected to this and wrote, "Vishnupant (sent by Nana) told me that Nana and Bapu have decided that at this moment if we will not compel the Raja for adoption of our choice, it will be much harmful to the Peshwa's state." Baburao further wrote a sensible and full explanation of the futility of this plan.[62] The adoption, however, was brought about on September 15th, 1777, and the son from Vavikar family was duly adopted with the name of Shahu II.[63] Ramraja died on 9th December, 1777. Rs. 15,000 were spent for his funeral and other religious rites.[64]

ABBREVIATIONS

M.R.—*Marathi Riyasat* by G. S. Sirdesai, 1921.
R.B.—*Ramraja's Bakhar* (Chitnis) by K. S. Sane, 1884.
P.Dy.—*Peshwa's Diary IX Peshwa Madhavrao I*, Vol. I.
M.P.S.—*Madhavrao Peshwa Shakavali* by S. N. Joshi.
N.P.S.—*Nana Phadnis Shakavali* by S. N. Joshi.
S.P.H.—*Satara Historical Research Society Publication*, Vol. II, 1940.
S.B.—*Shahu II's Bakhar* (Chitnis) by K. S. Sane.
M.D.—*Menavali Daftar Rumal* 87/1/ . . Nana Phadnis to Baburao Apte.
M.D.—*Menavali Daftar Rumal* 87/5/ . . Baburao Apte to Nana Phadnis
P.D.—*Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 6.

59. *M.D.*, 87/1/274.
60. *S.H.*, II, 373.
61. *S.H.*, II, 374.
62. *S.H.*, II, 375.
63. *R.B.*, 47.
64. *M.D.*, 87/1/269.

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SECTION VI

LOCAL HISTORY

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

MAHARAJ KUMAR DR. RAGHUBIR SINH

My esteemed eminent Masters and fellow workers,

It is a matter of genuine pleasure to find such a large assemblage of really eminent scholars and students of great learning and far-spread reputation, many having come even from very distant places, gathered together here to deliberate on the past of this land of poetry, beauty and plenty. Who will not be really keen to visit this land of Bhartrihari and Bhoj, Kalidas and Bharavi, Amar Singh and Varahmihir, legendary Vikram and victorious Yashodharman? Tansen sang his swan song here and the heroic Rani Laxmi Bai performed the supreme act of her self-sacrifice on the alter of Indian Independence in this very city. This continuation of its centuries-old traditions will most definitely give an added impetus to the Renaissance of this ancient land, that has already been greatly accelerated by the political unification of the various separate states into which this region was hitherto fragmented. We eagerly look forward to the happy day when this once-famous province will once again become a great centre of art, culture, learning and wisdom.

I am most grateful for the great honour done to me by calling upon me to preside over the deliberations of this section today. I know full well that there are many other eminent scholars who were better fitted and more suitably equipped to fill this high position, specially because of their greater learning and longer periods of their service and devotion to the study of the provincial history. Hence I see in this gesture more an expression of a hope and expectation for greater work in this field in future rather than a well-deserved due recognition of the great work done and life-long services hitherto rendered. I greatly value the confidence thus reposed in me and it shall be my earnest care and endeavour to prove myself worthy of the same by doing my best to fulfil these expectations during the years to come.

Before I proceed any further I must mention that it was my earnest desire that I should deliver this address of mine in Hindi, the national language of our beloved motherland. This would have been a real departure from the past practice, still I was confident that all those interested in the history of the land of Bhartrihari and Bhoj, even though coming from the distant non-Hindi speaking regions, know Sanskrit sufficiently enough to understand such an address in Hindi without much difficulty, hence this departure would have been neither unacceptable nor undesirable by any means. I have, however, finally agreed to the request of the General Secretary not to make such a sudden break from the past, but I feel that I must speak to the people of my home province only in Hindi and as such I am simultaneously issuing a Hindi version as well of this address.

It is quite obvious that a departure in this respect will have to be made

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some day and I feel that sooner it is done all the better it will be for the future development of our own studies as well as for the greater synthesis therein between the wider outlook and comparative methods of the West and our age-old Oriental system of intensive learning and critical analysis. The real importance of the English language as the veritable means of contact and communication with the outer world of thought and learning can never possibly be over-emphasised. This process of give and take with the outside world must be necessarily maintained to keep up the vital spirit of scientific research, progress, development and assimilation in our own country. But at the same time it is a fact that at least during the last half century of the British rule in India there has continued unabated the latent feeling of unnecessary antagonism and unmeaning rivalry between the masters of these two schools, and much of this undesirable controversy raised not only about the method of approach to the subject but more so round the medium of expression used in their writings, as somehow the language used by any writer was quite unwittingly taken to be a definite indication of his alignment with one school or the other. It was only very rarely that a historian writing mainly in an Indian language was fortunate enough like the late Dr. Gaurishankar H. Ojha to receive the due recognition from the masters of the other schools also.

With the achieving of independence the conditions in this respect have greatly improved, but the much-needed right synthesis of the methods and outlooks of the two schools is yet to be brought about, and all our wisdom and creative powers should immediately be directed to this necessary end. Thus alone can we make the History of India not only an ever-growing live subject of real human interest, but it can also be all the more useful as a most helpful guide in the important work of national reconstruction and regeneration in which we are now so busily engaged. Moreover, we must duly husband and fully utilise all the undeveloped powers of the various Indian languages and through the medium of not only the national language but of other regional languages also carry the message and lessons of history to the masses, who are now the ultimate masters of the country's destiny.

We are assembled here mainly to deliberate over our provincial history as a distinct subject by itself, while today there is definitely and quite rightly a greater emphasis to consider every such matter, which vitally affects the national unity of our young Republic, from the all-India point of view only, and as such the problem of provincialism with all its consequent developments is necessarily receiving the particular attention of all the nation builders. It is, therefore, only natural that at the very outset of these deliberations we may be faced with the most pertinent question of the correct value, true importance and the possible usefulness of the provincial history, specially in relation to the national History of India as a whole, and hence some consideration of the same here will neither be irrelevant nor very much out of place.

It can definitely be asserted without any hesitation at all that at least in the realm of history there can and should be no cause of any possible

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conflict between the regional or provincial histories and the national history as regards their respective aims, objects and subject matters. The national history essentially deals with the central theme of the rise and development or decline and fall of the entire country, thereby treating of the differnt empires as a whole or the various disintegrated units collectively together, which comprised the entire nation at that time, and it, therefore, includes therein only those incidents and details of the provincial history, which have and direct bearing either on the central theme or which are sufficiently important to indicate any peculiar tendencies of that province different from or contrary to the main current prevailing throughout the entire country. The regional histories on the other hand include not only all the events and developments connected with the central theme of the national history which happened in that particular province, but also deal with many other incidents and tendencies which are merely of provincial importance. In India every time after the fall and disintegration of an empire the different provinces became independent and gained added importance thereby greatly strengthening the centrifugal tendencies in the country. But during our entire past as a result of the events following soon after history has every time given a lie to any possible claims for permanent separatism, and the perpetuation of the same has neither hitherto been possible nor could any of these provincial people in spite of their own distinct language develop a separate nationality of their own as had been the case in Europe.

Actually in a vast country like India a really complete and fully comprehensive national history cannot be prepared without the help of the authoritative histories of the different provinces, as these regional histories provide the real solid foundations of the national history. During the periods of disintegration the importance of the provincial histories in relation to the national history greatly increases and for the time being they acquire an added unity of their own. But there are some researches and studies, e.g. art and architecture, language and literature, economic and social conditions, which can best be carried out primarily on a provincial level only, as various important local and individualistic factors definitely contributing to their ultimate distinct development will not thus be completely lost sight of in the maze of other seemingly more important all-India forces.

Moreover, a careful detailed study of many provincial or even dynastic histories, which may ordinarily seem to be of very limited interest only, are quite often very helpful in enabling the historian to complete the details or to give a really comprehensive picture of even momentous incidents of all-India importance. The battle of Dharmat (April 15, 1658), the first major clash of arms in the war of succession between Dara and Aurangzib, can well be mentioned as an excellent example of such a case. The account of this battle as given by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar in his monumental work *History of Aurangzeb,* Vol. II, was based on a full study and careful scrutiny of all the available Persian sources, which give the account of the happenings in Aurangzib's camp only and mention the details as known and reported by the victorious side. None of these historians could possibly be interested

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in the happenings of the defeated side as to take particular pains to ascertain the same and record a really complete account of the battle. Jaswant Singh of Marwad, the chief commander of the imperialist forces in the battle, had been defeated therein by Aurangzib and hence the historians of that Rathore dynasty have ever been naturally inclined to skip over this particular battle by merely giving its few necessary details in barest outline, which could not possibly provide the modern historian with the requisite narration to enable him to know the details and happenings of the other side as well. Thus the account of this battle has all along remained incomplete and only one-sided.

This lacuna can definitely be filled up by the account of this battle as given in two almost contemporary poetical works in the Rajasthani language relating to the life and prowess of Rao Ratan Singh Rathore of Ratlam, who fought bravely beside Jaswant Singh throughout the battle and had to assume the command of the remaining imperialist forces when Jaswant Singh was compelled to leave the battle-field. He carried on the uneven battle even thereafter and finally fell fighting till the last. The first work entitled *"Vachanika Ratan Singhji ri Maheshdasot ri"* is composed by Jaga Khadiya, who had come to the battle-field in the train of Ratan Singh and was present there throughout the battle. He composed the work very shortly after the event and has given in it mainly a detailed account of the battle. A critical edition of this work edited by L. P. Tessitori was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1917 A.C. The other work *"Ratan Raso"* by Kumbhakarn covers a much wider panaroma and can well be described as a dynastic history as it begins with a brief account of Ratan Singh's great-grandfather Udai Singh, the Mota Raja of Jodhpur, and carries the tale up to the death of Ratan Singh in this battle. It was composed at Ujjain in about 1675 A.C. So far as known this work has not been previously published. A critical edition of this important historical work is now under preparation. It is obvious that there can possibly be no question of any change in the broad outlines and the final result of the battle, but a careful study of these two works will certainly bring to light good many minor details which will not only necessitate the rewriting of some of the accounts of this battle but will also add quite a few facts of real human interest.

If a careful search throughout the province is carried out it is quite certain that many other similar works of historical interest will be brought to light. Sri Bhaskar Ramchandra Bhalerao of Gwalior has done same commendable pioneer work in this direction and has been able to resurrect quite a few important historical works written some centuries ago. Similarly Sardar Anandrao Bhausahib Phalke has brought to light Jadunath's *Khande Rai Raso*. But all this represents nothing more than the outcome of mere scrappings on the surface. Without a real deliberate effort in this direction nothing worth-while will ever be achieved. Again, this time the work should not be left to the sweet will of private collectors or to the ever-diminishing resources of individual enthusiasts, but must be definitely undertaken and duly guided by the different literary societies or historical associations of some standing in the province,

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Again, the various inscriptions written in a variety of languages and scripts from time to time, that are strewn all over the province are another most fruitful source of much useful historical research. Some time even quite ordinary inscriptions of apparently not much historical value can on a critical study turn out to be a very useful source for finally determining the correct date or the right chronology of events quite important even from an all-India point of view and which actually took place hundreds of miles away from the province. A very significant illustration of such a happening is provided by the battle fought between Bahadur Khan, the Moghul general, and Bahlol Khan, the regent of Bijapur, in 1676 in the plains between Aliabad and Indi. There is no unanimity among the contemporary sources so far generally known about the exact date on which this battle was fought ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* gives it as June 13, while according to Jedhe's *Shakawali* it took place on June 1. In his account of this battle Bhimsen mentions of Karan Rathore, a younger son of Rao Ratan Singh of Ratlam, as being killed in this battle after having fought bravely for the imperialist cause. This Karan Rathore held the then village of Sitamau as jagir for his imperial mansab, and hence a cenotaph was then raised in Sitamau as his memorial. The inscription on this cenotaph gives the date of his death as June 1, 1676, which duly supports the date given by Jedhe. (*Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 164-165). Such an independent contemporary source will have to be given all due weight when the date of this battle is finally decided upon. Research students are bound to come across many similar cases when they study the inscriptions and other similar sources with due care to find out the possible light they may even indirectly throw on important historical events of provincial as well as all-India significance.

But above all the real value and the main importance of the regional histories lie in their great utility as the most helpful and a really sound guide in the vital work of the regeneration and reconstruction of India, which is definitely our one primary concern these days. There again our first and foremost concern is to make the recently effected national unity simply absolute and ever-lasting. But in this respect history tells us a completely different tale, because even though for us, the Indians, the fundamental unity and the inevitable indivisibility of India has since times immemorial been not only an undoubted fact but also a conception of every day worship and an important article of political ideology, the regional peculiarities aggravated by the geographical vastness of the country have always provided a ready field for the centrifugal tendencies. Thus time and again the political and administrative unity of India foundered on the rocks of the growing weakness of decadent central authority, internal disunity and regional insurgence.

A final satisfactory answer to this vexed problem of deciding upon the right method and the correct relationship between the central government and the regional units is yet to be found out. The new Indian Republic has also to face it with all its inherent intricate difficulties and numerous dangerous possibilities, as under the new democratic set up here this problem

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has gained an added peculiar significance. The binding force of any eminent dominating personality or the sentimental appeal of even a great noble ideal cannot possibly prove to be ever-lasting, while the great nationalistic urge which impelled the entire nation to come together with unique singleness of purpose to drive the foreigners out is bound to ebb some day. The Constitution of India cannot by itself perpetuate the Union. Hence definite deliberate efforts must be made to forge a really strong united state of India out of the present Union, and the various regional units should not only be welded together with the Central Government, but should as well be so constituted in themselves that instead of being a constant source of weakness and danger to the Central Government, they definitely provide for it a solid foundation, and as the integrant parts of a composite body politic prove a source of great strength and real inspiration to the entire nation and the Union. For achieving this vital end it is very necessary to carefully study the different regional histories, which will clearly bring out their special peculiarities and fully indicate their particular strength and weakness in relation to the Central Government.

Moreover, in regions, where the existing provincial units have either been recently formed for the first time or are reconstituted after a lapse of some centuries, the problem of their regeneration is all the more difficult and acute due to a complete lack of even a healthy feeling of their regional unity and importance. Experience has clearly shown that a well-knit province cannot possibly be formed merely by a political unification and administrative integration. To enable these units to play their parts fully in the national policy, to be source of real strength to the entire country and to contribute their best to the national culture and thought it is very necessary that their regional patriotism based on historic continuity and cultural homogenity be duly created or once again roused. This as well is possible only through a study of their regional histories.

The situation prevailing in our region in this respect is particularly all the more complex and perplexing as a result of the course of its history during the last two and a half centuries. The age-old political and administrative unit of Malwa began to disintegrate with the beginning of the fall of the Mughal Empire in 1720 A.C. and by the time of its final transfer to the Marathas in 1743 A.C. it was completely parcelled out into many semi-independent principalities and units ruled over by the Rajput Rajas, Muslim rulers or the Maratha generals. The Peshwa generally gave the Maratha generals more than one non-contiguous areas of lands interspersed with the lands ruled by others as well all over the province, which further fragmented the Maratha principalities and not only created great administrative difficulties but also cut deep at the very roots of the cultural homogenity of Malwa. When in 1818 A.C. the British established their domination over this region they re-established peace and security there but they failed to restore to Malwa its political unity, and thus the centuries-old historical continuity of Malwa was completely cut off and lost in the maze of the political boundaries of the different States into which this region was divided. The cultural tradi-

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tions and regional unity of Malwa thus received a definite set-back. The glorious hoary past of Malwa was now merely a legend relegated to books or the story-tellers, and its history was now deemed to begin only with the establishment of the various states, which in almost all cases did not date farther back than only a few centuries. The attention was now actually focussed on the dynasties ruling over the different states and naturally enough their family rivalries, dynastic jealousies, racial animosities and inter-statal antagonisms arising from their past history gained added importance, and in course of time these feelings percolated down to the lowest strata of the subjects of each of the states, who too accepted them as their own and behaved accordingly with their corresponding numbers in other states. This state of feeling has continued for so long and has gone so deep into the thoughts and the outlook of officers as well as the common men that it will need real effort and take considerable time before a regional outlook could completely eradicate these traces of centuries old past.

To expedite the requisite rise and growth of this new regional outlook it is most essential that an elementary regional history beginning from the earliest times should be compulsorily taught even in the lowest classes of the schools and more detailed study of the same should necessarily be encouraged in later years of their college studies. Moreover, good authentic general histories of the region should be made available to the lay readers so that they may not only know more fully about the past of their home province but may as well feel proud of the same and begin to feel some sense of their own responsibility about its future. But no such reliable general or school histories can possibly be easily prepared forthwith without an authentic comprehensive history of the region. Therefore, a scheme for preparing such a comprehensive history of Malwa was first mooted as early as 1935, but the details of the same could be worked out only ten years later. A brief reference to this scheme was made by Prof. K. Nilkantha Sastri in his presidential address at the Patna session of the Indian History Congress. To begin with the first volume of the history dealing with the Ancient Malwa up to 1230 A.C. was taken up. Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi of Banaras has been entrusted with the duties of its general editor, and distinguished historians and specialists in different branches of Indology like Dr. Dasharath Sharma, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Dr. S. L. Katare, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. R. B. Panday and Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray are extending their fullest co-operation in this venture. The progress of this volume was greatly hampered due to a variety of causes for some years immediately following the achievement of independence, but now once again it is being pursued with all earnestness and it is hoped that the entire text of the volume will be ready for press sometime early next year. It is confidently hoped that the later volumes will also be taken up now very soon.

Like every other similar pioneer work, this History of Malwa also cannot possibly be complete nor the last word on the subject. It is but natural that there will be many big gaps in this history, which would not possibly be filled till after much extensive research and more exhaustive study. This work

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will thus prove to be not only a real help but also a most helpful guide to the future research students working on the history of Malwa ; they will then be able to direct their studies and researches with particular reference to the lacuna to be filled in our regional history.

Here I do not propose to make a regular survey of the actual work so far done by way of historical research relating to the regional history, particularly because it is not possible to do so satisfactorily even in sketchy outline within such a short space, and will, therefore, content myself by merely indicating in a sweeping way the broad lines on which the future research work in this region must be carried on.

Firstly, coming to the field of archæology, it must be admitted that however poor and inadequate it might have been, a beginning was certainly made in this respect during the first quarter of the 20th century by the then States of Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal and Dhar. While Mandu always received particular attention, other places like Udaipur (Bhilsa), Bagh, Sondni (Mandsaur) and Dhamnar (Garoth) too did not remain altogether neglected. Lately some excavations have also been carried out in quite a few important sites which produced noteworthy results. Even then there in this region this particular branch is yet in its very infancy. The various mounds and different sites round about the famous ancient cities of Ujjain, Dashpur (Mandsaur) and Vidisha (Bhilsa) yet patiently await excavator's pick-axe to reveal centuries-old archæological treasures lying buried there. The actual locations and exact sites of many other ancient cities, monuments or land marks, which completely disappeared in course of time are yet to be ascertained and duly identified. Their ruins now buried deep underground or covered over by thick forests cannot possibly be excavated and examined till then. Moreover, a thorough detailed study of the various archæological monuments or sites so far known is yet to be made. Finally, a complete list of all such monuments along with a detailed bibliography of every one of the researches so far carried out in respect of them must be immediately compiled and published. Dr. H. V. Trivedi of Indore has prepared a bibliography, which though somewhat different from this, should as well prove very useful, and hence its early publication is greatly desired.

I do not by any means consider myself competent to say anything with some authority relating to topics included in the ancient and early mediæval periods of the regional history, but it is obvious enough that there are quite a few very important problems primarily of the regional history falling during these periods, which if authentically solved are bound to materially affect not only some of the major conceptions of all-India history but may as well definitely influence even the vital currents of the Indian culture. The problem of Emperor Vikramaditya and the Vikram era is clearly the foremost of this type. Who was this Emperor Vikramaditya after whom the Vikram era is supposed to have been named? Was he an actual historic personality or only a legendary figure? If he was a historic personality, when did he exist? Was the Vikram era named after him just then or sometime later? Why was this era so named? Then again nothing further has yet been

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known or discovered about the personality and doings of Yashodharman of Dashpur save what is stated in the Sondni inscription. Moreover, an authentic readable life on the eminent scholar-poet-king Bhoj is yet to be written. Again small excellent histories of the ancient cities of Ujjain, Dashpur and Vidisha should also be written, wherein much new light can be thrown on the life, society, culture and the economic conditions prevailing there on the basis of the descriptions and details given in the various contemporary works of literature and history. Thus they will not only be notable contributions to the historical research, but could contain much matter of real human interest as well. Lastly, a very careful study of the vast Jain literature available in the numerous *Bhandars* is very necessary, as the same is bound to throw much new light on many of the hitherto unknown or comparatively obscure aspects also of the regional history during the early mediæval period.

Next comes the period of about three and a half centuries immediately following the Muslim conquest and occupation of Malwa. The Muslim chroniclers have given details of important happenings in this region, which naturally become more exhaustive with the beginning of the 15th century when an independent kingdom was established in Malwa, and thus their Persian histories are the major primary source for the study of the history of this period. Any documents of this period are now hardly extant, but inscriptions of this period are not so scarce and a careful study of the same, particularly those giving any details of the Hindu Rajas and important Hindu nobles of this period, is very necessary. It was a period of Muslim domination in Malwa and the frantic outbursts of their fanatic zeal were quite frequent, still during this period the Muslims did not materially influence the society and the life of the Hindus particularly those living in the rural areas of this region. Moreover, even in this Muslim kingdom the Hindu nobles and landlords were still very powerful, many of them held high offices in the state and materially influenced its administration and policy as well. The Muslim chroniclers have only indirectly referred to this peculiar feature of the period and a complete study of the same should be undertaken. All extant Sanskrit and Hindi works should be carefully scrutinised and fully utilised. Again, the importance of the vast Jain literature increases all the more for a study of the history of this period. The Jains were quite influential at this time in Malwa as well and had good many important centres of their own throughout the western and central Malwa including one in Mandu as well. Their contemporary literature, therefore, most usefully supplements the account given in the Persian histories about Malwa.

The period of the Mughal rule in Malwa was one of comparative peace and prosperity, therefore Malwa does not very frequently figure even in the official chronicles of the times. But from regional points of view it was very important, as it saw the beginnings of the modern Malwa in more ways than one. Many of the Rajput and other dynasties, which were to figure prominently later in the affairs of the region, came down to Malwa and settled here during this period. A new revenue system was introduced here, while the provincial administration was completely reorientated. There was

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an increasing compact of the Mughal culture on the life and mode of living of even the common man. Documents issued from the Mughal court during the reigns of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and his successors are still extant in large numbers in Malwa. Moreover, family chronicles, letters, grants, deeds and other authentic contemporary materials relating to the various important persons, dynasties or principalities are also equally important for the regional history. In this way alone can a worth-while regional history of the period be written which should throw sufficient light on the social, economic and cultural conditions also in Malwa during the period.

The coming in of the Marathas in Malwa during the first quarter of the 18th century and their continued control over the same for one full century introduces a new primary source of first rate importance to the regional history in the form of letters and other records of the Marathas written in the Marathi language. The enthusiastic band of devoted scholars of the Maratha history in the Maharashtra have rendered unique service to the cause of Indian History by bringing to light and publishing all possible such Marathi documents of historical interest, which have actually thrown much new light on the regional history of the Malwa also. But out of a hundred and more such collections of these Marathi documents so far published only a few volumes contain documents coming from the private family-collections of the Maratha and other Maharashtrian families established in Malwa. Very much, therefore, still remains to be done in this respect and definite steps should be taken for the same to bring to light many important details of regional interest. The British records in English of the period prior to about 1815 A.C. do not contain very many details about the happenings in Malwa, save indirectly in relation to the affairs of Sindhia, because till then the British did not interest themselves in the same. This lacuna is, however, filled by a completely different but equally contemporary source, the hand-written Persian *Akhbars,* which used to be issued almost daily from the courts of all the important rulers and similar personages in the region. Big mass of these *Akhbars,* from about 1775 A.C. to 1818 A.C., are duly preserved in form of collections or in original sheets in the various government archives in India, in a few important libraries in Europe and also in some private collections in India. A careful study of all these *Akhbars* will enable the historians of Malwa for this period to piece together the details scattered in these pages and present a readable account of the happenings there during these years of extreme suffering and unimaginable anarchy.

A study of the history of this region during the British domination here is yet to be undertaken. The British records of the same are very full and are now all being collected together in the National Archives in New Delhi. With the integration of the different state administrations the official records of all these states are also now being brought together and will thus be readily available all at one place to the research students. But because of a variety of reasons these records from the states are by no means complete. In practically all the smaller states till after the seventies of the 19th century very little of the state work was put down in writing, and therefore the records

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of these states for that period are almost nil. Moreover, practically much of the official secret correspondence carried on by the Chief Ministers or other high officials of the states was for quite long time even in the latter half of the 19th century kept by them at their homes and thus it remained with them even after their relinquishment of office. Again, all top secret and other similar documents along with those relating to dynastic matters were naturally stored away with the ruler's private papers and hence are not to be found in the state archives. Losses resulting from accidental fires, white ants, dampness and other similar causes have also further reduced the original volume of the records in the state archives. But even then the actual total volume of records received from all these different states is quite astounding, and it is most imperative that they are suitably housed in a central place, duly sorted out, fully listed and carefully preserved so that they may not only be readily available to the administration but also easily accessible to the research students.

This is, however, quite obvious that for compiling a really complete and correct history of this period even a full study of all these official records alone will not be sufficient. It is very well known that quite a few princes of Malwa were definitely very lukewarm if not quite unfriendly towards the British, but their real attitude and actual policy in this respect cannot possibly be duly ascertained from these records except when the branch became very open and well-known. Similarly, all these records cannot possibly throw any new light either on the various forces working underground or on the actual temper of the people of Malwa during the convulsion of 1857. Again, for any one wishing to make a full study of the various stages of the nationalist movement in this region these records will prove a definite disappointment. To gather necessary information and details of these and many other such important aspects of regional history the research student will have to search for other authentic and reliable primary sources of history including lives and letters of all those contemporary persons who had something to do with this region or who did in any way influence the trend of events here.

Finally, there is no gainsaying that inspite of the definite setback caused to its political unity, literary traditions and cultural development during the period of the British domination here, Malwa continued to treasure its past heritage. Old manuscripts, containing geneological trees, family chronicles, historical poems and other works of similar nature are still found in plenty with all those families which had at any time themselves been prominent or had some genuine interest in literature and history. Moreover, much original material of historical interest in the form of personal and official letters, deeds, grants and other similar papers relating to period of about three centuries since the accession of Shah Jahan is still available in large quantities in this region. The same if duly collected and properly utilised will definitely throw much new light on good many important details of the regional history. It has, however, now become most imperative that necessary action in this respect should not be delayed any longer. Since the achievement of independence a very great bloodless revolution has been rapidly

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going on in this region, which is completely changing not only its political set-up but will also materially alter its economic structure. Under these new changed conditions the future of all these family records and the private collections is most definitely not very bright, and if they are ever permanently lost the possibilities of very duly completing the history of these periods will finally end.

The central as well as the state governments are quite keen to do their best to acquire or even merely to survey and catalogue the various important historical records in this region. Efforts in that direction are already going on. The state government has duly appointed a regional survey committee, published an appeal to all the owners of any such records and through the district and other revenue authorities has even tried to find out if any are available in that particular area. But the usual distrust for the government servant and that too of those belonging to the revenue department, particularly in respect of deeds, grants or any such documents is very well known, hence one should not be least surprised if these efforts do not produce any immediate satisfactory results. They should, however, be further fully supplemented through teachers and other persons connected with the education department posted on duty in rural areas and who may be interested in and are keen to do this work. Even if a rough preliminary survey of important collections could thus be carried out a great task would have been completed, as the same could later be the basis of further detailed investigation and actual examination of these collections. Great will be the day when Malwa too will have got its own Rajwade, Parasnis, Khare, Sane, and Sardesai to do this stupendous task in this historic region with equal zeal but with all the greater thoroughness and mastery.

In conclusion, it can confidently be said without being accused of any exaggeration in the least that in this region the work of intensive historical research and study is yet to be organised and duly started off in right earnest. Save a few individual efforts all the work so far done in this field has been by scholars belonging to other regions, who too have more or less merely utilised only the available material. They had neither the time nor the facilities to do the requisite extensive field-work in this region to discover additional material and further details relating to the respective particular subjects of their study. Conditions for historical study and research in this region prior to the integration of the individual states were definitely neither encouraging nor helpful by any means. But with these beginnings of regional consolidation it has become most imperative for the research scholars of this very region to take bold initiative and undertake the work themselves. They will have the added advantage of an intimate knowledge of regional geography, local conditions and the traditional background of the past happenings. It is obvious that even if we continue to remain indifferent to this obligatory duty of ours, its future progress is not going to be impeded any longer and in spite of all possible handicaps they may have to face the true devotees of the Muse even from other regions will carry it on as they

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have hitherto done. Their past work in this field is a clear challenge for the future to the learning and scholarship of Malwa. Shall we be able to meet successful the same? I seek the fullest support and sincerest co-operation of you all to convincingly establish that Malwa can still not only hold its own but can as well make a distinct contribution in the field of scholarship and learning. May I confidently hope that the posterity of Malwa shall not be disappointed in us? Amen!

CONSTITUENTS OF THE MALAVA STATE UNDER VIKRAMADITYA

DR. R. B. PANDEY

1. REPUBLICAN HERITAGE AND NEW CHANGES

Originally the Malava people lived in the Punjab and were famous for their democratic republican constitution. Forced by the political circumstances prevailing there, they had to leave the Punjab in 2nd century B.C. and, migrating through the south-east Punjab and Eastern Rajasthan, they reached Avanti. Here the Gardabhilla branch of the Malavas under their leader Gandharvasena (Mahendraditya) and Vikramaditya carved out and established a state. (See my *Vikramaditya of Ujjaini*, III, 77-85). Though the Malavas had a long republican heritage behind them and this Malava state was basically republican, its nature and constituents underwent changes due to the circumstances prevailing during their hazardous career.

2. BASES OF THE STATE

While in the Punjab, the Malavas had already outgrown their tribal stage and had organized a state on a territorial basis composed of various elements in their territories. Panini, in his *Astadhyaya* (v. 7. 114), refers to this fact: "A non-Brahmana and a non-Ksatriya of the Malava Samgha would be called 'Malavya' ; while a Ksatriya would be 'Malava', the plural in each case being 'Malavah'." It clearly indicates the stages of a developed territorial state constituted by different social elements in the state, quite distinct and different from a primitive tribal stage. The Malavas carried their tradition to their new homes in Rajputana and Avanti also. The later traditions depict Vikramaditya as a ruler of a state, which was territorial and not tribal. The Nandsa yupa inscriptions found in southern Rajputana evidence that the Malava state up to the third century A.D. had a territorial basis and the Malava gana was composed of various social groups in the state. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVII).

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Another basis of the Malava state was military. The state constitution had a special reference to the military qualifications of its members. The Greek writers accompanying Alexander attest that the Malavas and the Ksudrakas, were most famous for their military qualities. The military strength of the Malavas was 1,00,000 ; they were a nation in arms. "The Macedonians lost their heart at the prospect of meeting this army." "When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war, in which the most war-like nations in India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition." (*Curtius*, BK. IX, Chap. 4 ; Mac-Crindle, *I.I.A.*, p. 234). The military nature of the Malava state corresponds with the *ayudhajivisamgha* (the republican people living on arms) of Panini (*Ashta*, v. 3) and the *sastropajivi* of Kautilya (*Artha.*, IX) as distinctly opposed to *rajasabdopajivi* (assuming the title 'Raja'). Even when they shifted to Rajputana and Avanti, the Malavas did not use the title 'Raja', and they remained a nation in arms. The military basis of the Malava state continued throughout its existence when it was finally enveloped by Gupta imperialism.

3. The Constitution of the State

The constitution of the Malava state in the Punjab was a democratic one. According to it, every member of the republic had a direct franchise. It had no elected king-consul, but it possessed a second chamber of elected members. Even the military leaders of the state were elected. The Greek writer Curtius says that "for leading the united army of the Malavas and the Ksudrakas an experienced warrior was elected. At the time of negotiating peace with Alexander, they sent the leading men of their cities and provinces as their ambassadors, who were given the full powers to conclude a treaty." (*Curtius*, IX, 4, 7 ; Mac-Crindle, *I.I.A.*, 248-51).

The Malavas, in their new province of Avanti under the pressure of abnormal circumstances, had to revise their democratic constitution. During the exigencies of foreign invasions and wars, their former ultra-democratic constitution did not suit them and aristocratic elements entered the constitution of the Malava republic. The first change in this direction was the delegation of executive powers to a few families on hereditary principles, though the aristocratic rulers were subject to the republic. The next change was the election of a supreme leader from amongst the aristocratic families holding the executive power. This process, up to the time of Gandharvasena and Vikramaditya, culminated into hereditory leadership, as we find the same family ruling continuously for several generations (*Jain Pattavalis*). It, however, does not imply that the republic was dissolved or the leader ceased to be responsible to the people. The Nandsa yupa inscriptions definitely show that as late as the end of the third century A.D., the Malava-gana was still alive in southern Rajputana and was called as *Malava-gana-visaya* (the territory occupied by the Malavas). These inscriptions also throw welcome light

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on the constitution of the Malavas. They inform us that there was one Sri-Soma, the leader (*neta*) of the Sogi clan of the Malavas ; Jayasoma, the father of Soma, and Prabhagra-vardhana, his grand father, were also the leaders of the Malava people (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVII). These leaders were very powerful and enjoyed great rights and influence, but were not allowed to assume royal titles. Thus the Malava constitution became a mixture of democracy and aristocracy ; their leaders were of aristocratic origin, but the Malava people were still called a *gana* (republic), and their coins continued to be issued in the name of the *gana* (*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, VI). In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, they are classed with a number of frontier republican peoples in opposition to the frontier kings (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, II).

This mixed constitution was, however, not peculiar to the Malavas of Avanti and Rajputana alone. The Indian History furnishes other instances also. In the Pali texts, we come across the Pettanikas, who were hereditary rulers (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III). During Alexander's invasion, the Greek found in India a similar, if not identical, state on the banks of the Beas river (Mac-Crindle, *I.I.A.*, 121). In the *Mahabharata*, there is a mention of the *'kulas* (families) of Rajas' belonging to a republic (*Shanti Parva*, 107). In his *Arthasastra*, Kautilya also refers to *samghadharmin* (republican) Rajakulas (ruling families) (Ch. IV). To guard against full-fledged monarchical tendency, however, the Malavas changed the ruling families. The Gardabhilla family was ruling in the first century B.C., but in the third century A.D., the rulers belonged to the Sogi clan of the Malava people (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVII). Tacitus, while dealing with the ancient history of the German tribes, refer to their mixed constitution into which republican and aristocratic elements were merged (*Tacitus*, II, 318).

4. Federation of Republics

The Malava people divided into a number of sub-clans, federated among themselves and confederated with other republican states, generally under the threat of foreign invasions. The exact form of their federation or confederation is not known, but most probably, it must have resembled the confederation of the Buddhist republics of northern India in earlier times, which was based on the equality of status and the equal number of representatives from each confederating unit (*Kalpasutra*, 128). The leader of the confederated states was elected from amongst the member states. In the present case Vikramaditya was the leader of the confederation of states (*gana-sata*). (*Shakuntala*, VII, 34). A some-what similar confederation of the ancient Yadava republics is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* (X, Ch. 107). Masson-Oursel etc., commenting upon the Yadava republics, say, "We learn from this work (the *Mahabharata*) that the Yadavas were a federation of small clans, each with its hereditary chief, and common affairs were managed by a body of elected senators. Here, it seems, each state is monarchical and the federation is republican." (*Anc. Ind. & its Civilization*, 90). This remark regarding the federation is apt, but the writer has confused leadership with hereditary monarchy.

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5. The Constituents of the State

During the age of Vikramaditya, the state (whether monarchical or republic) was regarded as constituted by seven limbs (*angas*). Kalidasa, a contemporary of Vikramaditya, refers to the 'limbs of the state' in his *Raghuvamsa* (I. 60 ; IV. 12 ; VIII-10 ; XII. 12 ; XIII. 68). Another contemporary of Vikramaditya, Amarasimha, enumerates the constituents of the state as sovereign (one or many), high officers of the state, allies, treasury, the nation, forts and forces (*Amarkosa*, II. 8. 17). This conception gave a sense of organism to the state. This organic conception of the state was, however, derived from the *Arthasastra* (VI. 1) and the *Manu-smriti* (IX. 294, 156), which were composed during the Maurya and the Sunga periods of Indian history respectively.

6. The Head of the State

The first and most important constituent of the state was thus the sovereign, who was the head of the state. According to the Nandsa yupa inscriptions, he was called *Neta* (leader). (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVII). The hereditary tendency of leadership among the Malavas made the position of the head of the state very strong, though the *gana* (republic) did not become a nonentity. Much, however, depended upon the personality and initiative of the leader. The leader of the Malava state, Vikramaditya, was inspired by the highest ideal of a ruler—the true service of his people. Some of the traits of his character are revealed in the *Kathasaritsagara* (Ch. CXX): "Though he was a mighty hero, he dreaded the other world ; though a brave warrior, he was not hardhanded . . . He was the father of the fatherless, the friend of the friendless, the protection of the destitute and what not of his subjects?" According to a tradition recorded in the *Prabandha-Kosa* (Vikramaditya-Prabandha, No. 17), Vikramaditya had Rama as his ideal, and is described to have said, "As Rama made his people happy by his good administration (*vyavahara*), so will I do." "He followed Rama in giving alms, in building monuments, in maintaining the social order and in respecting the elders. He delighted to be called 'Abhinava Rama' (new Rama)."

7. The Ideal

The court-poet of Vikramaditya, Kalidasa, while idealizing the pictures of the heroes in his literary works, naturally reflects the high idealism of his own patron. "Raghu is the highest type of selfless nobility in a king, illustrating the complete harmony between enjoyment (*bhoga*) and renunciation (*tyaga*)." Keith, *Hist. Sans. Litt.*). Rama of Kalidasa was an embodiment of a rigid moral purity, who illustrated in his life the severe duty of a king, involving the sacrifice of king's comforts, feelings and every thing for the welfare and satisfaction of his own people. "No kingly ideal of later times can enjoin a better precept or point to a worthier model ; and it is outfitting in the nature of things that Ramarajya should become in popular parlance a

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common expression for the ideal government, where the interest of the people are placed first even before those of the sovereign." The secret of Vikramaditya's popularity in India is due to his approximation to this ideal. While depicting the character of Dusyantha, Kalidasa says that the office of a ruler involves continuous watchfulness and efforts and it does not know any repose (Shak. V). He has to shoulder heavy arduous responsibilities. The poet further adds that the ruler is just like "the sun who has his horses yoked but once, like the wind that blows day and night, and again like the Sesa who has the load of the earth placed on him for ever".

8. The Maker of Time

The fact that the head of the state by virtue of possessing such a high ideal and living up to it can mould his own time and should be regarded as the architect of his age is also reflected in the works of Kalidasa. It seems to be a literary projection of the high idealism and creative genius of Vikramaditya and suggests the foundation of an era by him.

SPREAD OF THE MALAVA ERA

Dr. D. C. Sircar

The well-known Malwa tract in Central India was named after an ancient Indian people known as the Malavas, considerably after the second century A.D. when its eastern part was known as Akara (later also Dasarna) with Vidisa as its capital and its western part Avanti with Ujjayini as its capital. The name Malava is known also to be applied to certain other far away areas like Malwa in the Fatehpur District (U.P.) and Malavan subdivision of the Ratnagiri District (Bombay). There are also references to the existence of tribes called Malava (not exactly 'Malava') in the Tamil and Kannada areas.

There were Malava settlements in ancient times in the Punjab and Rajputana. In the seventh century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang applies this name to South Lata (Gujarat). The Tibetan author Taranatha locates a Malava in Prayaga, i.e. the Allahabad region. Anantapala, a feudatory of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, claims to have subdued the seven Malava countries up to the Himalayas. Thus there is hardly any doubt about that of various Malava settlements in different parts of the country.

The earliest known Malava settlement was in the Punjab, in the fourth century B.C. The Malavas (called Malloi by the Greeks) lived in the land lying to the north of the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab. Their probable confederation with the Kshudrakas, then inhabiting the Montgomery region of the Punjab, is known to the *Mahabharata* and the early grammarians who class both these tribes among peoples living by the profession of arms. From the Punjab, the Malavas, or at least a large section of them, migrated to Rajputana. Beginning during the Indo-Greek occupation of the Punjab, it

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appears to have continued down to the Scythian conquest of that country. The capital of the Malava Republic in Rajputana was at Malava-nagara, the modern Nagar or Karkota-nagar in the Uniyara Tahsil, about 25 miles south-east of Tonk and about 45 miles to the north-east of Bundi.

The Malavas, settled in Rajputana, are the earliest Indian people known to have used an era which has been identified with the so-called Vikrama Samvat of 58 B.C. We have shown elsewhere (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 123-25 ; cf. *Vikrama Volume*, 1948, pp. 557-86), that the Malavas probably adopted the use of the east Iranian era of 58 B.C. from the Sakas in the Punjab and carried it to their new settlement in Rajputana. It was designated by the name *Krita*, the real significance of which is unknown. Krita is a fairly well-known personal name in ancient Indian literature, and possibly there was an illustrious leader of the Malava people named Krita whose name came to be associated with this era after he had thrown off the yoke of the Kushanas using the Kanishka era (i.e. the Sakabda of 78 A.D.), just as in a still later age it was named after Vikramaditya and the Saka era after Salivahana. As subordinates of the Kushanas, the Malavas possibly were for sometime required to use the Kaniskha era. Eflorts of powerful kings to institute new eras to substitute others already in the field may have induced the Malavas to be the champions of the era that was already in use among them in preference to its rival, viz. the Kaniskha era of 78 A.D., which was associated with their erstwhile overlords. Another probability is that the name Krita is a Sanskritised modification of one Scytho-Parthian name or word. It is interesting to note that, according to a Buddhist tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, some barbarian kings of the north-western parts of India including Gandhara and Kashmir were known to the Indians as Krita or 'the purchased'. It is not improbable that both *Krita* and *Kritā* are Indian adaptations of some foreign terms. But nothing definite can be said on this point until further evidence is forthcoming.

As early as the beginning of the second century A.D., the Malavas of Nagar region in Rajputana are known to have been fighting with their neighbours, the Uttamabhadras of the Ajmer area, and the latter's allies, the Kshaharata Sakas of Western India, who were probably feudatories of the Kushanas of Kanishka's house. With the gradual decline of Kushana power, the Malavas appear to have extended their dominions over wide regions of Rajputana at the expense of the Kardamaka Sakas who succeeded the Kshaharatas. This is suggested by the use of the Krita era in the records of the third and fourth centuries found in the former Bharatpur, Kotah and Udaipur States. Slightly later records of western India not only endow the era with the name Krita but also associate it with the Malava people till soon afterwards the old name Krita is gradually forgotten. With the growth of the Sakari Vikramaditya saga on the basis of the exploits of the Gupta Vikramadityas, especially of Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.), the Krita-Malava era came to be associated, about the eighth century A.D., with Raja Vikrama who was often specially regarded as a king of Malava or the Malavas.

There was probably a long drawn struggle between the Malavas using

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the Krita era of 58 B.C. and the Kardamaka Sakas using the Kanishka or Saka era of 78 A.D. in the third and fourth centuries A.D. But both the powers had soon to submit to the imperial Guptas of Magadha. The Allahabad pillar inscription mentions the Malavas and the neighbouring peoples as the feudatories of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, while the Sakas were subjugated by that monarch and totally extirpated by his son Chandragupta II. After the extinction of the Sakas, the Aulikaras, apparently a Malava dynasty or clan like the Sogins of the Nandsa inscriptions of Nandisoma and Bhattisoma, flourished at Dasapura (modern Mandasor in West Malawa previously in the dominions of the Sakas) under the vassalage of the Guptas. It was probably the Aulikaras, who were responsible for the name Malava being applied to a wide region of central and western India including the old territory of Avanti (district round Ujjayini) and probably also Akara or Dasarna (district round Vidisa). It has to be noted that the Aulikara kings, even when they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors, used the Krita-Malava era in preference to the Gupta era of 319 A.D. The favour shown to the Malava family of the Aulikaras and the Krita-Malava era by the Guptas in contradistinction to the attempt of Chandragupta II and probably also his father Samudragupta to extirpate both the Sakas and their era might have contributed to the growth of the Sakari Vikramadity legend attributing the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. to Raja Vikrama. The application of the name Malwa to the ancient *janapada* of Akera or Dasarna may also have been due to the so-called later Guptas who may have represented another Malava family like the Aulikaras of West Malwa.

The earliest reference to the application of the name Malava to the present Malwa tract can be traced in the *Harshacharita* of Bana, composed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. The *Harshacharita* represents Prabhakaravardhana as an enemy of the Malavas, a possible reference to the Pushyabhuti king's hostile relation with Devagupta, apparently mentioned there as *Malava-raja*. Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta, sons of Mahasengupta, are called *Malava-raja-putra*. It seems that the so-called later Guptas originally ruled over some parts of east Malwa but after wrested west Malwa from the Aulikaras. Both these ruling families may have been Malwa by nationality, as otherwise it is difficult to explain the application of the name Malawa to the old Avanti-Akara region from about the seventh century A.D. In the eighth century A.D., the Krita-Malava era became associated with the king Vikramaditya of Indian legends representing the monarch as the lord of Malava with Ujjayani as his capital. The name Malava to indicate the country round Ujjayani in the ancient Avanti *janapada* began to be popular from this time. But it appears to have been fairly established before the eighth century owing to the rule of the Malava dynasty of the Aulikaras who continuously used the Malava era. Unfortunately no early inscriptions of the later Guptas belonging to the period when they were ruling in Malwa are as yet known. The Khajuraho inscription (954 A.D.) of Dhanga places a Malava-nadi on the borders of the Chandella dominions covering Bundelkhand, probably in east Malwa. *Vatsyayanas Kamasutra* (VI, 5, 22-24), possibly

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of the early Gupta age in its present form, distinguishes Avanti from Malava as the Malavas were then living in Rajputana. But its commentary, the *Jayamangala* (middle of the thirteenth century), explains Avanti as west Malwa and Malava as east Malwa.

In connection with the popularity of the name Malava as applied to the modern Malwa tract, reference should also be made to the occupation of the country by the Paramaras. The Paramara king Vakpati II Munja is known from the Dharampuri inscription to have made Ujjayini his residence as early in 975 A.D. His great-grandfather Vakpati I and his immediate successors were governors of the Khetaka (modern Kaira) region of Gujarat, called Malava by Hiuen Tsang. Harsha Siyaka, father of Munja, claims to have defeated the Rashtrakuta king Khottiga (968-73 A.D.), younger brother of Krishna III, and the same event is apparently referred to by Dhanapala in the *Paiyalachchhi* (972-73 A.D.) when he speaks of the burning of Manyakheta (the Rashtrakuta capital) by the Malavas. The same event is further mentioned in the Arthuna inscription which speaks of Harsha as the Malava king. It is unknown whether the Paramara power extended to the present Malwa tract before the days of his son Munja, but it is during the rule of these Paramaras that Malava came to be the most popular name of the ancient Avanti-Akara region. Munja's successor Sindhuraja assumed a name of the traditional Sakari Vikramaditya of Malwa and the latter's son Bhoja, who held his court at Dhara in west Malwa, contributed considerably to the popularisation of the Vikramaditya saga.

The earliest use of the Krita-Malva era outside the western and north-western parts of India is found in the Haraha (Bara Banki District, U.P.) inscription of Maukhari Isanavarman, dated in the year 611. The use of the era by the Maukharis of the U.P. and Bihar is clearly explained by the Badva inscriptions of the third century A.D., found in the Kotah region of Rajputana. These records belong to the Maukharis and are dated in the Krita-Malava era. The Maukharis, therefore, appear to have carried the use of the above era from their home in Rajputana to their new settlements in the east. It is not known whether they belonged to the Malava stock, but there is no doubt that they were originally subordinate to the Malavas. Another factor that contributed to the expansion of the era was probably the Ujjayini school of astronomers who appear to have favoured both the Saka and Vikrama eras, while some astronomers specially favoured the era of 58 B.C. the foreign association of which had been long ago forgotten. Its use was continued in the U.P. by the Malayaketus and the Gurjara-Pratiharas. That the era was introduced in the Maukhari age in Bihar as well seems to be suggested by the date Samvat 898, quoted in Maithila Vachaspati Misra's *Nyayasuchi* as the year of its composition. A manuscript of the *Ramayana* is known to have been copied in Tirabhukti (Tirhut) in Samvat 1076. With the gradual extension of the Gurjara-Pratihara power over wide regions of northern India, the popularity of the era of 58 B.C. increased considerably. Another contributing cause of the popularity of the era was the development of the Vikramaditya saga.

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DHARMRAJESHWAR OR DHAMNAR AND OTHER CAVES

B. N. LUNIYA

The most splendid example of monolithic temple in Malwa is at Dhamnar or Dharmarajeshwar situated near Chandwasa about ten miles away from Shamgarh, an important railway station on the Western Railway. There is a long range of hills in a crescent form facing a vast extensive plain, with more than 40 Buddhist caves situated at the southern face of the hill. Here the cutting of the rocks has been coarse and possibly fine architectural details were worked out in plaster, which have entirely perished.

Out of the forty caves about a dozen are of importance. Some of these were dwelling rooms, while others were *vihars* (monasteries) and *chaitya* halls. One of the caves has a big rock-cut stupa nearly 21 feet high. But the biggest cave, measuring 115 feet by 80 feet, is a combination of *vihar* and *chaitya* Hall. The roof of the chamber with the stupa is intact, and is ribbed in imitation of wooden rafters. In two of the side cells there are small stupas. One of the caves contains statues of Buddha sitting as well as standing. There is also one figure of dying Buddha. Local people consider these to be the statues of Bhima, one of the Pandava brothers, and the caves are now named after him as "Bhima's Kacheri" and "Bhima's Bazar". Local legends have grown there about these statues of Buddha.

A similar series of more than 20 caves is also situated at *pola dungar* near Garoth railway station about ten miles away from Shamgarh railway station. They are cut from solid rough rocks. There are some extensive halls supported on massive pillars. In one big hall there is a fascinating umbrella type stupa situated on a raised platform. The hall has a very high arch façade. In absence of proper preservation many of the caves are falling down. Groups of such caves are also found in this region at Kholvi, Avar, Benaga, Hatingaon and Ramgaon, which are all situated within a radius of twenty miles.

It is difficult to determine the exact date of these caves but their architecture belongs to later period, probably of 6th and nearly 7th century A.D. There is plaster at some places which suggests that probably there have been elaborate fanciful designs. The dominent features of the architectural design here are a practical elimination of timber construction or imitation thereof and the introduction of the Buddha statuary. The plan of excavations, particularly the *chaitya* hall, is essentially identical with that of the other famous Buddhist caves. These caves are single storeyed excavations and combine shrines as well as dwellings. In Dharmarajeshwar, north of the Buddhist caves, there are some Brahmanical excavations also. The gigantic magnificent rock-cut temple is an example of the Hindu revival which came about there from the 5th century.

On the eastern side of the same hill there was made an open cutting, which was enlarged into a pit, and gradually and patiently a temple was cut out in the centre. This central temple is surrounded by small seven temples

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or shrines, all of which are hewn out of the rock in which the pit is sunk. In front of the main temple there is an open courtyard. Between this courtyard and the long passage leading up to the temple from the east there is a splendid gateway having a vaulted roof. On the top of the porch of the central temple there are elegant figures of Hindu gods and goddesses delicately carved out on the rock. Probably the central temple was originally dedicated to Vishnu but now in front of the temple a Shiv *ling* with *nandi* is placed. The real original statue of Vishnu disappeared but even now it is a masterpiece of sculpture. The central temple with surrounding miniature shrines probably mark the culmination of rock-architecture in Malwa.

THE CONQUEST OF GOPADRI (GWALIOR) BY THE KACCHAPAGHATAS

SISIR KUMAR MITRA

From the Sas-Bahu temple inscription of Mahipaladeva of V.S. 1150 it is clear that a Kacchapaghata family was in possession of the Gwalior fort and its environs during the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. Vajradaman, the second in descent from the founder of the family, is credited with the capture and occupation of the 'Gopadri-dirga' (Gwalior) from the 'Gadhinagaradhisa' who is generally identified as a ruler of the Imperial Gurjara Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj. (*Ind. Ant.*, XV, pp. 33-46).

Now the first question is about the date of the conquest of the Gwalior Fort by the Kacchapaghatas. According to the Sas-Bahu temple inscription the fortress of Gopadri was occupied by Kacchapaghata Vajradaman as a result of his victory over a ruler of Kanauj, a Gurjara-Pratihara King, whose name is nowhere mentioned. A Jain fragmentary image inscription at Suhaniya, dated Samvat 1034 (977 A.D.), mentions 'Sri Vajradama', who has been identified with Vajradaman of the Sas-Bahu inscription (*J.A.S.B.*, XXXI, p. 411). Thus it can be asserted that the conquest of Gwalior must have been accomplished earlier than 977 A.D.

Next question which naturally arises now is who was the 'Gadhinagaradhisa' referred to in the inscription? The Rakhetra stone inscription of Vinayakapala, dated V.S. 999-1000, clearly shows that the Gwalior region including the strategic fort was under the possession of the imperial rulers till 942-43 A.D. (*A.S.I.*, 1924-5, p. 168). It may thus be held that the Gurjara Pratiharas must have lost the fort of Gwalior to the Kacchapaghatas sometime between 944 and 977 A.D. when acute confusion prevailed amongst the Gurjara Pratiharas due to internal dissensions and fresh Rastrakuta attacks. (Ray, *Dynastic Hist.*, I, p. 588).

The Khajuraho inscription No. 2, dated V.S. 1011, indicates the extent of bandella Dhanga's territory in verse No. 45 as Kalanjara, Bhasvat on the banks of the river Malava, to the bank of the river Kalindi, to the frontiers of the Cedi country, and even as far as the mountain called Gopa. Thus

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the important fortresses of Kalanjar and Gopadri had already been included within the dominion of the Candellas by 954 A.D. Candella Yasovarman had conquered Kalanjar but it was only after the conquest of Gwalior that his son Dhanga (*c.* 954, 1002 A.D.) was in a position to declare himself as a fully independent and sovereign ruler. Moreover, Dhanga claims to have inflicted a crushing defeat on a Kanauj prince, which most probably resulted in the further expansion of the Candella territory including the Gopadri durga. Like the Sas-Bahu record, the Mau inscription also does not furnish the name of the 'Kanyakubja-Narendra' defeated by Dhanga. (*Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 126-9, 132-5, 197, 203).

These two different statements about the conquest of Gwalior by Kacchapaghata Vajradaman and also by the Candella Dhanga near about the same period have given rise to a complicated issue. Dr. H. C. Ray suggests that the Kacchapaghatas were the feudatories to the Imperial Gurjara Pratiharas till their conquest of the Gwalior fort from Vijayapada, the ruler of Kanauj in about 960 A.D., but very soon after they had to yield to the rising power of the Candellas and acknowledge their hegemony. (Ray, *Dynastic Hist.*, II, pp. 822-3).

But as we have already shown, the 'mountain called Gopagiri' had come to be included within the Candella State as early as 954 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 263-7). Hence in the absence of any historical evidence of the Candellas having lost the Gwalior fort to the Gurjara Pratiharas between 954 and 977 A.D., one is inclined to conclude that the Candella episode and the Kacchapaghata episode relating to the conquest of Gopadri refer to one and the same event, and in fact the fort was occupied by Vajradaman for the Candellas.

The Sas-Bahu temple inscription is dated V.S. 1150 (1093 A.D.) during the time of Mahipala, eight in descent from Laksmana, the founder of the family. Counting backwards for six generations, from Mahipala to Vajradaman, it seems that Vajradaman's career began in about 950 A.D. and ended in about 980 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, XV, pp. 37, 43 ; Ray, *Dynastic Hist.*, II, p. 835 ; Ganguli, *Parmar Dynasty*, p. 106). There is no evidence either to support the theory that the Kacchapaghatas were originally feudatories to the Gurjara Pratiharas, or to show that the Kacchapaghatas ever ruled over any territory before their conquest of Gwalior.

Finally, there is the question of the position and status of the Kacchapaghatas subsequent to their occupation of the Gwalior fort. Close association of the Kacchapaghatas with the Candellas is definitely proved by the passages concerning the services rendered by Kirttiraja of this family, and Arjuna of the Dubkund branch of the Kacchapaghatas to the Candella King, Vidyadhara. Again, while describing the invasion of the Candella dominions by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, Nizamuddin mentions the Gwalior fort as a part of the kingdom of the Candella Vidyadhara and that it was under a 'hakim', who was surely a Kacchapaghata and may be identified with Kirttiraja. (*Ind. Ant.*, XV, pp. 36, 41-2 ; Ray, *Dyn. Hist.*, II, pp. 824-25 ; *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 237 ; De, *Tabqat.*, I, p. 14).

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Thus it may be concluded that the Kacchapaghatas were at first a clan of military chiefs, and it was Vajradaman who defeated the Imperial ruler of Kanauj and captured Gopadri for the Candella Prince, Dhanga in about 954 A.D., and thence they held this important bastion of the Candella state as their vassal.

SINGHANA I/SIMHARAJA YADAVA

(C. 1105 TO 1145 A.D.)

DR. H. V. TRIVEDI

Singhana I or Simharaja, one of the earliest members of the Yadava House which reigned at Devagiri, has been identified by me with Seunachandra III in my unpublished doctorate thesis. No contemporary epigraphic record of his time has so far been known. He succeeded his elder brother, Irammadeva, towards the beginning of the 12th century A.D. Singhana was a feudatory of the Chalukyas, and helped his overlord Paramardin, i.e., Vikramaditya VI, by bringing from Lanjipura (in the Balaghat district) an elephant even though that place was under the Kalachuris of the east.

Constantly at war with the Kalachuris of Tripuri, the Chalukyas had defeated them this time. Probably this helped Jajalladeva Kalachuri (*c.* 1114-20 A.D.) of Ratanpur to become completely independent, who now received annual tributes or presents from a number of chiefs including that of Lanjika-mandals. (*E.I.*, I, pp. 32-9). It is very probable that Singhana may have secured the help of Jajalladeva, who too would have naturally deemed it to be in his own interest as well to help the powerful Chalukyas.

The Paithan inscription of Ramchandra, dated 1272 A.D., describes Singhana's political relations with some of other princes of the time thus: "He subdued the Karnatajaraja, punished the Pandya king and erected a triuphal column near the sea-coast" (*I.A.*, XIV, 314-ff). It is curious that these details mentioned in an inscription of a much later date are nowhere corroborated. All later records give the geneology of this house only from Bhillama V onwards, hence there was hardly any occasion for even a mention of Singhana. Moreover, the political affairs in South India, particularly those of the Chalukyas, were so complicated and confused at this time that it is not very easy to definitely determine the exact part played by Singhana in the same.

An important event of the reign of Vikramaditya Calukya was the rise of Hoyasalas, who were till then his feudatory. Vishnuvardhan Hoyasala (known dates 1117-1137 A.D.) suddenly attacked southern territories of the Chalukyas, but was defeated by Achugi, who was then governing there. (*JBBRAS*, XI, p. 244). Achugi too, like Singhana, is said to have subdued among others the Pandyas and Jayakeshin II, the Kadamba king of Goa ; hence it seems probable that Singhana might have joined Achugi in defeating

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various enemies including the rebellious feudatories of their common over-lord, Vikramaditya VI, (*B.G.*, I, ii, 501 ; Moraes, *Kadamba-Kula*, 191-ff ; *Ind. Cult.*, II, p. 422).

Other enemy of Vikramaditya was his famous contemporary, Jayasimha Chalukya of Gujrat, whose reign extended from V.S. 1150 to 1199 (*c.* 1094-1143 A.D.). When Jayasimha virtually annexed the territories of the Parmars of Malwa (before 1137 A.D.) he came into direct contact with Vikramaditya, and one of his inscriptions claims for him a victory over Paramardin, i.e., Vikramaditya himself. (Identification of Paramardin in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2, is wrong.) Description of Singhana in the Paithan inscription as an object of terror for the Gurjars, makes one think that possibly his activities and valour proved a real check on this Chalukya king of Gujrat. It is also possible that he may have taken important part previously in the struggle between the then Vengi prince and the Chalukya ruler, in which his elder brother played a valiant part. (*Bharatiya Vidya*, XI, 3-4, 163).

It is obvious that Singhana is the real founder of this house which came to be later called Yadav dynasty, and the famous Bhillama V merely "extended (the influence of) the race and the kingdom of the king Sevana." The Anjaneri inscription (*E.I.*, III, p. 219, *I.A.*, XII, p. 126) very rightly described Singhana as "a very Sun to cause to burst open the bud of the water-lily that was the Yadav family."

THE CHAHAMANAS OF NARWAR

DR. R. B. SINGH

After the defeat and death of Prithviraja III in the fateful battle of Tarain, while a considerable portion of his kingdom passed into the hands of Shahab-ud-din Ghori, many of the outlying provinces seem to have become independent, Narwar perhaps also being one of them. It seems to have remained for more than forty years under the possession of a line of chiefs, the last of whom was Malayavarmadeva. Coins, found at Marwar, Gwalior and Jhansi, indicate that Malayavarmadeva ruled at Narwar between the years 1223-33 A.D. (*EI*, XII, 223). But an inscription found in the ancient fort of Narwar reveals that the rulers of that place included a line of five chiefs, first of whom was Prince Chahada (deva) while the last one was named Ganapati who was ruling there in 1298 A.D. (*I.A.*, XXII, 81, *ASI*, Reports, II, 315). Some other coins found at Narwar, bearing dates between V.E. 1295 and 1311 (1238-54 A.D.) and belonging to Chahadadeva, the first prince of the family, corrobate the statement made in the inscription (Cunningham, *CMI*, 92-93). Cunningham originally held that Malayavarmadeva belonged to a different family and was ejected from Narwar by Chahadadeva who consequently became the founder of the above-mentioned dynasty at Narwar (*ASI*, Reports, II, 315), but later on he appears to have changed his opinion and declared that Malayavarmadeva might have belonged to the same family.

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(*EI*, XII, 223 f.n. 6). Thomas, however, opined that Chahadadeva was most probably the founder of a new dynasty, as the new genealogy begins with his name (Thomas, 67).

A fragmentary copper plate, found at village Rataul (in Meerut district), and deposited in the Delhi Museum, refers to the heir-apparent, this illustrious Chahadadeva (Mahakumara Shri) as its donor. At the outset a ruler not named, described as the 'sole moon of the Chahamana race' and the 'lord of the land of Shakambhari', is eulogised. He was succeeded by Arnoraja. The last half of its fifth verse mentions an unnamed son of Arnoraja described as 'having focussed in his own abode the prosperity of the quarters after he had conquered it.' Then comes the name of Prithviraja, the great Chahamana king of Delhi and Ajmer. The last extant verse begins with the genetive singular of Prithviraja (Prithvirajasya), and just here the copper-plate breaks off, which does suggest that possibly the name of the son of this ruler was mentioned here in this verse (*EI*, XII, 221-224).

The gaps can be easily filled with the help of the context of the copper-plate, which is evidently describing the direct line of Prithviraja III, and not of Prithviraja II who appears to have had no son (*PV, VIII*, 57). The first king mentioned is king Ajayaraja, the father of Arnoraja ; and the son of Arnoraja is apparently Someshwaradeva, the father of Prithviraja III. The text ends just where there was possibly a mention of the name of Chahadadeva himself, who, in all likelihood, appears to be the son of Prithviraja, the last Hindu Emperor of Delhi and Ajmer. The empire was no doubt lost but, by virtue of his birth, Chahadadeva continued to maintain the royal dignity and the use of the title of Mahakumara. Daya Ram Sahni thought that the founder of the Narwar family was none other than this name-sake of his in the Chahamana clan (*EI*, XII, 223). This view is further corroborated by the similarity of the legend on coins found at Narwar, with those on the coins of Someshvaradeva and Prithviraja, the Chahamana kings of Delhi. But the precise date of the migration of prince Chahadadeva and his family to Narwar cannot yet be determined, though according to Sahni it may have happened sometime after the downfall of Prithviraja III (*EI*, XII, 223).

It appears that the predecessors of Malayavarmadeva either occupied Narwar during this confusion or were possibly already there as provincial rulers under the Chahamanas and subsequently became independent, while Chahadadeva, the son of the Chahamana Emperor, continued his struggle against the Turks and was leading a migratory life. It was thus during these days, when he was still designated as Mahakumara, that he issued the grant. The find spot of the plate also indicates his unsettled life. Sahni's view that Mahakumara Chahadadeva is the same person who later flourished and ruled at Narwar during the first half of the 13th century A.D. seems to be quite correct. He must have established himself at Narwar sometime soon after 1233 A.D., the last known date of Malayavarmadeva through his coins (*EI*, XII, 223). According to Minhaj one Jahir Deo was the Rana of Balwar (Narwar) in 1234 A.D. (Elliot, II, 351, 368-9 ; also Brigg's *Ferishta*).

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Soon after taking possession of Narwar, Chahadadeva gained considerable strength and became 'the recognised leader and the lord-paramount of the Hindu princes of Central India struggling to preserve their kingdoms from the foreign invaders.' (Thomas, 68). Hence according to Minhaj 'in 649 A.H. (1251 A.D.) Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud advanced nearly as far Malwa. Jahir Deo, the greatest of all the Ranas of that country and neighbourhood, was defeated and the fort of Balwar (Narwar) was taken and plundered.' (Elliot, II, 351). Minhaj calls this Jahir or Jahir Deo the Rana of Ijari and credits him for having successfully attacked Malik Nustratuddin Tabasi in 632 H. (1234 A.D.), when he was returning from Kalinjar (Elliot, II, 368-9).

This Jahir of Ijari is no other person than Jahir Deo or Chahadadeva of Narwar who came in conflict with the Delhi Sultan as early as 1234 A.D. and was compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of Shamsuddin Altamash. But he appears to have become independent during the weak rule of Altamish's successors at Delhi (*EI*, XII, 224). Later, however, Nasiruddin Mahmud attacked and reduced him to submission once again.

Shri Sahni, however, considers this Chahadadeva identical with the contemporary king of Ranthambhore and quotes Minhajuddin who writes that in A.H. 632 (1234 A.D.) Shamsuddin Altamash defeated at Ranthambhore a powerful ruler of the name of Chahadadeva who sustained another defeat in 1251 A.D. near Marwar at the hands of Ulugh Khan. According to Thomas also one and the same Hindu chief was defeated at Ranthambhore and Narwar (*EI*, XII, 22, f.n. 1). The Muslim historians evidently seem to have been confused in this respect. The Hindu prince defeated by Altamash in 1234 A.D. at Ranthambhore was not Chahadadeva but Bahar Deo, as the Muslim historians would call Vagbhatta, the ruler of Ranthambhore. This prince further sustained defeats at the hands of Ulugh Khan twice in 1248 and 1253 A.D. (Elliot, II, 370-1), and not in 1251 A.D. On a careful study of events and accounts of history of those time it is obviously clear that Bahar Deo and Chahadadeva were distinctly two different contemporary persons, ruling at two different places, viz. Ranthambhore and Narwar respectively. They both, however, belonged to the same illustrious family of the Chahamanas, and were neighbours of each other.

Chahadadeva's reign seems to have come to an end in 1254 A.D. as first available coins of his successor, Asaladeva, as the ruler, are of this year. (Thomas, 67). The names of Chahadadeva's successor are known mainly from two inscriptions of the reign of Ganapati. The first one is the Sarwaya stone inscription, dated V.E. 1348 (1292 A.D.), being a *prashasti* recording the building of the public tank during the reign of Ganapati, the son of the prince Gopala (*I.A.*, XXII, 82). The second inscription, which supplies the names of the four successors of Chahadadeva, viz. Nrivarman, Asaladeva, Gopal and Ganpati, is the Narwar stone inscription, dated V.E. 1355 (1298 A.D.), which records the building of a tank and a temple (*chaitya*) of a Shiva. (*I.A.*, XXII, 81).

But it seems that Chahadadeva's son named Nrivarman either predeceased his father or died soon after his enthronement and was succeeded

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by his son Asaladeva in 1254 A.D., according to Cunningham (*JASB*, XXXIV, 1865, 116). Asaladeva's coins range between 1254-79 A.D. thus indicating the period of his reign (Thomas, 67). His son Gopala perhaps ruled up to 1292 A.D., the first date of his son and successor Ganapati, who is said to have acquired fame by conquering Kirtidurga (Deogarh). Ganapati appears to have been the last ruler of the family, who ruled for a period of nearly six years (*c.* 1292-98 A.D.). After this nothing is heard of nor known about either this prince or of his successors. The Chahamana principality of Nalapura (Narwar), therefore, seems to have been finally annexed to the growing Khilji Empire by Sultan Alauddin Khilji.

SOME THOUGHTS ON MANDU

S. R. Sahararia

1. Importance of Mandu

Information so far available about Mandu prior to the establishment of the independent kingdom of Malwa in 1401 A.D. is extremely meagre. But for nearly one hundred and sixty years, from 1401 to 1561, save for a few brief intervals, it was capital of the independent kingdom of Malwa, and was then called Shadiabad, the city of joy. According to Sir John Marshall, among the fortress cities of India Mandu is most magnificent. When Finch visited Mandu in 1584, it was rapidly declining, and he remarked "that which is now standing is very fair but small in comparison of the former with diverse goodly buildings all of firm stone and fair high gates that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendom". (In *Purchas*, pp. 34-35).

2. Magnificent ruins

Within two decades of its conquest and annexation by Akbar Shadiabad of Malwa Sultans was already in ruins when Father Monserrate saw it in 1580. It is remarkable that the monuments referred to by Jehangir in the *Tuzuk* are about the only ones which are in fair preservation even today. From the terrace on the top of the Tabela Mahal, one gets a commanding view of the summit of the hill scattered with the magnificent ruins of what was once the fair city of Shadiabad.

3. The Architecture of Mandu

The monuments of Mandu have been critically surveyed by various experts including James Fergusson and Sir John Marshall, who are enthusiastic in their admiration for Mandu. Having got their inspiration from the contemporary architecture, the rulers of Shadiabad developed a distinctive style of their own, in which, when at its best, there was no touch of extravagance or false taste. Simplicity of design was combined with boldness and vigour of execution.

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4. The Bullet Marks

There are some very conspicuous mysterious marks on the central *mihrab* of the Jami Masjid Kalan, which, according to James Fergusson, is one of the best specimens of this style now to be found in India. Lord Curzon tried to explain them thus, "Apparently in earlier times, probably in the era of the Mutiny, the British soldiers who visited this part must have set up a paper or other target in the Mihrab and amused themselves with potting at it from the outer gateway of the mosque. It is impossible altogether to remove these traces of barbarity."

5. Did Shah Jahan copy the monuments of Mandu?

The tomb of Hoshang Shah was the first great tomb in India wholly made of white marble and in other respects also it differed from other earlier tombs. Mahmud Khilji's tomb at Mandu was also made entirely of white marble and was loftier and in far superior surroundings. Father Monserrate has given its dimensions when the dome had not fallen. On Hoshang's tomb there is a little modest inscription on the right jamb of the door-way which says "on the 9th of Rabi II, 1078 A.H. (December, 1659), the humble votary Lutufullah, son of Ustad Ahmad, architect of Shah Jahan, Khawaja Jadu Rai, master Sheo Ram and master Hamid came to show their reverence and wrote these few words by way of record." All the buildings of Shah Jahan had been completed long since and by then Aurangzib was actually on the throne of the Mughal Empire. Hence this inscription merely records the visit of Shah Jahan's architects, who came there merely to honour the memory of Hoshang Shah. A ceaseless stream of pilgrims had kept on visiting this tomb particularly at the time of his *"Urs"* or the death anniversary, and the Bombay Subaltern has given graphic account of one such *"Urs"* going on when he visited the tomb in 1842.

6. The Persian Inscriptions of Mandu

The number of Persian inscriptions engraved on stone tablets on the various monuments in Mandu is large. Many of them were put up by the Malwa Sultans, some belong to the reign of Akbar and there is one of the reign of Aurangzeb. Many of these inscriptions abound in the most fulsome panegyric of the rulers, and their works.

7. Origin of Nilkanth

So far no satisfactory explanation has been offered as to how the *lingam* of God Shiva came to be installed in this building, constructed by Akbar's governor, Shah Budagh Khan, in 1574 A.D. and how it came to be known as Nilkanth. The *lingam* was installed in this building some time after Mandu

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came in the possession of the ancestors of the Maharaja of Dhar. Lord Curzon objected to the presence of the *lingam* in a Muslim building on the ground that it was an anachronism.

Yazdani's view that Shah Budagh Khan built this palace after pulling down a shrine of Shiva which was previously there, does not seem to be correct. In his *Tuzuk,* Jahangir refers to the palace as "Nilkund" and not as "Nilkanth" (Persian text, p. 190 and Roger's Translation, p. 382). Abul Fazal too has referred to the place as *Nili-Sahil* in Mandu where representatives of Humayun and Bahadur Shah had met to settle the terms of an agreement in 1535 A.D. (Beveridge's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 304-305). Beveridge rightly thinks that *'Nili-Sabil'* is perhaps *"Nilkanth,"* but wrongly interprets 'Sabil' to mean a 'road'. Actually *sabil* means a drinking fountain also, and thus 'Nili-Sabil' and 'Nilkund' are merely synonymous. So it is evidently clear that before Shah Budagh Khan built the palace here, there was a fountain at or near the site called 'Nilkund', and under the Maratha rule this *'Kund'* turned into 'Kanth' and later in due course the *ligam* was installed there.

8. The Adansonia Digitata or 'Khurasani Imli'

This tree, almost every part of which—root, fruit, seeds, leaves, bark, wood, fibres and charcoal—has proved useful to man in every one of the continents for centuries, named after a French botanist and locally misnamed as 'Khurasani Imli', grows in wild abundance in Mandu. It has no relation to Khurasan and is found in several parts of India and Ceylon also where it is called by a large variety of names like *Kalpa Vriksh, Panch Parnika, Sarp Dandi, Gorakh Imli,* etc.

9. The Mandu Elephants

These are the broken fragmentary effigies of two elephants, one on each side of the northern entrance of the royal enclosure of Mandu. Only the legs and the lower parts of the body are now extant. In 1902 Lord Curzon took very careful measurements of these statues and found them to be identical with the corresponding parts of the elephants, which formerly stood outside the gate of the fort of Delhi. This resemblance raises the question, "Who set up these Mandu elephants?" It is well-known that Jehangir had spent three lakhs of rupees on the repair of Mandu buildings before his arrival there in 1617, and it seems that the Mandu elephants were the replica of those prepared under orders of Akbar and originally placed at the gate of the Agra fort, only to be later removed to Delhi by Shah Jahan when the Delhi fort was completed.

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EXEMPTION FROM THE JAZIA TAX SECURED BY BRAHMINS OF UJJAIN

B. R. Bhalerao

The early Muslim Sultans had introduced *Jazia* in India, but Akbar stopped it. Aurangzeb, however, again introduced it in 1679 A.D. An anecdote given by Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his book *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* shows that the Jazia tax was inexorably levied by him. Khafi Khan has also written about Aurangzeb's strictness in collecting Jazia.

Few years back I discovered an original *parwana* with a priest of Ujjain, which relates to the exemption from the Jazia tax, probably sent by the then Subadar of Malwa to the Jazia-Collector of pargana Shajapur in the sarkar Sarangpur of Suba Malwa. The Parwana is dated 6th Rajjab in the 33rd *jalus,* i.e. 1691 A.D. A free translation of the *parwana* runs thus:

"Be it known to the Jazia tax-collector of pargana Shajapur in the sarkar Sarangpur of Suba Malwa that Chakrapani, Brahmdatta, Morarji, Mohan, Pitambar, Narottam, Rameshwar, Jajan, Awanti, Lalaji, Indraji, and Narwesar, Brahmins of the said pargana represented that they are poor and feed themselves on alms. They were exempted from the Jazia tax by a sanad issued by the *daroga* Jazia, but in spite of it, you are imposing the said tax on them. It is hereby ordered, therefore, that according to the sannad issued by the Royal Order—whose dignity is very high—they are exempted from the Jazia tax as from old. Present and future *darogas* ought not to be strict and should not disobey this order. (For the kind act) the Brahmins should pray for the Emperor's health & prosperity. You should never act against this order. Dated 6th Rajjab in the year 33rd *jalus.*"

DEVISINGH BUNDELA OF CHANDERI: A ROYAL PATRON OF SANSKRIT AUTHORS—FRESH LIGHT ON HIS DATE & SANSKRIT AUTHORSHIP

Sadashiva L. Katre

The renowned Raja Madhukar (1554-1592 A.C.) of Orchha died in 1592 and Rama Sah, eldest among his living sons, suceeded him and held the throne of Orchha till 1604 when his younger but a more celebrated brother, Bir Singh Deo, who had espoused the cause of Jahangir by murdering Abul Fazl, was installed as Raja of Orchha (1605-1627) by Jahangir. For a time confined at Delhi, Rama Sah was subsequently released about 1606 and given the fief of Chanderi. His descendants continued to rule there till about 1811 or 1815, when Chanderi was captured by Jean Baptist Filose for his master Daulat Rao Sindhia. An exhaustive list of these Bundela Rajas of Chanderi is furnished by Sri M. B. Garde in his *Guide to Chanderi.* Here we are

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concerned mainly with Devisingh Bundela who was fourth in descent from Rama Sah. Devisingh Bundela was a great patron of Sanskrit learning in as much as he patronised the composition of at least two major Sanskrit works and is himself claimed to be the author of third gigantic Sanskrit work discovered recently by me. From the details gathered from these, it is clear that the date assigned to his reign in Sri Garde's list as 1654-1663 and elsewhere as beginning in 1680 are incorrect.

SIMHASIDDHANTASINDHU

In the paper published in 1945 in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* (Vol. II, pp. 369-388), I have shown elaborately that the Bundela chief Devisimha, who patronised Gosvamin Sivananda Bhatta, a voluminous Sanskrit author of the later half of the 17th century, for the composition of his gigantic Tantra encyclopædia entitled *Simhasiddhantasindhu,* is identical with this very Devisingh of Chanderi.

However, Sri Garde's list assigns the reign of Devisingh Bundela of Chanderi to the period 1654-1663, while according to the Central India volume of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (p. 165), Devisingh was appointed as a governor of Chanderi by Aurangzeb in 1680. The date furnished in these two works conflict with each other and both appear to be erroneous in the light of the date of composition of the *Simhasiddhantasindhu* recorded in the second of its two concluding verses, which clearly mentions that the work was completed on Wednesday, the 1st day of the bright half of the month of *Margasirsa,* in the (Vikrama Samvat) year 1731, i.e. *c.* December 1674 A.C. As the patron, Devisingh, is all through the work mentioned as a living ruler, this unchallengeable contemporary evidence definitely establishes that Devisingh was on the Chanderi throne in 1674.

KAMSAVADHA-MAHAKAVYA

So far known the only MS. of this *Kamsavadha-Mahakavya* belongs to the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Prof. H. D. Velankar's BBRAS Descriptive Catalogue (Vol. II, Serial No. 1163) describes *Kamsavadha-Mahakavya* as an artificial Sanskrit epic in twenty-one cantos by one Mohanabahatta also called *Kavipandita.* According to the cantocolophone of the epic Devisingh is the royal patron of the author of this epic. The genealogy given at the end of Canto 21 describing Devisingh's ancestors enables us to conclusively identify this Devisimha as Devisingh Bundela of Chanderi.

SIMHASUDHANIDHI

While these above mentioned two works were composed under the royal patronage of our Devisingh Bundela, a very recently traced incomplete MS. of a previously unknown Sanskrit compendium on medicine entitled *Simhasudhanidhi* claims this very Devisingh as its author.

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Purchased from a local Pandit family of Ujjain in 1950 for the Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, this MS. now forms its accession no. 8110. Though the details regarding date and place of its being copied cannot be traced anywhere in the MS. from its appearance it can be safely presumed that the MS. is over two hundred years old.

The MS. contains only the *Cikitsasthana* or therapeutics section of the *Simhasudhanidhi* which is divided into thirty chapters (*prabhavas*) of varied dimensions. It declaredly comes after three preceding sections of the work on *Sutrasthana, Sarira,* and *Nidana,* and the MS. breaks off with the commencement of the next section named *Rasayanatantra.* A detailed subject-index of the section too, covering six folios, is appended to the MS.

In the beginning of the MS. at the end of the *Cikitsa* section and also at the begining of the subject-index, a ruler named Devisimha is claimed to be the author of this work. As he is said to hail from the Bundela line and is described as son of Bharatasah, he is definitely indentical with our Devisingh of Chanderi. The use of the word 'Kasiraj' in the eulogistic description *'Srikasirajakulakamalaprakāsapatupracamdapratapamartandasya'* of the author in the colophons is most probably used as a synonym for Dhanvatari (also called *'Divodasa'* and *'Kasiraja'*), the mythical promulagator of Ayurveda on the earth. Evidently Devisingh Bundela patronised a band of learned and efficient *vaidyas* in his court and arranged to get this work completed under his own supervision. The title too appears to be designed to commemorate Devisingh's name.

SOME SOURCES OF MARATHA IN MADHYA BHARAT

B. N. Mundi

Many Maratha families accompained the Maratha generals, their sardars and followers, who all settled down in Northern India, particularly in Malwa and its neighbouring regions. They made Malwa (present Madhya Bharat) their home and are still residing here. They have ample materials of great historical importance, specially for the period relating to the Marathas in Malwa. There are original *sanads, kaifiyats,* reports, *roznishis, letter* (private and official), *danpatras,* etc.

Attempts so far made, whether official or non-official, by individuals or by institutions, to collect this original historical material are only a very small beginning. A true and really complete history can never possibly be written till all such material is collected and is duly studied. But it is not very easy to get hold of any such material, which is not only decaying but many times is also completely lost, as the same is quite often even disposed off as waste paper. Once seeing about four maunds of most important papers (*roznishis,* letters and daily reports) being sold off as waste paper the writer of this article actually snatched therefrom some material on the basis of which he could

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write some important article and a small booklet, which all throws a new light on the history of the Sindhias during the year 1832-47.

Similarly a *bairagi* had 4 or 5 big chests containing hundreds of letters relating to the War of Independence of 1857. That *bairagi's* ancestors were actually with the Maharani of Jhansi during her last hours. But the *bairagi* flatly refused to allow the writer to go through these letters.

Such material is scattered throughout the province and definite efforts must be made, if possible, by forming a provincial historical research institute to acquire and collect all such material, so that it be saved from any further destruction and preserved for the present as well as future historians.

SOME FINANCIAL MATTERS OF THE INDORE STATE IN THE 19TH CENTURY A.D.

SARDAR M. V. KIBE

The introduction of the treaties enforcing subordinate alliances with most of the Indian states by Lord Wellesly, and later by Marquess of Hastings, finally ended the remaining source of supplementary revenue or income to the major states, viz. tributes and other special levies on the territories of neighbouring, or invaded states. Therefore now Holkar's and Scindia's states had also to resort to the then generally prevailing financial system of borrowing requisite sums of money from mercantile houses either by farming out some districts to the creditors for payment of the loans or on the security of the general revenues of the state as the whole. The creditors included even the top-ranking state servants, particularly in respect of their salaries and emoluments. This field of investigation into the financial structure of the Indian states of Malwa and Rajasthan during the 19th century A.D. has so far remained unexplored, and therefore a pioneer attempt is being made here in that direction with particular reference to the Indore state.

In Holkar state there existed two mercantile houses of long standing, Jog's with their headquarters at Maheshwar and Padamsi Nensi at Indore. But during the troubles which followed the passing away of Ahilyabai Holkar, they became moribund and were replaced by others. In Scindia's state there was the firm known as Parakhaji's, which afterwards merged with the Mathuravale Shets, once big landholders in the then N.W.P. (later U.P.). Details of the authority then weilded by this firm in Scindia's state, are given in Sir John Kaye's *Life of Sir John Malcolm.*

Haripant Jog's firm was in a declining state in the beginning of the 19th century, still they had their agents with the Holkar's army. Thus when in 1800, an army of the size of a *kampoo* was to be enlisted by Holkar's officer, Vithal Mahadeo Kibe (afterwards better known as Tatya Jog owing to his connection with the Jog's), then attached to the finance-accounts department, was deputed with the commander, as a financial controller, and the revenues

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of the mahals of Saver, Depalpur, etc., were assigned for the expenses of the army division to be then formed.

By 1810 Vithal Mahadeo had started as an independent banker. After the execution of the three European officers by the order of Yeshwantrao Holkar, he retired to Ujjain, which was then a commercial centre and started two banking business there first as Vithal Mahadeo and later another banking business under the name of Ganeshdas Krishnaji. Thus when Yeshwantrao Holkar demented and the affairs of the state fell into confusion, officers of the Holkar State had to pass documents to Vithal Mahadeo for moneys received from him as loans. Many of these documents now preserved in my family collection throw much light on the variety of transactions then carried on by this firm.

In 1813 Zorawarmal Magniram Bapna came down to Indore. He had a flourishing banking business at Udaipur and other places in Rajputana. In a document dated 25 March, 1813, he entered into a partnership comprised of (1) Shri Thakurji (God), (2) Tulsabai, the virtual ruler of Holkar state at this time, (through *khasgi* department), (3) Vithal Mahadeo and (4) Magniram Zorawarmal.

In June, 1816, Vithal Mahadeo seems to have been given some office, with a salary of Rs. 750/- per mensem to be recovered from the mahals of Indore, Mahidpur, Depalpur and Saver. He, however, continued to carry on his business as well. By 1817, Tatya Jog became a minister, still when in June, 1818, Malharrao Holkar took a loan of Rs. 5,97,764 from him, the Holkar state was charged an interest of Re. 1% per month. Vithal Mahadeo used to carry on a variety of transactions with even distant places like Calcutta, Poona and Bombay. Thus when Tatya Jog died in 1826, he was worth more than half a crore of rupees.

Partnership between Tatya Jog and Zorawarmal continued to flourish even later during the time of Vithal Mahadeo's widow Rakhamabai (1826-53). Zorawarmal as well as Rakhamabai died in 1853. During their life-time because of their financial resources they exercised considerable influence over many of the states in Rajputana and Central India. Rakhamabai continued to advance loans to private individuals as well. She financed trade and commerce also. But when Hari Rao succeeded to the Indore state on the death of Malhar Rao in 1833, he acted inimically to the family of the late Tatya Jog and confiscated not only his jagir but also his house in Indore and actually looted the property left by him. Rakhamabai and his adopted son had to flee from Indore. But the finances of the state were practically ruined by Hari Rao and then Masahiba Krishana Bai Holkar, the grand old lady of the Holkar family, stepped in and appealed to Rakhamabai to advance money required for resettlement of the affairs of the state. Rakhamabai advanced over Rs. 5,00,000, but Hari Rao did not pay it back though Masahiba had solemnly promised to do so and even all appeals to Calcutta proved of no avail.

The proclamation of Queen Victoria assured the continuance of the Indian state to their rulers, and thence onwards the British officers did their best to

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stabilise the finances of the states and arbitrarily settled the claims of the creditors which led to the decline of the business of the various marcantile houses. Now they had to explore other avenues of investment, and Rakhamabai also sent her agent with the British expedition to China. The opium trade brought continued prosperity to Malwa, till about the end of the century when the British monopolised the trade. However, this system of private financiers being the treasurers or bankers of a state, advancing money at the outset of the year and recovering the same later when the state revenues were collected, continued in some of these states till quite recently.

MALWA IN THE PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATION
(SUMMARY)

C. B. LELE

The struggle for Indian independence from origin to its attainment represents predominently the will of the people and their birth-right for home rule. Malwa was disintegrated in small estates and principalities and the task of their harmonious adjustment and integration fell at the outset upon the Parmars who were *agni-kula* kshatriyas and an offshoot of great Gujara clan. With the seat of administration at Ujjain and Dhar in the beginning of 9th century they expanded their territories in all directions. King Wakpatiraj Munj (973 to 997 A.D.) and Maharajadhiraj Marmeshwar Bhojdev (1000 to 1055 A.D.) spent a great deal of their valuable life subjugating other independent fiefs like Karnates, Chedis and Chalukyas, Gujar kings and others. The victory pillar and the Bhoja-shala at Dhar and other ephigraphical evidences are ample proofs of their work for the consolidation of this region.

The influence of Parmars continued in the reign of King Udayditya (1059-81), Laxmadeva (1081-1104), Narvarma Deva (1104-33) but began to fade away with the advent of the Mohammedans. The province came under the Muslim sway commanding allegiance of numerous Hindu chieftains. In 1401, Dilawar Khan Ghori appeared in the Malwa theatre and declared himself its independent Sultan with Mandu as his capital. Massive buildings were erected at Mandu, the capital, representing the Pathan architecture. These still attract people of all shades and opinion. In 16th century Malwa first became an object of prey of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and was eventually merged into the Mughal Empire. Malwa's strategic importance gave it its key-position for defending north, and as a central military base for conquest on all sides of the Indian continent. The Mughals fully understood this basic fact and their administration and appointments there were duly influenced by the same.

Since 1698 the Marathas began to invade Malwa. They realized the strategic importance of this region and Udaji Pawar captured Mandu Fort in 1729. In or about 1732 A.D. the territories of Malwa were assigned by the Peshwa to the different Maratha generals, the Sindhia, the Holkar and the Pawars,

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and thus came about the establishment of the Maratha states in Malwa in due course.

With the passing of time the traders changed into adiminstrators and in spite of fruitless resistance of the Marathas the British finally established their domination over India. Subsequent to the Treaty of Bassein in 1802, the last vestiges of the Maratha independence were finally wiped out at Poona in 1818. The whole country including Malwa regained peace and tranquillity under the astute statesmanship of the British. A wave of unity for regaining national independence was in the air in 1857, but all efforts to overthrow the British proved in vain.

The fire then lit was not wholly extinguished, but continued till we saw the dawn of our independence on the 15th August, 1947, a really memorable day in the Indian history. Times have enormously changed and the people's rule was the need of the day in place of the prevailing monarchical system of administration in Malwa. The rulers of these states in Central India could also not turn a deaf ear to the call of the times and on 21st April, 1948, decided to integrate their states so as to form the Madhya Bharat Union. The unity of Malwa has thus become a significant phase in Indian history and it will definitely play its due part well in the future solidarity and advancement of the Indian Nation as a whole. It is a lesson which the history of Malwa has brought down for posterity to follow and a sacred trust which every son of the soil should at any cost, protect as a precious treasure.

GLIMPSES OF PREHISTORIC MALWA
(SUMMARY)

Y. S. WAKANKAR

India has a hoary past, still its prehistoric archæology is yet only in its preliminary stage. The beginnings made by the discoveries of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa cultures in the Indus valley have been now followed up by further finds in various places including the frontiers, Hastinapur, Bihar, and the Narmada, Brahmaputra and Chambal vallies.

During his sojourns in the jungles of Central India, the writer came across many relics and remains, some of which are now deposited in various museums, while many more are still lying there in wilderness.

Hitherto the prehistoric civilisation of the Indus valley was supposed to be the oldest cultural centre in this ancient land, but now the latest discoveries in the Bikaner region, the Narmada valley, Rangpur, the Chambal valley and the Deccan have revealed new proto-historic cultures. The prehistoric paintings of Bhopal and the palenolithic implements of the upper Narmada valley were the only prehistoric finds of the Malwa region so far, but some centres of core and flake micolithic industries have recently been discovered.

While travelling along the banks of the Narmada, Chambal, Kali Sindh and Shivana, one comes across several high level mounds at Nagada, Rajpura,

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Takarawada, Bhilsudi, Machakda, Kesur, Kanwan, Runija, Badanawar, Bilpank, Karamdi, Sojawata, Jaora, Rojana, Badawada, Unchakheri, Songhar, Ujjain, Chikalda, Maheshwar, Choli, Mandsaur, Neemuch, Barwet and Amaliakheri.

While making surface explorations, there were found clay beeds, terracotta figurines, uncoloured and mono, bio, and polychrome pottery and several stone implements. A stratigraphical study of these mounds, especially the Nagda mound (A), give many interesting results.

A factory of the core microliths was discovered at Bilpank and there were found some hundreds of microliths and a few pieces of rough red pottery from a field in the south of Bilpank village. Another microlith centre was discovered near Ujjain. Several microliths were found from the layers A, B, and C. The stone implements found from different mounds may be classified under the following classes:

(1) Core type irregularly chiselled (Nagda Type),
(2) Core type irregularly chiselled (Dhar Type),
(3) Core type microlith regularly chiselled,
(4) Core type microliths regularly chiselled and patinated,
and (5) Tiny flake microliths.

The first mentioned class was used as spearhead and may date back to palaeolithic age. The remaining two classes were used as arrowheads. The regularity of the class 3 may bring it to lower neolithic age but the final determination of it has to be made by the archaeologists after its scientific analysis.

References to stone implements are found in many mythological tales of Puranas and in the epics of Ramayan and Mahabharat. Valmiki Ramayana mentions of warriors equipped with *Shila, Pashan, Giri-shringa* and *Shailya* stone implements (6.2.27/62, 37.6.15.55). *Agni-Purana* mentions *shila* as *panimukta ayudha,* i.e. implement to be projected freely with hand only. *Drashad* was also a stone implement. The Vedas mention such implements as *ashma, hamn* (Rg.7.104.5, Ath. 8.4.5) and *ashma chakra* (Rg.10.107.7). The terracotta figures are few ; two bulls, one seal giving decorative relief, one head resembing Mohenjo-Daro head (probably of the Kushan period), wash brushes of clay and few cart-wheels. Bricks of different measurements are generally found in all sites, and the brick masonary is clearly to be seen through the cuttings of the mounds of several places. The use of bricks is very ancient in India. Angiras was the master creator of this art and a Vedic hymn gives a very interesting account of the same.

References of big cities are also found in some places as *'yasya puro deva-krata'* and *'devanam purah'*. All these prehistoric places lay on the main routes which then joined the ancient cities of Dashapur, Ujjaini, Dhara and Mahishmati, and they all were generally situated on the eastern banks of the rivers.

It is not yet possible to correctly guess the race of the people who developed such a high culture. Whether they were Asuras, Aryans or Nagas is still a doubtful question. As the mythological tales tell us about the slaying of Andhakasur and the victory of Shiva over Tripur, it is probable that the Asura

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culture may have flourished in this region. The Vena theory too supports this assumption. Bhils, Nishadas, and Prithus, who are said to have originated from the thighs of Vena, evidently all belong to the non-Aryan element.

The Harappa cemetry pottery paintings, whose source is yet unknown, definitely show that therein Vedic hymns were being followed. Ashwatha (Pipal) leaves are a common decoration of Harappa, and the *pipal* tree is a sacred tree referred to in the Vedic literature.

A careful study of all this pottery collected or excavated in Malwa, with a view to ascertain the possible relationship of the culture here with other contemporary cultures of that age, is not only interesting but very fruitful as well. Obviously enough there is great affinity in the design, colouring and motif of this pottery of pre-historic Malwa with the pottery belonging to other different regions representing the cultures of the time of those distant regions. There must have been a close contact between these far distant cultures. The great natural barrier of the Thar desert hindered a free exchange of artisctic works, yet a few inter-changes of pottery designs show the socio-political bargaining of the time. Again, though these drawings show a close relationship with the Indus valley culture, yet the Nagda, Rajpur and Thadawada pottery designs have a speciality of their own and particularly it has been marked out that less surface of the pots is filled by designs. The cross-hatching squares, the inclined stair design and the horizontal polychrome line designs are the special developments of the Chambal valley.

The efforts so far made to excavate and study prehistoric Malwa have been haphazard and most elementary, yet they have given quite unique results and have unfolded a new chapter of Indian antiquities. Thus the need for excavating the different important site in Malwa is obviously most imperative. Maheshwar (Mahishmati) is being excavated under the guidance of Dr. Sankalia of the Poona University. The writer of this article is very keen to carry out even small scale excavations himself in different places of this region, if he is permitted to do so by the Archaeological Department.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

ANNUAL REPORT: 1952

This year there has been a slight increase in the number of members. In 1949, the total number of ordinary members was 269, in 1950 it was 251, in 1951 the number was 300. In the present year the number of ordinary members is 327. There have been 7 new Life Members. The total number of Life Members in 1952 is 28 excluding one patron as against 22 in 1951. Attempts have been made to enrol new members to the Indian History Congress and personal requests were made to some of the old members to ask their friends, who are interested in the objects of the Association, to enrol themselves as members. Except in one case, I regret, the response has not been satisfactory. We need at least 500 members to maintain this organisation.

Last year Sir Jadunath Sarkar was elected the General President for this session of the Congress. As Sir Jadunath expressed his inability to accept this office the Executive Committee, by circulation, elected Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee in his place. Dr. V. G. Dighe, who was elected President for Section V, went abroad for further studies and the Executive Committee, also by circulation, elected Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in his place.

You are aware that last year at Jaipur Seth Sohanlal Dugar, who has since become a Life Member of this Association very kindly donated a sum of Rs. 5000/- to the Indian History Congress. The Indian History Congress conveyed its grateful thanks to the donor and it was resolved that this amount be placed at the disposal of the President for exploring the records in Rajasthan. Dr. G. S. Sardesai, President of the Indian History Congress directed (1) that this amount be spent on publication of selected documents from Rajasthan Archives, especially from Jaipur. (2) The work should be carried under the auspices of the Indian History Congress Association. (3) A Trust consisting of the following members be created to operate the amount:

1. Dr. G. S. Sardesai, *Chairman*
2. Dr. M. L. Sharma
3. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
4. Mr. Satya Prakash
5. Secretary or Joint Secretary, Indian History Congress.

(4) Dr. Sharma was to take charge of the work and to collect further contributions for it. In a letter dated the 12th January 1952 Dr. Sardesai requested the General Secretary to delegate his powers to Dr. G. M. Moraes, Joint Secretary of the Indian History Congress. Copies of the letter containing the suggestion of the President were circulated to the members of the Executive Committee and suggestions were received from some of them.

It was agreed that a volume on Jaipur Record already compiled by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar would be published. Sir Jadunath Sarkar desired that formal premission should be obtained from the Maharaja of Jaipur. In the General Secretary's letter to the President dated the 26th February the President was reminded to write to the authorities for permission. The President wrote to General Secretary about two weeks ago that he was anxious to discharge his personal responsibility about it and suggested that a small committee should be appointed which "act independently of the general body of the History Congress".

After the last session at Jaipur it became necessary to determine the exact

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relation between the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress and the Executive Board set up by it for the Comprehensive History of India Scheme., I was informed by Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Secretary, Executive Board that the election at Jaipur only brought about a change in the office of the Treasurer of Account No. 1 (Conference Account) but not Account No. 2 (History of India Scheme). Both these accounts are the accounts of the Indian History Congress.

As some members of the Executive Committee did not quite agree with the Secretary, Executive Board, a sub-committee was appointed to consider this question and make recommendations. The members of this sub-committee were (1) Shri R. R. Diwakar, (2) Dr. S. N. Sen, (3) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, (4) General Secretary, Indian History Congress, (5) Treasurer, Indian History Congress, (6) Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Secretary, Executive Board, (7) Dr. B. P. Saxena, Treasurer, Executive Board. The sub-committee met at New Delhi on 17th April 1952 under the Chairmanship of Shri R. R. Diwakar and made certain recommendations. The recommendations were circulated to the members of the Executive Committee with the General Secretary's letter dated the 7th May 1952. The Executive Committee at Gwalior will consider these proposals.

Another meeting of the above Sub-Committee took place on 24th November at Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi, under the Chairmanship of Sri R. R. Diwakar. It was pointed out in this meeting that according to section 5 of Act XXI of 1860 under which the Indian History Congress is resigtered "the property, moveable and immoveable belonging to a society registered under this Act if not vested in Trustees, shall be deemed to be vested for the time being, in the Governing Body of such Society". It would appear, therefore, that the ultimate responsibility for Account No. 2 (Comprehensive History of India Scheme) lies with the Executive Committee. The Chairman of the Executive Board was asked by the Board to take legal opinion on this point, so that the position might be clarified. A short account of the relation between the Executive Committee and the Executive Board has been perpared which is being placed on the table.

I am glad to inform you that many of the State Governments, Universities and learned Institutions have sent their representatives to attend the session of the Indian History Congress. In December, I received a letter from the Government of India asking me to nominate one observer on behalf of this Association to attend the UNESCO Regional Conference of Free and Compulsory Education in South and the Pacific to be held in Bombay from 12th to 23rd December 1952. The Government of India further informed me that all expenses in connection with the travel, board and lodging of the observer was to be borne entirely by this organisation or the observer himself. As there was no time to circulate the matter to the members of the Executive Committee I have requested Dr. G. M. Moraes, Joint Secretary, Indian History Congress, to be present in the Conference on behalf of the Association.

I have also to report that the Government of India have decided that a seat in the Indian National Commission for UNESCO would be offered to the Indian History Congress Association. The Association will have to nominate a representative as an Associate Member to the Indian National Commission for UNESCO with the right to participate in the meetings of the National Commission but with no right to vote.

I have also to report that no auditor had been appointed by the Executive Committee in its last meetings at Jaipur. Messrs Pal & Roy, Chartered Accountants, 2, Church Lane, Calcutta were appointed the auditors of the Accounts of this Association by the present Executive Committee by circulation.

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The Treasurer will report to you on the financial position of the Association. As I have told you in the beginning, it is now extremely difficult to carry on with our present income. From time to time proposals have been made to raise the membership fees. As we are receiving special facilities from the Railway authorities I hope the members will not object to a revision of their annual subscription. It is with difficulty that we have been able to publish the Nagpur volume of Proceedings ; but unless our financial position improves it will not be possible to bring out our Proceedings in the present form. I would like to suggest that the Government of India may be requested to buy one hundred copies of our Proceedings for distribution to Universities and learned Institutions.

I am grateful to the Government of Madhya Bharat for kindly inviting us to hold our session at Gwalior, a seat of great historical interest. My thanks are due to Dr. Boolchand and Dr. D. R. Patil for affording us all facilities. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Dr. G. S. Sardesai, President of the Indian History Congress, Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhury and Dr. R. Tripathi, our Vice-Presidents and the members of the Executive Committee for their help and guidance.

Sd/- P. C. Gupta
General Secretary
Indian History Congress

28 December 1952
Gwalior

APENDIX B

SUB-COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION

This Committee recommends:

(1) That notwithstanding any previous resolutions of the Indian History Congress, its Executive Committee, or the Executive Board set up for the publication of the Comprehensive History of India, and subject to the approval of the Indian History Congress the present Executive Board and the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad, the control and management of the Comprehensive History of India Scheme sponsored by the Indian History Congress and the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad, including collecting funds, sanctioning expenditure and arranging for the publication, sale and disposal of the volumes of the History of India, be vested in an Executive Board consisting of the following persons:

Patron :

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

Members :

1. President: Indian History Congress
2. Secretary: Indian History Congress
3. Treasurer: Indian History Congress
4. Dr. Tarachand
5. Dr. S. N. Sen
6. Dr. R. C. Majumdar
7. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
8. Dr. B. P. Saxena
9. Shri R. R. Diwakar
10. Members not exceeding two nominated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to represent Bharatiya Itihas Parishad.
11.

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(2) The members Nos. 4 to 11 shall hold office for three years and after that two members shall retire by rotation each year by ballot and their places will be filled by the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress in the case of Nos. 4 to 8 and Bharatiya Itihas Parishad in the case of Nos. 9 to 11. Any casual vacancy will be filled up in the same manner.

(3) The Executive Board will elect its Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer.

(4) The Secretary, Executive Board, shall place the audited accounts of the Comprehensive History fund and a brief report on the progress of the work at the annual meeting of the Indian History Congress through its Secretary.

5. A separate account shall be maintained in the Bank for the Comprehensive History of India Scheme and it shall be operated as heretofore jointly by the Secretary and Treasurer of the Eexecutive Board subject to its control and supervision.

(6) That pending the final approval of the three bodies named in the preamble of Paragraph 1 the present Executive Board be expanded by the addition of members contemplated in paragraph 1. Until the first meeting of the expanded Board the present Board and Office-bearers shall continue to function as before.

(7) Any vacancy in the Executive Board will not invalidate its action.

(8) The Executive Board shall form its own rules for conducting its business.

Sd/- R. R. Diwakar Sd/- Bisheshwar Prasad
,, R. C. Majumdar ,, P. C. Gupta
,, S. N. Sen ,, A. C. Banerjee
,, B. P. Saxena

New Delhi
17 April 1952

APPENDIX C

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

GWALIOR SESSION 1952

TREASURER'S REPORT

1. *Delay in transfer of charge :*

As I was elected Treasurer at the Jaipur session of the Congress my term of office began on January 1, 1952, and expires on December 31, 1952.

On January 18, 1952, I wrote a letter to the former Treasurer Dr. B. P. Saxena, requesting him to hand over, either in Delhi or at Allahabad, to the General Secretary, Dr. P. C. Gupta, who was then going to Delhi, "all papers, account books, receipt books etc., connected with History Congress affairs" which were then in his custody. I received no reply from him.

A letter written by Dr. Saxena to Dr. Gupta, dated January 19, 1952, copy of which was forwarded to me by Dr. Gupta, contained the following proposal: "Every year the account is closed on March 31, after which it is sent for audit. May I suggest that the same procedure be continued. In other words the charge should change hands after the close of the financial year."

I wrote to the General Secretary as follows on February 18, 1952:

"As regards Dr. Saxena's suggestion that the charge (from the former treasurer) should change hands after the close of the financial year' (i.e. after

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March 31, 1952), I am afraid it involves several difficulties. (1) The Constitution of the Indian History Congress does not provide for a 'financial year'. As members pay their membership fees for the usual calendar year (January-December), the accounts of the Congress should be kept on that basis. I do not know how and when a 'financial year' (April-March) came to be introduced. In any case, as it is not known to the Constitution and as it involves some practical difficulties (as noted below), we should not recognise it any more. (2) Office-bearers are elected for one calendar year. Therefore, the Treasurer for 1951 ceased to hold office on January 1, 1952, and the Treasurer for 1952 began his term on that date. How can the Treasurer for 1951 spend money, operate the bank accounts and remain in charge of the accounts for three months after the expiry of his term? I think this arrangement would be unconstitutional. (3) The General Secretary for 1952 and the Treasurer for 1952 must meet certain expenses in connection with office work from January, 1952, onwards. They will be put into great inconvenience if the funds and the relevant accounts, papers, etc. remain in the custody of the Treasurer for 1951. These difficulties were not felt so long because Dr. Saxena occupied the office of Treasurer for several years. But change of office-bearers makes it necessary to change the old system which, in any case, appears to be unconstitutional.

Dr. Saxena suggests that messrs. Jaiswal of Allahabad be re-appointed auditors for 'the current year', i.e., 1951. In that case the account books and relevant papers will have to be left at Allahabad for some time after March 31 next for the convenience of the auditors. This means that the Treasurer for 1952 will receive those books and papers in May or June next. As a result office work will suffer. I have not yet received even a complete list of members of the Congress. As I have got no receipt book with me I have not been able to give formal receipts to some members who have already paid their fees for 1952.

I suggest, therefore, (1) that Dr. Saxena be requested to hand over charge to me immediately ; (2) that the accounts for the period April-December, 1951, be audited in Calcutta ; (3) that Messrs. Pal & Roy, Chartered Accountants, 2 Church Lane, Calcutta, be appointed auditors of the accounts of the Congress for the above-mentioned period as well as for the current year, i.e. 1952 ; (4) that Dr. Saxena be requested to send to me all account books, papers, etc. in his custody so that the auditors may immediately begin to audit the accounts for the period April-December, 1951. There is no reason, why, as Dr. Saxena apprehends, 'the accounts will remain unaudited'.

I would request you to take necessary steps as soon as possible to authorise me to operate the bank accounts and to transfer those accounts from the Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad, to the Imperial Bank of India, Burra Bazar Branch, Calcutta'.

In spite of the difficulties pointed out by me, there was a long delay in handing over charge and I was actually able to operate the bank account in December, 1952. The current expenses of the General Secretary's Office for nine months had to be met by *ad hoc* arrangements.

2. *Expenses incurred by the former Treasurer during the period January-March, 1952 :*

During this period Dr. Saksena issued 6 cheques for a total amount of Rs. 1369-0-0. As he ceased to be Treasurer with effect from January, 1952, he was hardly entitled to issue these cheques. In signing these cheques he probably used the official designation "Treasurer, Indian History Congress" although his terms of office had already expired.

Moreover, Dr. Saksena continued to maintain an office at Allahabad even after the expiry of his term of office and requested me to pay its expenses.

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I communicated my views in this matter to the General Secretary in a letter dated April 21, 1952:

"I am forwarding to you for necessary action a bill (in duplicate) handed over to me by Dr. B. P. Saksena in new Delhi. Its heading is: 'Salary bill of the establishment of the office of the Indian History Congress (Conference) for the months of February and March 1952.' As the office of the Indian History Congress was transferred from Allahabad to Calcutta with effect from January last I do not know whether the Executive Committee will be prepared to sanction expenditure on another office at Allahabad for three months. As the present bill covers two months (February and March) it seems Dr. Saksena has already made payment for January. Secondly, Dr. Saksena did not sign the bill, presumably because he no longer occupies the office of Treasurer. Apparently he expected me to sign the bill. But the office assistant and the peon worked under him at Allahabad and not under me in Calcutta. It is not possible for me to sign the bill. Dr. Saksena told me that they worked for three months under his orders, but he did not give me any written statement to that effect."

So far I have received no official reply from the General Secretary, but he told me that the matter could be decided only by the Executive Committee.

3. *Transfer of Account No. 2 :*

The Executive Committee are aware that Account No. 2 (History of India Scheme) is still lying with Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad, and is being operated by Dr. B. P. Saksena.

In this connection I may add that in a cheque issued to me in November, 1952, by Dr. Saksena on Account No. 2 he used the designation "Treasurer, Indian History Congress."

4. *Audit of accounts for the year 1951-52 :*

Messrs. Pal & Roy, Chartered Accountants, Calcutta, were appointed by the Executive Committee to audit the accounts for the year 1951-52. I sent them the following records and papers received from the former Treasurer through the General Secretary: (1) Cash Book, covering the year 1951-52. (2) A statement from the Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad, covering the period March 1-29, 1952. (3) A used cheque book (Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad) with counterfoils of 11 cheques issued during the period April 5, 1951, to January 9, 1952. (4) A partly used cheque book (Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad) with counterfoils of 7 cheques issued during the period December 5, 1951, to February 2, 1952. (5) A register of members covering the period from 1946 to 1951.

The Auditors wrote to me as follows on December 18, 1952:

". . . . . we have to state as follows:

1. That the books and papers submitted to us for audit are not sufficient to enable us to complete the audit.

2. That no vouchers have been submitted to us.

3. That entries in the Cash Book unsupported by vouchers, both receipts and payments, cannot be accepted for the purpose of the audit.

4. That the statement of the Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad, is incomplete, as it covers a period of one month only.

5. That the used cheque book (Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad) does not cover the entire period under audit.

6. That deposit slips for deposit of money with the Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad, have not been submitted for the purpose of audit.

7. That no copy of the bye-laws of the Association, defining its constitution and the powers vested in the members of the Executive Committee, has been submitted.

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8. That the Register of Members does not appear to have been maintained regularly in the ordinary course of business.

9. That no Minute Books of the Executive Committee have been produced.

10. That it appears that the account with the Imperial Bank of India at Allahabad continued to be operated by the ex-Treasurer up to 21.10.52 although his office terminated on 28.12.51.

11. That under the circumstances stated herein, we would request you to produce for our inspection the documents referred to in the foregoing paragraphs and the information and explanation as referred to therein".

It is not possible for me to produce for the use of the Auditors all the documents wanted by them unless the former Treasurer places them at my disposal.

5. *Irregularities in the accounts for the period 1945-51 :*

Among the papers received by me from Dr. B. P. Saksena through the General Secretary are some used cheque books and two Cash Books covering the above period. A cursory glance at these records has brought to my notice some irregularities as stated below:

(1) Some items of expenditure cover articles (*i.e.* "office typewriter" and furniture)) which have not been transferred to the present office-bearers. (See Appendix "i")

(2) Some items of expenditure should have been debited to Account No. 2 (See Appendix "ii"). As there is a separate Bank Account for the History of India Scheme it is hardly regular to draw money systematically from Account No. 1 for items of expenditure connected with that Scheme.

A. C. BANERJEE
Treasurer

December 28, 1952

APPENDIX "i"

		Rs.	As.	p.
11. 7.45.	Repairing Typewriter (cheque no. BB/2, 22412) ...	15	0	0
15. 2.46.	Do.	6	8	0
20. 4.46.	"Thorough oiling and cleaning and replacing, changing and repairing of offices standard typewriter" ...	44	10	0
18. 4.47.	"Repairing charges of the old typemachine of the office"	6	5	0
20.12.47.	"Repairing charges of the office typewriter" ...	3	8	0
22.12.47.	"Oiling and cleaning charges of the portable typewriter"	1	0	0
20.12.48.	"Repairing portable machine for taking it to Delhi Session"	23	9	6
25.10.45.	Furniture	216	8	0

APPENDIX "ii"

(EXPENSES UNDER HEADING "HISTORY OF INDIA SCHEME")

23. 2.46.	Hist. Scheme: Ekka hire	1	9	0
28. 2.46.	Postage	1	8	6
31. 3.46.	Do.	0	3	0
30. 4.46.	Do.	0	4	0
21. 5.46.	Ekka hire	1	9	0
30. 6.46.	Postage	2	1	0

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		Rs.	As.	p.
28. 9.46.	Do.	0	6	3
29.10.46.	Do.	0	3	6
30.11.46.	Do.	2	13	6
31.12.46.	Do.	1	6	6
31. 1.47.	Do.	4	5	6
28. 2.47.	Do.	2	15	3
30. 4.47.	Do.	10	0	6
3. 9.47.	Do.	6	13	0
30. 3.48.	Do.	0	1	0
30. 4.48.	Do.	2	7	0
31. 5.48.	Do.	2	2	3
30. 6.48.	Do.	0	7	0
1. 7.48.	Dr. H. R. Gupta for chapter in Vol. IX (cheque no. BB/2,40696)	200	0	0
1. 7.48.	Pay of establishment, History Scheme	50	0	0
21. 7.48.	"Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad for expenses" (History Scheme)	100	0	0
4. 8.43.	Pay of Peon	5	0	0
4. 9.48.	Do.	5	0	0
1.10.48.	Do.	5	0	0
1.11.48.	Do.	5	0	0
24.11.48.	Audit charges	25	0	0
1.12.48.	Pay of Peon	5	0	0
18.12.48.	"Expenses of office at Simla"	288	9	0
4. 1.49.	Pay of Peon	5	0	0
2. 2.49.	Do.	5	0	0
21. 3.49.	Do.	3	0	0
16. 4.49.	Packing case and Rickshaw hire	1	10	0
16. 4.49.	Pay of Peon	3	0	0
6. 6.49.	Do.	3	0	0
12. 7.49.	Do.	3	0	0
2. 8.49.	Do.	3	0	0
3. 9.49.	Do.	3	0	0
5.10.49.	Do.	3	0	0
7.11.49.	Do.	3	0	0
25.11.49.	Audit charges	25	0	0
9.12.49.	Pay of Peon	3	0	0
4. 1.50.	Do.	3	0	0
6. 9.50.	Do.	4	0	0
6. 9.50.	Ledger and Cash Book	5	7	0
3.10.50.	Pay of Peon	4	0	0
4.11.50.	Do.	4	0	0
5.11.50.	Do.	4	0	0
9. 1.51.	Do.	4	0	0
3. 2.51.	Do.	5	0	0
8. 3.51.	Do.	5	0	0
5. 4.51.	Do.	5	0	0
3. 5.51.	Do.	5	0	0
5. 6.51.	Do.	5	0	0
2. 8.51.	"Pay of Establishment at Madras"	1301	10	0
31.10.51.	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad for "expenses of Conference a/c. incurred by him at New Delhi" ...	161	15	0
28.11.51.	Stamp	0	15	0
20.12.51.	Audit charges	25	0	0

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APPENDIX D

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

GWALIOR SESSION, 1952

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1953

Income

Particulars	Estimates for 1952-53 Rs. As. p.	Estimates for 1953 Rs. As. p.
Life Membership Fee	200 0 0	300 0 0
Membership fee	2500 0 0	3000 0 0
Sale of Proceedings	100 0 0	100 0 0
Interest from Fixed Deposit	33 0 0	33 0 0
		3433 0 0

Expenditure

Particulars	Estimates for 1952-53 Rs. As. p.	Estimates for 1953 Rs. As. p.
Establishment	672 0 0	600 0 0
Printing of Proceedings	2000 0 0	7000 0 0
Postage and Telegrams	200 0 0	200 0 0
Stationery	20 0 0	50 0 0
Bank Commission	15 0 0	15 0 0
Printing of Circulars etc.	300 0 0	350 0 0
Audit Expense	25 0 0	25 0 0
Miscellaneous	100 0 0	100 0 0
		8340 0 0

Note: The total amount in Fixed Deposit with the Imperial Bank of India, Allahabad, is Rs. 2772.

2. The Proceedings of the Jaipur and Gwalior Sessions should be published in 1953. The Local Secretary, Jaipur Session, kindly donated Rs. 1000 towards the expenses of publishing the Proceedings of that Session.

3. The Dugar Fund (Rs. 5000/-) has been set apart for the publication of historical records relating to Rajasthan.

P. C. GUPTA
General Secretary

December 28, 1952

A. C. BANERJEE
Treasurer

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APPENDIX E

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

GWALIOR SESSION: 1952

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress Association was held on the 28th December 1952 at 6 P.M. in the Padma Vidyalaya buildings.* Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji presided. The following members were present:

Mahamahopadhya D. V. Potdar	Dr. A. C. Banerjee
Professor A. S. Altekar	Dr. J. N. Banerjee
Dr. R. C. Majumdar	Dr. K. K. Dutta
Dr. P. M. Joshi	Dr. A. D. Pusalker
Dr. N. K. Sinha	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Dr. S. P. Sen	Dr. M. Rama Rao
Shri R. V. Oturkar	Shri R. G. Gyani
Prof. K. N. Dutta	Dr. P. C. Gupta

1. The Minutes of the last meeting held at Jaipur on the 28th December 1951 were confirmed.

2. The General Secretary presented the annual report for 1952 which was recommended to the Business Meeting for adoption (Appendix "A").

3. The Committee considered the recommendations of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive Board (Comprehensive History of India) dated 17th April, 1952 submitted for approval of the Indian History Congress (Appendix "B").

Resolved that

(1) Subject to the supervision and final control of the Indian History Congress Association through its Executive Committee, the control and management of the Comprehensive History of India Scheme including collection of funds, sanctioning expenditure and arranging for the publication, sale and disposal of the volumes of the History of India, be invested in the History of India Publication Committee.

(2) The History of India Publication Committee shall be composed of:

(*a*) Ex-Officio Members:
- (*i*) President, Indian History Congress
- (*ii*) General Secretary, Indian History Congress
- (*iii*) Treasurer, Indian History Congress

(*b*) Four members appointed for three years by the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress

(*c*) Two members nominated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to represent the Bharatiya Itihash Parishad

(*d*) Not more than four members to be co-opted by the above-mentioned three categories of members.

(3) The History of India Publication Committee will appoint its Chairman and Secretary from among its own members. The Treasurer of the History of India Publication Committee shall be appointed by the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress from amongst the members of the Publication Committee.

(4) Any vacancy in the History of India Publication Committee will not invalidate its action.

(5) Any vacancy in the History of India Publication Committee will be filled up by the appointing or nominating authority concerned.

* The meeting was continued next day.

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(6) The History of India Publication Committee will prepare its Annual Budget and a Report on the progress of work and place them for approval of the India History Congress not later than 1st December each year.

(7) The Accounts of the History of India Publication Committee shall be audited annually by the auditors appointed by the Indian History Congress and the audited accounts shall be placed for approval of the Indian History Congress not later than 1st December each year.

(8) That the separate account hitherto maintained for the publication of "Comprehensive History of India" in the Imperial Bank of India, entitled "Indian History Congress (Comprehensive History of India) account", shall be operated jointly by the Secretary and Treasurer of the History of India Publication Committee.

A copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Secretary, Executive Board, for necessary action.

(9) The History of India Publication Committee shall frame its own rules of business.

(10) Dr. Rajendra Prasad be requested to graciously consent to become the Patron of the History of India Scheme.

(11) The History of India Publication Committee may elect Vice-Patrons of the History of India Scheme.

(12) The President of the Indian History Congress be authorised to take all necessary steps to give effect to the resolutions.

3A. The Executive Committee appointed the following persons to be members of the History of India Publication Committee with effect from 1st January 1953:

(*i*) Dr. S. N. Sen
(*ii*) Dr. R. C. Majumdar
(iii) Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar
(*iv*) Dr. A. D. Pusalker

4. The Committee considered a letter received from Dr. G. S. Sardesai re: Seth Duggar Fund:

Resolved that the amount of Rs. 5,000/- donated by Seth S. Duggar be placed at the disposal of a Committee consisting of the following persons, as recommended by Dr. G. S. Sardesai, for the purpose of exploring and publishing the records of Rajasthan:

1. Dr. G. S. Sardesai (*Chairman*)
2. Dr. M. L. Sarma
3. Seth Sohan Lal Duggar
4. Shri Satya Prakash Srivastava
5. Dr. P. M. Joshi

Resolved further that the Committee be requested to submit to the Secretory, Indian History Congress not later than December 1, 1953, a report on the progress of work.

Resolved further that the Treasurer, Indian History Congress be authorised to disburse the fund from time to time as requested by Dr. G. S. Sardesai.

5. The Committee considered the Treasurer's report (Appendix C).

Resolved that in view of the many irregularities indicated by the Treasurer a committee consisting of the President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer be constituted to settle the points arising out of the report.

Resolved further that a copy of the report be sent to Dr. B. P. Saksena.

6. The Treasurer presented the budget estimates for 1953 (Appendix "D").

Resolved that the estimate be recommended for adoption by the Business Meeting.

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7. The Executive Committee elected the following office-bearers for 1953:

President		Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji
Vice-Presidents . .	1.	Dr. G. S. Sardesai
	2.	Dr. R. C. Majumdar
General Secretary . .		Dr. P. C. Gupta
Jt. Secretary . . .		Dr. A. D. Pusalker
Treasurer		Dr. A. C. Banerjee

8. The Executive Committee elected Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane as President and the following as Sectional Presidents for the 16th session:

Section I	Sri A. Ghosh
Section II	Dr. M. Rama Rao
Section III	Khawaja Muhammad Ahmad
Section IV	Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh
Section V	Dr. A. C. Banerjee

9. The Executive Committee recommended that M/s Pal. & Roy & Co., Chartered Accountants, 2, Church Lane, Calcutta be appointed as the Auditors for 1953.

10. The Committee considered the proposals for amendment of the Constitution.

Resolved that the following amendments to the Constitution be recommended for adoption by the Annual Business Meeting.

(1) Add in clause 3 after " . . . persons" in line 2 the following words "who have reached the age of twenty-one years and are"

(2) Add after clause 4:
"Academic Institutions and Learned Bodies may be recognised by the Executive Committee as Institutional members on payment of an Annual subscription of Rs. 15/- only. Every Institutional Member shall be entitled to send one delegate to the Annual Session of the Congress and such delegate shall enjoy all the privileges of an ordinary member".

(3) In clause 9 delete "(*f*) a Local Secretary" and substitute ("*g*") in line below by ("*f*").

(4) Amend clause 10(*d*) as follows:
"management and control of all funds raised for and in the name of the Association."

(5) Add after clause 11:
"During the interval between two sessions of the Congress the Executive Committee may transact all kinds of business through circulation of papers and decisions may be taken by a 3/5 majority of votes (12 out of 20)."

(6) Amend clause 12 as follows:
(*a*) "(*b*) to (*f*)" in clause 12(*i*), line 1, be substituted by "(*b*) to (*e*)"
(*b*) "(*g*)" in clause 12(*ii*), line 2, be substituted by "9(*f*)"
(*c*) Clause 12(*iii*) be transferred under the heading "Local Secretary" in p. 9 as a separate clause.

(7) Amend clause 19 as follows:
"The Local Secretary shall, in consultation with the General Secretary, make all necessary arrangements for the session of the Congress, for the accommodation of members *attending the session*, the programme of meetings and other connected functions."

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(8) Add in clause 20 after " . . . association" in line 3:
"He shall operate all Bank accounts standing in the name of the Association".
and after "Committee" in line 5:
"The Budget shall be circulated among the members at least two weeks before the Business Meeting."
(9) Delete clause 23(*b*) and 23(*c*).
(10) Add after clause 24:
"unless otherwise specifically stipulated in the form of a resolution by the Indian History Congress Association, the Executive Committee shall have the final authority in respect of all kinds of publications, undertaken either wholly by the Association or jointly with some organisation. The Executive Committee may set up special Editorial Boards for different kinds of publications for the purpose of maintaining proper academic standard ; but it will not delegate its authority in full in respect of finance and management."
(11) Delete clause 25.
(12) Delete clause 26.

11. The Executive Committee considered a letter from the Registrar, Andhra University inviting the next session to Waltair in December 1953.

The Committee recommended to the Business Meeting that the invitation be accepted with thanks.

12. The Executive Committee considered a letter from the Indian National Commission of the UNESCO re: the election of a representative as an Associate Member to the Indian National Commission.

Resolved that Dr. P. M. Joshi be elected an Associate Member of the Indian National Commission for the UNESCO.

13. The Executive Committee considered a letter from Dr. B. P. Saksena re: the payment of establishment charges at Allahabad for February and March 1952.

Resolved that payment be made.

14. The Executive Committee considered the question of appointing Sole Selling agents for the Proceedings of the Congress.

Resolved that the General Secretary be requested to negotiate with Messrs. A. Mukherji & Co., 2, College Square, Calcutta 12 for appointing them as sole selling agents for the Proceedings of the Congress on a commission of 40%, provided they stock the copies.

15. The Executive Committee considered a letter from Prof. R. V. Oturkar re: railway concession.

Resolved that the railway authorities be requested to extend such concessions in fare as are extended to all members, to employees of the Universities and other learned bodies.

Resolved that the Air Travel Agencies be requested to extend such concessions in fare as are extended by the railway authorities to the members of the Congress for journeys from and to Assam.

16. The Executive Committee considered a letter from Dr. Sunil Chandra Roy re: reprints of papers.

Resolved that the contributors shall receive, free of charge, 25 copies of reprints of papers published in the Proceedings.

17. The Executive Committee considered a letter from Dr. G. C. Roy Choudhury re: circulation of summaries of papers.

Resolved that the summaries of papers shall ordinarily be circulated among the members at least two weeks before the session of the Congress.

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APPENDIX F

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

GWALIOR, 30 DECMBER 1952

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held on 30th December, 1952, at Padma Mahavidyalaya at 11 A.M. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji presided. The following members were present:—

1. Principal N. L. Ahmed
2. Dr. J. N. Banerjee
3. Dr. P. M. Joshi
4. Sri R. G. Gyani
5. Dr. P. C. Chakravarti
6. Father H. Heras
7. Dr. J. M. Unvala
8. Dr. R. C. Majumdar
8. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar
10. Shri N. G. Tavakar
11. ,, Pritam Singh
12. Dr. N. K. Sinha
13. Dr. S. P. Sen
14. Dr. Sukumar Sen
15. Sri K. A. Nilkanta Sashtri
16. Dr. M. Rama Rao
17. Dr. G. C. Roy Chowdhury
18. Shri S. K. Saraswati
19. Shri Sukumar Roy
20. Prof. Sk. Abdar Rashid
21. Prof. M. Habib
22. Dr. P. C. Gupta
23. Dr. A. C. Banerjee
24. Dr. A. D. Pusalker
25. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
26. Prof. R. V. Oturkar
27. Dr. K. K. Dutta
28. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh
29. Prof. K. N. Dutta
30. Dr. C. C. Das Gupta
31. Shri K. K. Ganguly
32. Dr. A. S. Alṭekar
33. Shri Paramanand
34. Dr. Bool Chand
35. Sri Somendra Ch. Nandi
36. A. H. Nizami
37. Dr. D. C. Ganguly
38. Shri Sailen Sen Gupta
39. Shri P. R. Sethi
40. Shri P. C. Das Gupta
41. Shri Arun Das Gupta
42. Sm. Manasi Das Gupta
43. Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi
44. Khawaja Mahammad Ahmad
45. Sri Dilip Kumar Biswas
46. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan
47. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam
48. Dr. R. G. Basak
49. Sri Harimohan Mukherjee
50. Sri Tarit Mukherjee
51. Sm. Sudha Sen Gupta
52. Sm. Debala Mitra
53. Sri A. N. Lahiri
54. Sm. Bela Lahiri
55. Sm. Neelakshi Sen Gupta
56. Sri K. L. Akhagar
57. Dr. Moti Chandra
58. Shri Gurcharan Singh
59. Dr. P. Saran
60. Prof. H. S. Askari
61. M. Riad-El-Etr
62. Sri B. M. Chowdhury
63. Sri G. H. Khare
64. Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee
65. Dr. R. K. Parmu
66. Sri P. C. Sen
67. Sri K. C. Chakravarty
68. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti
69. Sri Jagadish Narayan Sarkar
70. Sri Abhoy Krishna Banerjee
71. Sri J. M. Ghosh
72. Mr. B. R. Grover
73. Sri Satyanarain Das
74. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar
75. Md. Hedait Ali
76. Shri Sudhir Roy
77. Dr. D. C. Ganguly
78. Sri K. C. Panigrahi
79. Sri A. Ghosh
80. S. A. Sheu
81. Dr. Rajbali Pandey
82. Dr. Bindheswari Prasad
83. Dr. P. C. Sircar
84. Dr. A. Sen

and ors.

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The President, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, read a message of good wishes from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President, Republic of India.

1. The following resolutions of condolence were moved from the chair and passed all standing:

The Indian History Congress Association places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, a former Sectional President and a prominent member of this Association.

The Indian History Congress Association places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Prof. J. C. Talukdar, a prominent member of this Association.

2. The minutes of the last meeting was read by the General Secretary and confirmed.

3. The General Secretary placed the annual report of the Association for the year 1952 (App. A—Ex. Com.).

Resolved that the report be accepted.

4. The Treasurer submitted a report on the account of 1951 (App. C.) (Ref: Ex. Com. meeting, item No. 5).

Resolved that the report be accepted and the relevant resolutions of the Executive Committee be adopted.

5. The Treasurer presented the Budget Estimate for the year 1953 (App. D.—Ex. Com.).

Resolved that the Budget Estimate be adopted.

6. The President reported the election by the Executive Committee of the office-bearers for 1953 and the President and Sectional Presidents for the 16th session.

President		Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji
Vice-Presidents . .	1.	Dr. G. S. Sardesai
	2.	Dr. R. C. Majumdar
General Secretary . .		Dr. P. C. Gupta
Jt. Secretary . . .		Dr. A. D. Pusalker
Treasurer		Dr. A. C. Banerjee

PRESIDENT AND SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS FOR THE 16TH SESSION

President:

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane

Sectional Presidents:

Section I	1.	Sri A. Ghosh
Section II	2.	Dr. M. Rama Rao
Section III	3	Khawaja Muhammad Ahmed
Section IV	4.	Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh
Section V	5.	Dr. A. C. Banerjee

Resolved that the elections be recorded.

7. The Indian History Congress Association elected the following members to the Executive Committee for 1953:

1. R. R. Sethi
2. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar
3. Prof. A. S. Altekar
4. Dr. P. M. Joshi
5. Shri R. G. Gyani
6. Dr. K. K. Dutta
7. Sri Paramanand
8. Dr. M. Rama Rao
9. Dr. J. N. Banerjee
10. Dr. N. K. Sinha
11. Dr. G. M. Moraes
12. Shri R. V. Oturkar
13. Dr. S. P. Sen
14. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad

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8. The President reported that the Executive Committee has recommended for adoption by the Indian History Congress, the invitation of the Andhra University to hold the 16th session of the Congress at Waltair.

Resolved that the invitation be accepted with thanks.

9. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar placed the following recommendations of the Executive Committee at Jaipur Session regarding the amendments to the constitution:

(1) Clause 3. Add after "Indian History". "Who accept the objects of the Association and are not below 21 years of age."
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(2) Clause 4 should read as follows: "There shall be the following classes of members: (*i*) Ordinary Members ; (*ii*) Life Members ; (*iii*) Fellows."
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(3) Add clause 4(*a*): "Ordinary members shall pay a fee of Rs. 15/- per annum. Members paying Rs. 250/- shall become life members of the Association.
Resolved that the consideration be postponed.

(*b*) Fellows will be selected from among the members and their number will be limited to 100. Any member who has at any time held office of President or Sectional President of the Indian History Congress shall be a Fellow. Fellows present at the annual session of the Congress and voting shall elect not more than 10 members till the number reached 100. Thereafter the vacancies will be filled from among the members at the annual meeting.
Resolved that the amendment be not adopted.

(*c*) The basis for election to Fellowship will be accredited research and advancement of historical knowledge. A Fellow will pay an annual fee of Rs. 25/-. A Fellow will automatically cease to be a Fellow if he is absent from three consecutive sessions of the Congress.
Resolved that the amendment be not adopted.

(4) Clause 7 (*a*): For "The following sections will be recognised . . . . where necessary" substitute:

"The Sections shall be the following:

(*i*) Ancient Indian History up to 1200 A.D. for Northern India and 1300 A.D. for Southern India

(*ii*) Medieval Indian History up to 1707 A.D.

(*iii*) Modern Indian History from 1707 onwards

(*iv*) Special Section to be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee".
Resolved that the consideration be postponed.

(5) Clause 9 (*c*): Delete the word "General".
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.
After clause 9(*g*) add: "No member shall hold the same office or remain a member of the Executive Committee for more than three consecutive sessions".
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

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(6) Add clause 27 as follows:

"27. There shall be a council of Research composed of the President, Secretary, 10 members elected by the Fellows and one representative each of the Universities and such Research Associations as may be recognised for this purpose by the Council so constituted.

The council of Research will meet annually at the time of the Indian History Congress and review the progress of historical research in the country, suggest co-ordination of research activities and the lines of future research.

The Secretary shall convene its meetings."

Resolved that the amendment be not adopted.

10. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar placed the recommendations and resolutions of the Executive Committee for adoption by the Indian History Congress, as follows. (Vide, items Nos. 3, 4, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 17).

Resolved that all the recommendations and resolutions except item No. 4 be adopted.

Resolved that the item No. 4 be adopted with the following amendment:

Add after "Dr. P. M. Joshi" "with powers to co-opt".

11. Dr. R. C. Majumdar placed the following recommendations of the Executive Committee dt/- 28.12.53, regarding amendments to the constitution.

(1) Add in clause 3 after ". . . . persons" in line 2 the following words "who have reached the age of twenty-one years and are . . . .".
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(2) Add after clause 4:
"Academic Institutions and Learned Bodies may be recognised by the Executive Committee as Institutional Members on payment of an Annual Subscription of Rs. 15/- only. Every Institutional Member shall be entitled to send one delegate to the Annual Session of the Congress and such delegate shall enjoy all the privileges of an ordinary member".
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(3) In clause 9 delete "(*f*) a Local Secretary" and substitute "*g*" in line below by "(*f*)".
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(4) Amend clause 10(*d*) as follows:
"management and control of all funds raised for and in the name of the Association".
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(5) Add after clause 11:
"During the interval between two sessions of the Congress the Executive Committee may transact all kinds of business through circulation of papers and decisions may be taken by a 3/5 majority of votes (12 out of 20)".
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(6) Amend clause 12 as follows:
(*a*) "(*b*) to (*f*)" in clause 12 (*i*), line 1, be substituted by "(*b*) to (*e*)".
(*b*) "(*g*)" in clause 12 (*ii*) line 2, be substituted by "9 (*f*)".
(*c*) Clause 12 (*iii*) be transferred under the heading "Local Secretary" in p. 6 as a separate clause.
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

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(7) Amend clause 19 as follows:
"The Local Secretary shall, *in consultation with the General Secretary,* make all necessary arrangements for the session of the Congress, for the accommodation of members *attending the session,* the programme of meeting and other connected functions".
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(8) Add in clause 20 after ". . . . association" in line 3:
"He shall operate all Bank accounts standing in the name of the Association".
and after "Committee" in line 5:
"The Budget shall be circulated among the members at least two weeks before the Business Meeting".
Resolved that the amendments be adopted.

(9) Delete clause 23 (*b*) and (23 (*c*).
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(10) Add after clause 24:
"Unless otherwise specifically stipulated in the form of a Resolution by the Indian History Congress Association, the Executive Committee shall have the final authority in respect of all kinds of publications, undertaken either wholly by the Association or jointly with some other organisation. The Executive Committee may set up special Editorial Boards for different kinds of publications for the purpose of maintaining proper academic standard ; but it will not delegate its authority in full in respect of finance and managent".
Resolved that the consideration be postponed.
Dr. S. P. Sen dissenting.

(11) Delete clause 25:
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

(12) Delete clause 26.
Resolved that the amendment be adopted.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chair, the Rajpramukh and the Government of Madhya Bharat, the Reception Committee and the Local Secretary.

P. C. GUPTA
Secretary

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APPENDIX G

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR 1952 (GWALIOR)

PATRON

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MAHATAB, CUTTACK

LIFE MEMBERS

1. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University, Poona.
2. Shri Jehangir K. Seervai, Warden Road, Bombay.
3. Prof. A. S. Altekar, Dept. of Ancient Indian History, Patna University, Patna.
4. Shri Manibhai Dwivedi, Research Scholar, Navaswari, Western Railway.
5. Thakur Batuk Singh, Deputy Financial Adviser, Military Finance, Central Secretariat, South Block, New Delhi.
6. Mr. K. M. Ahmad, Curator, Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan).
7. Prof. A. B. Pande, Dept. of History, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
8. Shri I. B. Patel, Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road, Mahim, Bombay.
9. Dr. H. L. Gupta, History Dept., Saugor University, Saugor (M.P.).
10. Sardar Ganda Singh, Keeper of Records, Patiala.
11. Shri M. S. Aney, Lakshmi Niwas, 382, Sadashiv Peth, Poona-2.
12. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh, Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau, Madhya Bharat.
13. Dr. Nalinaksha Datta, 39, Ramananda Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.
14. Dr. Bool Chand, Secretary, Ministry of Education, Gwalior.
15. Prof. D. V. Potdar, 77, Shanwar Peth, Poona.
16. Dr. S. N. Sen, 36P, Russa Road, Calcutta-26.
17. Shri S. M. Shukla, Raval Tiles Factory, Colaba, Bombay-5.
18. Shri Bhabani Charan Roy, G. M. College, Sambalpur, Orissa.
19. Syed Nurul Hasan, Lecturer in History, Muslim University, Aligarh.
20. Rev. Xavier S. Thani, Nayagam, Tamil Literature Society, 52, New Colony, Tuticorin.
21. Shri Sohan Lal Dugar, Johari Bazar, Jaipur (Rajasthan).
22. Shri Gopichand Verma, Near Padli House, Rasta Khazanewalan, Jaipur City, Rajasthan.
23. Shri K. L. Srivastava, Professor, Hamidia College, Bhopal.
24. Prof. Ram Saran Sarma, Dept. of History, Patna College, Patna-5.
25. Shri L. R. Pendharkar, Near Diggi House Gate, Jaipur City, Rajasthan.
26. Prof. R. N. Chaudhuri, Maharaja's College, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
27. Prof. Yogendra Misra, Patna College, Patna-5.
28. Shrimati Renu Ghosh, Professor, Women's College, Cuttack.

ORDINARY MEMBERS

1. Athavale, Prof. S. N., Rajaram College, Kolhapur, Bombay.
2. Agaskar, Shri M. S., Professor, Ram Narain Ruia College, Bombay.
3. Akhgar, Shri K. L., Lecturer, D. S. College, Karnal, Punjab.
4. Ambiah, Miss Sukanya, A/10/498, Hardikar Bag, Himayatnagar, Hyderabad, Deccan.
5. Askari, Prof. S. H., Patna College, Patna-5.
6. Aich, Shrimati Gita, 139/A, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta-26.
7. Ahmad, Mr. N. L., Elphinstone College, Fort, Bombay.
8. Anand, Shri P. L., Lecturer, Ramjas College, Delhi.

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9. Altekar, Shrimati Padma, C/o, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Ranighat Quarters, Patna.
10. Ali, Sk. Ersad, 23/1, Dharmatolla Street, Calcutta.
11. Ali, Prof. Hedayet, Carmichael Hostel, 51, Baitakkhana Road, Calcutta-9.
12. Audichya, Shri S. L., Professor, Maharaja's College, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
13. Ali, Mr. Sekandar, Carmicheal Hostel, Calcutta-9.
14. Agrawala, Prof. V. S., Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
15. Agarwala, Shri Ratna Chandra, Dept. of Ancient Indian History, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
16. Banerjee, Dr. A. C., 2, College Square, Calcutta-12.
17. Banerjea, Dr. Jitendra Nath, 28, Manoharpukur Road, Calcutta-29.
18. Badjate, Shri Chiranjilal, Bachharaj Bhawan, Wardha, Madhya Pradesh.
19. Barpujari, Dr. H. K., Assistant D. P. I., Shillong, Assam.
20. Bhattacharyya, Shri U. C., Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
21. Basak, Dr. R. G., 69, Ballyganj Gardens, Calcutta-19.
22. Bajpai, Shri K. D., Archaeological Officer, U.P., Aryanagar, Lucknow.
23. Banerjee, Shri Parag, Harmu Road, Ranchi.
24. Biswas, Prof. Dilip Kumar, 8, Garpar Road, Calcutta.
25. Banerjee, Shri Abhay Krishna, Asst. Collector, Custom House, Calcutta.
26. Bhandari, Dr. D. R., Professor, Ramjas College, Delhi.
27. Basu, Shrimati Jyotirmayee, Professor of History, Magadh Mahila College, Patna.
28. Bhattacharyya, Shri Bhupati, 6/2A, Becharam Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta-5.
29. Basu, Shri Mani, 6, Sambhunath Pandit Street, Calcutta-25.
30. Biswas, Shri K. P., 110/1, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9.
31. Bhattacharjee, Sri Barindra Nath, Hardinge Hostel, Room No. 110, Calcutta-7.
32. Bagchi, Shri Tincori, P.O. Navadwip, Dt. Nadia, West Bengal.
33. Bagchi, Dr. P. C., Professor, Visva-Bharati, P.O. Santiniketan, Dt. Birbhum, West Bengal.
34. Bhattacharya, Shri Radhamohan, 8/5A, Russa Road, Calcutta-25.
35. Bhatnagar, Shri B. S., Inspector of Post Offices, Jagar House, Jaipur City, Rajasthan.
36. Bhuyan, Dr. S. K., Company Bagan Road, Gauhati, Assam.
37. Bhuyan, Shri Bijay Kumar, Company Bagan Road, Gauhati, Assam.
38. Basu, Shri Santosh Kumar, Lecturer, Visva-Bharati, P.O. Santiniketan, Dt. Birbhum, West Bengal.
39. Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura, U.P.
40. Curator, Victoria and Albert Museum, Victoria Garden, Byculla, Bombay-27.
41. Chidambaram, Shri A., The Tamil Research Institute, 10/98, Venkataswami Road, R. S. Puram, Coimbatore, South India.
42. Chatterjee, Dr. Nandalal, "Kalisadan," Sunderbagh, Lucknow.
43. Chitale, Shri V. S., 369, Shanwar Peth, Poona-2.
44. Chitale, Shrimati Mrinalini, C/o, Shri V. S. Chitale, 369, Shanwar Peth, Poona-2.
45. Chhabra, Dr. B. Ch., Govt. Epigraphist, Ootacamund, South India.
46. Chandra, Dr. Moti, Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
47. Chowdhary, Prof. Radhakrishna, G. D. College, P.O. Begusarai, Dt. Monghyr, Bihar.
48. Chand, Shri Amar, 3/11, New Hostel, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.

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49. Chatterjee, Shri C. D., Dept. of History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
50. Chakravarti, Shri Parimal Kumar, 14/B, Netaji Subhas Chandra Road, Calcutta-33.
51. Chakravarti, Shri Kshitish Chandra, 26/A, Kailash Bose St., Calcutta-6.
52. Char, Shri S. V. Desika, National Archives of India, Queensway, New Delhi.
53. Chakravarti, Dr. P. C., I.A.S. Training School, Metcalfe House, Civil Lines, Delhi.
54. Chaudhuri, Shri B. M., 2/4, Lancers Road, Delhi.
55. Chakravarti, Dr. N. P., 9, Safdar Jang Road, New Delhi.
56. Chatterjee, Shri Benoy Kumar, C/o, District Savings Organiser, Small Savings Scheme, Howrah Collectorate, Howrah.
57. Chaudhuri, Prof. Nani Gopal, 14, Jaynarayan Chandra Lane, Calcutta.
58. Chakravarti, Shri Tripurari, 14, Fern Place, Calcutta-19.
59. Chaudhuri, Dr. S. B., Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta-7.
60. Chopra, Dr. P. N., 3, Atul Grove Road, New Delhi-1.
61. Curator, State Museum, Lucknow.
62. Chakravarty, Shri Amal Kumar, 80, Park Street, Calcutta-17.
63. Chatterjee, Shri Debabrata, 5J, Post Office Road, Dum Dum, Dt. 24 Parganas, West Bengal.
64. Chandramauliswar, Shri R., Lecturer, National College, Masulipatam, South India.
65. Chief Superintendent, Archaeology and Museum, Rajasthan, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
66. Dandekar, Dr. R. N., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.
67. Das, Dr. Sudhir Ranjan, History Dept., Delhi University, Delhi.
68. Das Gupta, Dr. Charu Chandra, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
69. Deshpande, Shri M. N., Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona-4.
70. Devi, Shrimati Vidyawati, C/o, Dr. B. P. Saksena, 35, Chatham Lines, Allahabad.
71. Datta, Dr. K. K., Warden's House, Patna College Compound, Patna-5.
72. Das, Shri H. S., 104/1, Sarpentine Lane, Calcutta-14.
73. Dikshitar, Prof. V. R. R., University of Madras, Madras.
74. Damle, Shri R. D., Pleader, Yeotmal, Madhya Pradesh.
75. Das Gupta, Shri Paresh Chandra, 54A, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9.
76. Devi, Shrimati Shanti, Lecturer, S. B. Women's College, Cuttack.
77. Deshmukh, Shri P. R., Pleader, Yeotmal, Madhya Pradesh.
78. Deshmukh, Shri S. R., P.O. Dabha, Dt. Yeotmal, Madhya Pradesh.
79. Dikshit, Shri G. S., Professor, Fergusson College, Poona-4.
80. Das Gupta, Prof. Arun, 3/B, Kalighat Park South, Calcutta-26.
81. Das Gupta, Shrimati Manashi, 3/B, Kalighat Park South, Calcutta-26.
82. Das, Shri Satyanarayan, Professor, Vidyasagar College, P.O. Nabadwip, Dt. Nadia, West Bengal.
83. Dash, Dr. Tara Prasad, Professor of French, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
84. Das, Shri Gunendra Kumar, 9, Justice Chandra Madhab Road, Cal.-26.
85. Dastur, Dr. Hormazdiar D. K. M., Mirza Street, Udvada, Bombay State.
86. Dharma, Shrimati P. C., F11, Lady Staff Colony, Hindu University, Banaras.
87. Dikshit, Dr. R. K., History Department, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
88. Das, Shri B. N., 104/1, Serpentine Lane, Calcutta.

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89. Dabral, Shri Chintamani, C/o, Prof. B. P. Panthuri, Kashi Vidhyapith, Banaras Cantonment.
90. Das Gupta, Dr. S. N., Reader in History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
91. Dwivedi, Sri Rampravesh, Siksha Bhawan, Visva Bharati, P.O. Santiniketan, West Bengal.
92. Datta, Shri K. N., Addl. Asst. D.P.I., Shillong.
93. Etr, M. Riad El., Waverlsy Hotel, 11, Kyd Street, Calcutta.
94. Erawar, Sri K. K., Chairman, Janapada Sabha, Yeotmal, Madhya Pradesh.
95. Gupta, Dr. P. C., 125, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta-29.
96. Ganguly, Dr. D. C., Curator, Victoria Memorial, Calcutta-16.
97. Ghosal, Dr. H. R., Professor, L. S. College, Muzaffffarpur, Bihar.
98. Gujar, Shri M. V., Principal, Shri Shivaji Preparatory Military School, Poona-5.
99. Gaebele, Madam Y. R., President, French Historical Society, Bibliotheque, Pondichery.
100. Gadre, Shri A. S., Director of Archaeology, Baroda.
101. Gyani, Shri R. G., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay-1.
102. Gupta, Dr. Hari Ram, Punjab Unversity, Hoshiarpur, Punjab.
103. Ghosh, Prof. J. M., Maharaja's College, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
104. Grover, Prof. B. R., Punjab University College, New Delhi.
105. Ghosal, Dr. U. N., 35, Ramananda Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-9.
106. Ganguli, Dr. Kalyan Kumar, Dept. of Ancient Indian History & Culture, Calcutta University, Calcutta-7.
107. Ghose, Sri Mrinmay, 15/1B, Raghunath Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-6.
108. Ghosh, Shri D. P., Curator, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, Calcutta-7.
109. Gupta, Shri Parameshwari Lal, 63/42, Victoria Park, Banaras.
110. Ghosh, Shri A., Asst. Director-General of Archaeology, Curzon Road, New Delhi.
111. Hasan, Mr. Mahibul, Dept. of Islamic History, Calcutta University, Calcutta-7.
112. Heras, Rev. Father H., S. J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
113. Shri Haridutta, C/o, Principal, Gurukul University, P.O. Gurukula Kangri, Dt. Saharanpur, U.P.
114. Hatalkar, Dr. V. G., 16/B, Sleater Road, Bombay-7.
115. Hussain, Dr. Mehdi, 14, Circus Row, Calcutta-14.
116. Husain, Mirza Delawar, P24, Garden Reach Road, Calcutta-24.
117. Habib, Prof. M., Muslim University, Aligarh.
118. Jain, Shri Gyan Chand, Parkhies Bada, Near City Post Office, Itwara, Nagpur.
119. Jain, Shri Mishri Lal Bhikam Chand Bora, Bankers & Landlords, Main Road, Yeotmal, Madhya Pradesh.
120. Joshi, Shri V. C., National Archives of India, Queensway, New Delhi.
121. Joshi, Dr. P. M., Keeper of Archives, Bombay Secretariat, Bombay.
122. Joshi, Shri S. N., B. I. S. Mandal, 313A, Sadashiv Peth, Poona.
123. Kamdar, Prof. K. H., Pratapganj, Baroda Residency, Baroda.
124. Kapadia, Prof. E. R., St. Stephen's College, Delhi-8.
125. Keny, Dr. L. B., 247, Rama Narayan Nivas, Matunga, Bombay-19.
126. Khare, Shri G. H., 313/A, Sadashiv Peth, Poona-2.
127. Khera, Shri P. N., Historical Section, Ministry of Defence, New Delhi.
128. Kant, Dr. Surya, Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, College of Indology, Hindu University, Banaras.

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129. Kar Gupta, Shri Satadal Kumar, P42, Matijheel Avenue, Dum Dum, Calcutta-28.
130. Kotasthane, Shri K. M., 55, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay-1.
131. Katare, Dr. S. L., Professor, Mahakoshala Mahavidyalaya, Jabbalpur, Madhya Pradesh.
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327. Zamindar, Shri N. C., Bada Rawla Juni Indore, Indore City, Madhya Bharat.

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	2. Dr. R. P. Tripathi
General Secretary :	Dr. P. C. Gupta
Joint Secretary :	Dr. G. M. Moraes
Treasurer :	Dr. A. C. Banerjee

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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2. Professor D. V. Potdar
3. Dr. P. M. Joshi
4. Shri R. G. Gyani
5. Dr. N. K. Sinha
6. Professor K. K. Dutta
7. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
8. Professor A. S. Altekar
9. Dr. J. N. Banerjea
10. Dr. S. P. Sen
11. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
12. Professor R. V. Oturkar
13. Dr. M. Rama Rao
14. Professor K. N. Dutta

APPENDIX I

GENERAL PRESIDENT FOR 1952 SESSION

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

*SECTIONAL RESIDENTS FOR 1952 SESSION**

Section I	:	Dr. R. G. Basak
Section II	:	Dr. G. M. Moraes
Section III	:	Dr. Mahammad Hussain Nainer
Section IV	:	Dr. A. L. Srivastava
Section V	:	Dr. S. K. Bhuyan

*Dr. G. M. Moraes left for Europe immediately before the Session, and Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, who was the president of this Section in 1951 read Dr. Moraes' Address and presided in his absence.

Dr. Dighe also left for Europe after his election and Dr. S. K. Bhuyan was elected in his place.

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